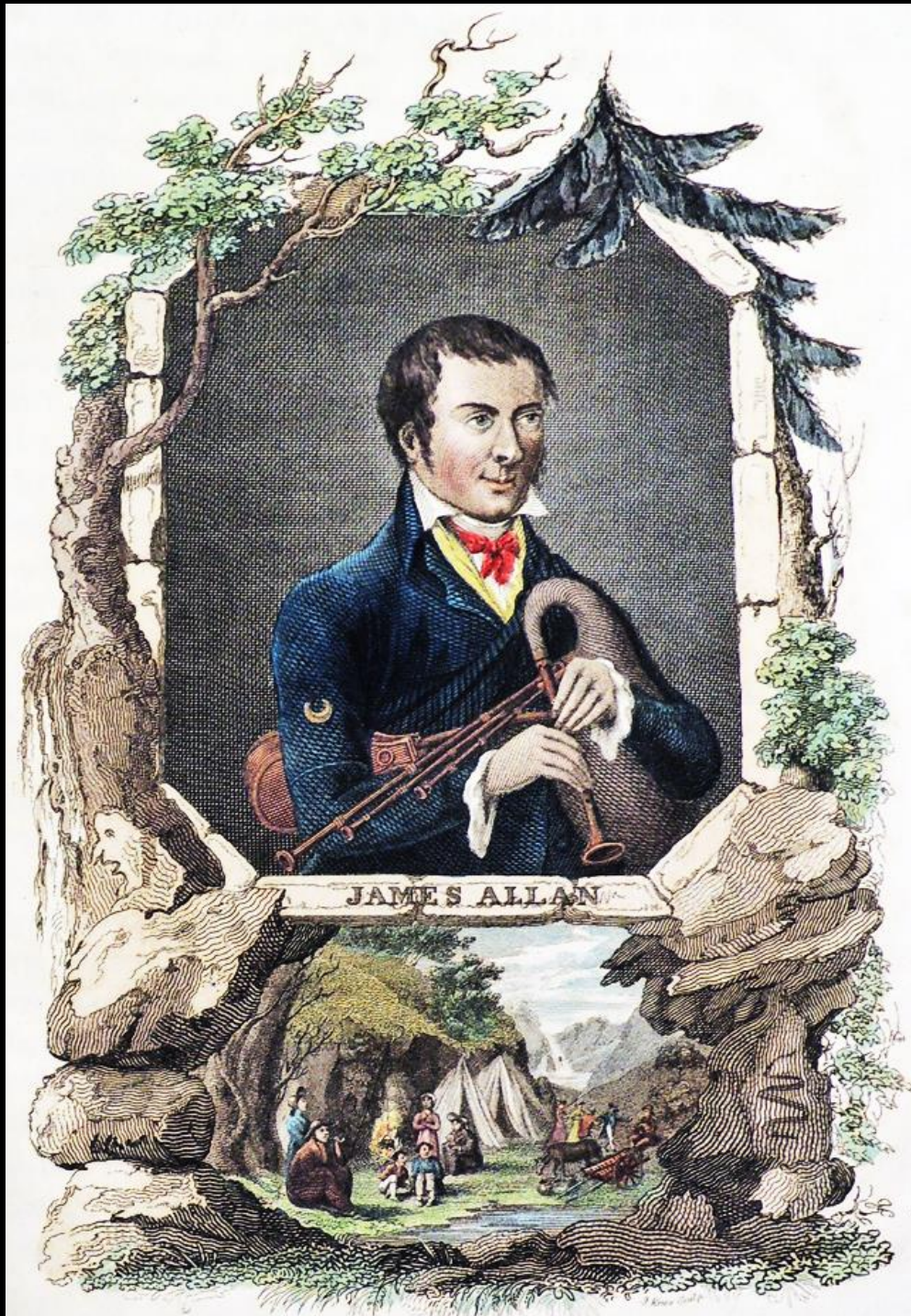


# ***The Northern Minstrels***

**From Richard Whirlepipyn to James Allan**

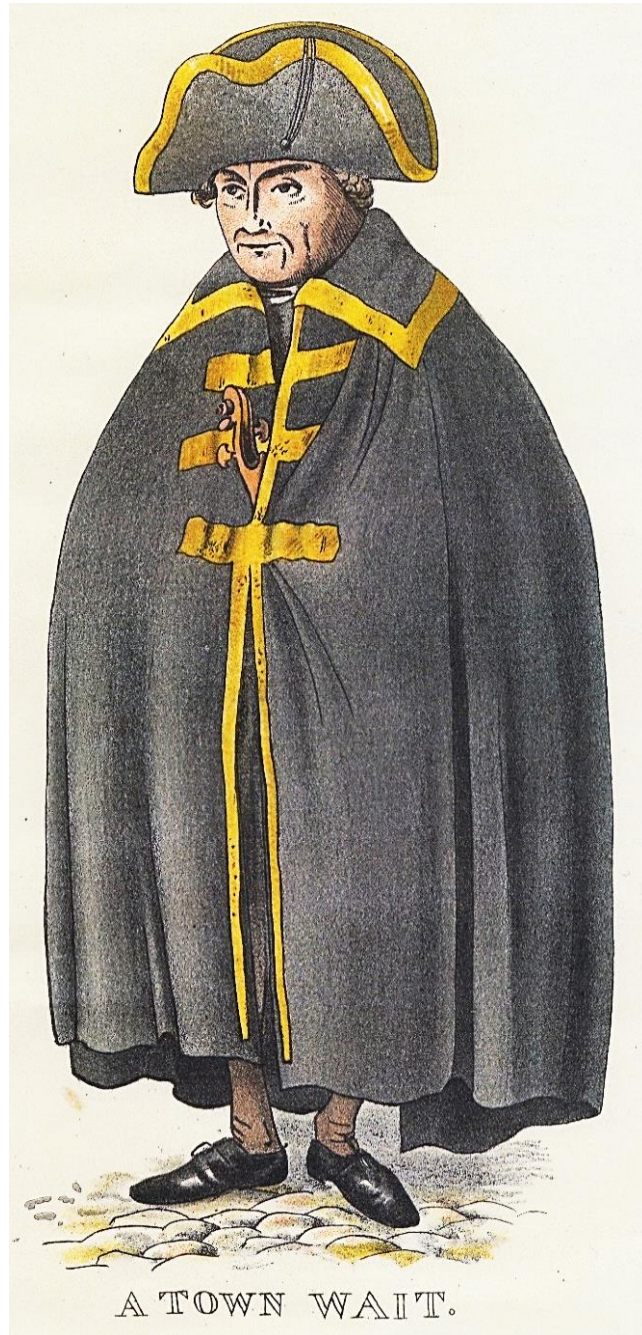


***Dave Harker***



# *The Northern Minstrels*

From Richard Whirlepipyn to James Allan



*Dave Harker*

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*Error supports custom, custom countenances error, and these two between them would persecute and chase away all truth and solid wisdom out of human life.*

John Milton 1643

*It is not imaginable to such as have not tried, what labour an historian (that would be exact) is condemned to. He must read all, good and bad, and remove a world of rubbish before he can lay the foundation.*

John Evelyn 1662

*GOD has given Women as well as Men intelligent Souls, why should they be forbidden to improve them?*

Mary Astell 1694

*I knew a very wise man who believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation.*

Andrew Fletcher 1703

*Tradition is a species of alchemy which converts gold into lead.*

Joseph Ritson 1794

*I dinna pretend to be a profit, but I knaw this, and lots o ma marrows na's te, that wer not tret as we owt to be, and as a great philosopher says, to get noledge is to naw wor ignerant.*

Striking north-east pitman 1844

*The Folk is many-headed, it would seem, and often many-minded, while often it does not know its own mind ... Yet when we come to realise what we mean by saying a custom, a tale, a myth arose from the Folk, I fear we must come to the conclusion that the said Folk is a fraud, a delusion, a myth ... The Folk is simply a name for our ignorance: we do not know to whom a proverb, a tale, a custom owes its origin, so we say it originated among the Folk.*

Joseph Jacobs 1893

*Misunderstanding of the present is the inevitable consequence of ignorance of the past. But a man may wear himself out just as pointlessly in seeking to understand the past, if he is totally ignorant of the present.*

Marc Bloch 1949

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# Introduction

*The Northern Minstrels* is an attempt to construct a history of labouring people's musical culture in Northumberland, Newcastle and County Durham from around 1290 to 1800, though it makes forays into Yorkshire and lowland Scotland. No doubt lyrics and tunes circulated orally, and one illiterate person could memorise them and sing and play them to others; but while we know that Richard Whirlepipyn was a professional minstrel on both sides of the border between England and Scotland in the 1290s, we do not know what instrument he played, how he played it, whether or what he sang, or who to. What we do know is that the border was in a state of war or armed truce, and was subject to often bloody raids by English and Scottish reivers (thieves), for three centuries.

Surviving records of musicians remain thin for several centuries, and almost all of them were ordered by lay or clerical members of the Norman elite. Their employees or juniors usually recorded names in Latin, preceded by 'de', followed by their birthplace or that of their family, and later by the Norman French 'le', followed by their trade or occupation. I have given alternative spellings at first, but only one thereafter in order to avoid confusion.

This cannot be a complete social history, yet some contextualisation is essential. The discriminatory laws against English people lasted for several centuries after 1066. For example, the law of *Englescherie* imposed a fine on a district's inhabitants unless they could prove that an unknown corpse was not Norman, and did not lapse until the mid-1300s. Plague and other diseases regularly ravaged the population, though feudalism was weaker by late that century. Around 1399 English became the language of the king's court in London, and the Norman elite spoke an increasingly idiosyncratic form of French.

Some translations I quote from this period have been 'modernised', but I have tried to avoid silently assimilating the past to the present and I have retained original spellings, sentence structures and punctuation where possible. The early English alphabet had three more letters than today's, and writers often used 'u' where we would expect 'v', and 'j' where we would expect 'i', and vice versa, while two 'ss' were written as 'js'. English became more common in civic and clerical documents in the 1400s; though legal documents such as wills and their accompanying inventories of goods were not commonly written in English in north-east England until the early 1500s.

By then Newcastle had town waits – musicians on a retainer from the civic authorities – though we do not know whether or what they sang. Early printed lyrics *about* north-east England were composed in London English, and literate north-easterners probably got hold of some; so it has been necessary to trace the development of the capital's printing, publishing and ballad-writing trades, and what we know about how ballads were distributed.

By 1600 Newcastle was overtaking York as the economic hub of northern England, thanks largely to the coal trade, above all with London, and a few musicians' names appear in parish registers. (Unless referenced elsewhere, those in Newcastle are from transcripts held by Newcastle Libraries.) Images relating to northern music-making are extremely scarce, and those which have survived were often poorly drawn, printed, or badly preserved or bound; though I have included as many as possible to give an idea of what some contemporaries may have seen.

The earliest surviving printed poem *about* north-east England dates from the 1680s, yet it was printed in London as well as Newcastle. The speech attributed to the Northumberland gentleman was largely indistinguishable from a southern English, yet the author used (and felt that he had to explain) a few local words, and he tried to imitate the lowland Scottish gentleman's diction phonetically. The earliest surviving notated secular music from north-east England music was written by a Newcastle merchant in the 1690s and early 1700s. He did not name his sources or include lyrics, and while some of his tune titles suggest that he found them locally, he probably got many from London or elsewhere, directly or indirectly.

Literacy had been largely confined to the secular and clerical elites for centuries; but by 1700 more north-east workers' children, especially in Newcastle, received a rudimentary education, and the level of literacy in the region was improving gradually but unevenly. Printed London ballads in Gothic type ('black-letter') were being superseded by ones in Roman type ('white letter'), and in the 1710s Newcastle's first settled printer probably bought reprints of old printed ballads from London, which may have arrived with a blank space for his colophon (imprint). The earliest surviving secular song lyrics from the region date from around that time, yet only one was definitely printed in the poet's lifetime. Most of their language was unlocalised, though a few appear to mimic lowland Scottish English. In the 1720s a printed poem by a Newcastle schoolteacher included a few local words and tune titles, though he did not quote any lyrics. The original edition has not been traced, and the second dates from the 1760s. The earliest surviving fragment of a song lyric which evidently aimed to imitate local speech probably appeared in the 1760s, yet it consisted of one verse and was not published for over two centuries; while the earliest surviving complete lyric imitating local speech dates from the 1780s and was published by a Stockton-born lawyer working in London.

The past is, proverbially, a foreign country. The commonest English coin for centuries after 1290 was the silver penny (1d). The 'd' derived from either the Frankish denier or the Roman denarius. Halfpennies ( $\frac{1}{2}$ d) and farthings ( $\frac{1}{4}$ d) were made by cutting pennies into halves and quarters, though the farthing coin appeared around 1200 and the halfpenny coin in 1272. The groat (4d) appeared in 1279, though a shilling (1s) was originally a unit of account and not a coin. The gold quarter noble (worth 1s 8d), the gold half noble (3s 4d) and the gold noble (6s 8d) appeared in the mid-1340s, and the mark (13s 4d) was a unit of account; yet coins from Europe and beyond were in circulation, especially among merchants. The pound sterling was originally a unit of account equivalent to a pound weight of silver, and worth 20s, and the early symbols 'L' and 'l' probably derived from the Latin term *libra pondo*. The gold sovereign (20s) appeared in 1489, the silver shilling (12d) around 1504 and the silver threepence (3d) and sixpence (6d) in the mid-1500s. The £ sign was probably not in use until 1661, though the golden guinea (£1 1s) appeared in 1663 and was followed by the copper halfpenny and farthing in 1672. Tradesmen's tokens for small denominations appeared in the late 1700s, and the official machine-made copper penny dates from 1797.

Comparisons with today are highly problematical, not least because the silver and gold content of coins varied by weight and purity, especially during periods of inflation, and the available commodities and services have changed considerably over the centuries; but here are how many pounds the Bank of England believes it would take today to buy similar goods and services that 240d, 20s or £1 bought in the past.

1300 £797	1400 £768	1500 £838	1600 £224	1700 £151
1310 £679	1410 £659	1510 £878	1610 £209	1710 £131
1320 £782	1420 £812	1520 £645	1620 £210	1720 £150
1330 £778	1430 £698	1530 £621	1630 £166	1730 £154
1340 £861	1440 £702	1540 £649	1640 £179	1740 £145
1350 £807	1450 £817	1550 £385	1650 £138	1750 £158
1360 £725	1460 £792	1560 £363	1660 £151	1760 £152
1370 £506	1470 £759	1570 £351	1670 £163	1770 £139
1380 £755	1480 £797	1580 £325	1680 £163	1780 £133
1390 £764	1490 £782	1590 £252	1690 £175	1790 £120
				1800 £81

Scottish coins were considerably lower in value than English ones of similar denominations for centuries, and some were worth so little that there was no English equivalent. The Scottish mint closed in 1709, soon after the Act of Union, yet small coins circulated well into that century. To enable the reader to compare sums of money more easily this book uses numerals, and not letters, to denote amounts of money, and pounds, shillings and pence (£ s d), except when letters and old coins appear in quotations. Since the early 1970s the main differences, apart from inflation, are that there have been 100 pence to the pound, not 240, and we have 5p, 10p, 20p and 50p coins.

Up to the mid-1500s, and to a lesser extent thereafter, days of the year were very often those of the names of traditional holidays and religious festivals, not numbered days of a month, and they included the following:

All Saints' Day	1 November
Annunciation of Our Lady	25 November
Ascension Day	39 days after Easter
Ash Wednesday	the first day of Lent (six weeks before Easter)
Assumption of Our Lady	15 August
Candlemas	2 February
Christmas Day	25 December
Corpus Christi	the Thursday after Trinity Sunday
Easter Sunday	the Sunday after first full moon on or after 21 March
Good Friday	the Friday before Easter Sunday
Holy Cross/Rood	14 September
Lent	the six weeks from Ash Wednesday until Easter
May Day	1 May
Lady Day	25 March
Lammas Day	1 August
Michaelmas	29 September
Midsummer Day	somewhere between 19 and 25 June
Nativity of St. John	7 January

Pentecost/Whit Sunday	10 days after Ascension Day
Purification of the Virgin Mary	2 February
Rogation Day (major)	25 April
Rogation days (minor)	the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Ascension Day
St. Bridget's Day	23 July
St. Cuthbert's day	20 March
St. Elyngmes' Day	3 May
St. James's Day	25 July
St. John the Baptist's Day	24 June
St. Mark's Day	25 April
St. Martin's Day	11 November
St. Peter's Day	29 June
St. Stephen's Day	26 December
St. Thomas's Day	21 December
St. William's Day	8 June
Shrove Tuesday	the day before Ash Wednesday
Translation of St. Cuthbert	4 September
Trinity Sunday	a week after Whit Sunday
Twelfth Day	6 January
Vigil of St. John	24 June
Whit Sunday	the seventh Sunday after Easter

For accounting purposes the year was divided into four, and the 'quarter days' were on Lady Day (25 March), Midsummer Day (usually 24 June), Michaelmas (29 September) and Christmas Day (25 December).

To complicate matters further the English and Scottish calendars were different after 1600, when the Scottish New Year's Day was on 1 January, but remained at 25 March in England. English records used the form of 1751/1752 until 1 January to 25 March 1752, but that year parliament decided to call it 2 September 14 September, and 1 January 1753 became New Year's Day. To avoid confusion years in this book begin on 1 January.

\*\*\*

I am a social historian, not a musician, a musicologist or a traditional musical historian, and one or two friends have suggested that writing this book is 'courageous' in the *Yes, Prime Minister* sense, meaning foolhardy at best or crackers at worst; but while I am grateful for their concern, I must respectfully disagree. Many students of early music still use vague terms such as 'folk', 'traditional' and 'popular', though I have long concluded that we have no adequate conceptual vocabulary for the music and songs enjoyed by labouring people in England, Scotland or anywhere else. Moreover I do not subscribe to the idea that lyrics and tunes can be accurately described as 'Scottish', 'English', or 'north-eastern', simply because the earliest surviving versions were recorded in a particular country or region, since that would risk being hegemonised by nationalism or its equally insidious sub-set, regional patriotism. I am also convinced that the idea that we know very much about *unmediated* music and songs before 1800, or even later, is delusional at best and fraudulent at worst. Some serious works about early lay musicians and singers who performed for the elite contain useful details; yet they often assume, implicitly or explicitly, that elite musical culture was unarguably superior to that enjoyed by the vast majority of the population, whose culture was supposedly more or less uniform across whole countries, though I am convinced that we need a series of conceptually clear and evidence-based regional studies before we can even begin to generalise.

I particularly want to thank Ewan Waugh, Vic Gammon, Jude Murphy, Frank Ellis and John Charlton, who read early drafts, and Ed Waugh, Michael Harker and Paul Baker, who read part of them, for all their useful criticisms and suggestions. I would also like to thank Alastair Bonnett, Andy Bogle, Anthony Smithson, Becky Hardy, Bethany Coyle, Brian Bennison, David Connolly, George Frampton, Marie-Thérèse Mayne, Melanie Wood, Paul Mayne, Ray Stephenson, Sarah Mulligan, Sheila Gammon, Tony Barrow, Vicki Gilbert and Vin Arthey for their support. I am grateful to colleagues at the British Newspaper Archive, the British Museum and Victoria & Albert Museum in London for their cooperation, plus those in the libraries of Cambridge, Newcastle and Northumbria universities, the public libraries in Gateshead, Hartlepool, Newcastle, North Shields and South Shields, Hartlepool Museum, Tyne & Wear Archives, Newcastle's Trinity House, Newcastle Literary & Philosophical Society and the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries.



# 1. The great silence

## (i) Border country

In the late 1200s descendants of the Norman invaders still ruled England. Everyone owed allegiance to the pope as well as the king,<sup>1</sup> while peasants also owed allegiance to their clerical or secular Norman lord, and the overwhelming majority worked on the land, though they were not all of the same status. Villeins held one or two acres, but had to serve their lord some of the time. Bondmen, or serfs, might hold a small patch, yet they were their lord's slaves much of the time. Peasants' timber-framed houses were thatched, and 25 to 40 feet long. Most ate bread and pottage, a thick soup of vegetables, grains and sometimes bits of meat or fish, while a few ate bacon, white beans and pickled or salted herrings. Most drank ale, yet a gallon of second-best ale cost a 1d, so the poor drank rainwater, since other water was often lethal. A mason might earn 5d a day, a carpenter 2¾d and a labourer 1½d, whose food and drink cost 1d, yet if harvests failed two years in succession whole families died.<sup>2</sup>

England's population may have been around 4.75 million,<sup>3</sup> but most people lived south-east of a line from Exeter to York.<sup>4</sup> County Durham's population was around 75,500,<sup>5</sup> and the bishop of Durham held it on behalf of the king, as well as Crayke north of York.<sup>6</sup> Northumberland covered over 2,000 square miles and its population was around 140,000. The archbishop of York held Hexhamshire and lay lords held Tynedale and Redesdale, while the bishop of Durham held Islandshire and Bedlingtonshire from Morpeth to the sea.<sup>7</sup> He appointed coroners and sheriffs within his liberty (jurisdiction), and had courts at Durham, Sadberge and Norham, and gallows at Durham and Norham. He took a toll on wool crossing into Northumberland over Berwick Bridge, and had markets and fairs in Durham, Darlington and Norham.<sup>8</sup> Three small Northumberland towns were burghs, with elements of self-government, though Hexham was larger than Corbridge and Bamburgh was little more than a fort.<sup>9</sup>

Newcastle's population was around 7,000.<sup>10</sup> It was part of Northumberland and was the second most important town in northern England.<sup>11</sup> It was almost surrounded by a wall,<sup>12</sup> which would measure over 3,700 yards,<sup>13</sup> and enclose almost 300 acres.<sup>14</sup> The town was not a burgh,<sup>15</sup> but for almost a century its merchants had paid £100 a year to the king for the right to have a trade organisation and other elements of self-government. They dominated trade on the Tyne, whose tide flowed 16 miles beyond the town, and several had estates in south Northumberland.<sup>16</sup> In towns like Newcastle merchants' houses were usually three or four storeys high and 15 or 16 feet wide, with wooden shutters either side of unglazed windows, and the large ground floor windows often had a shutter whose lower half was hinged so it could be pulled down to form a counter during trading hours. Such houses might take up half the ground in a town, but most others were one-roomed, and the streets were often the only public spaces.<sup>17</sup> Wealthy individuals and the bishop of Durham and other bishops, who granted indulgences for money, which claimed to reduce the time spent in purgatory after death, had paid for stone bridge across the Tyne, after the wooden one burned down in 1248. The towers at both ends had a portcullis and drawbridge, and a third tower with a portcullis was nearer Gateshead. There was also a prison and a chapel.<sup>18</sup> The Newcastle burgesses (freemen with civic privileges and duties) maintained two thirds of it. The southern third of the river below was held by the bishop of Durham, and the northern third by the earl of Northumberland, while the middle was deemed neutral.<sup>19</sup> Only freemen could sell goods inside town and city liberties, and bind apprentices who could claim freeman status if they were 21 and were presented to a chamberlain (civic clerk) within a year and a day of completing their servitude.<sup>20</sup>

In 1283 the bishop of Durham died and the king chose a man from a family of knights in Lincolnshire. He had been born in 1245, studied at Oxford from 1267 to 1270 and joined a crusade to Palestine in 1272. In 1275 he became an archdeacon of Durham, then a precentor, a minor canon who often led the singing, at York Minster. He was also the keeper of the Tower of London and one of the king's trusted negotiators with foreign princes. In 1293 the archbishop of York excommunicated him because his officers had arrested two clerks, though the bishop argued that he was acting as an earl, not as a cleric, so the excommunication affronted the king, who fined the archbishop.<sup>21</sup> In 1295 the king representatives of the clergy, two knights from each county and two freemen from each borough and city to attend parliament and the right to pass laws subject to his approval.<sup>22</sup>

The bishop claimed immunity from national taxes,<sup>23</sup> and his mint at Durham made tiny silver pennies.



The bishop's key responsibility as an earl was to defend the border against the Scots.<sup>25</sup>

Scotland's population may have been one million. The line of most of the border had been agreed,<sup>26</sup> in 1237.<sup>27</sup> In 1292 the Scottish king paid homage to the English king at Newcastle.<sup>28</sup> Berwick was a Scottish burgh,<sup>29</sup> but the English captured it in 1296, then crushed the Scottish army and swept through Scotland, taking the major castles. The English king stripped the Scottish king of his symbols of kingship,<sup>30</sup> because he had broken his oath of allegiance, and while he refused to pay homage at Berwick, Scottish nobles did so. The bishop of Durham attended with 26 standard bearers, 140 knights, 500 other horsemen and 1,000 infantry,<sup>31</sup> so his retinue was larger than the king's.<sup>32</sup> The Scottish king later surrendered,<sup>33</sup> though Scots burned Corbridge and burned and looted Hexham Abbey.<sup>34</sup>

To pay for the campaign in Scotland the English king imposed a lay subsidy (tax) on better-off householders in the Northumberland burghs, and in Morpeth, Alnwick, Newbiggin, Chatton and Alwinton, which were wealthier than two of the burghs and had larger populations, but ranked as vills (rural manors). These householders had to pay seven percent of their wealth, and those elsewhere in the county had to pay 11 percent.<sup>35</sup> The second largest group of tax-payers were the 77 in Corbridge, and there were almost 300 in Newcastle.<sup>36</sup> Most lived in St. Nicholas's parish, and All Saints' parish was the most populous and home to watermen and sailors, yet many of its 400 householders, and many in St. John's and St. Andrew's parishes, were too poor to have to pay the tax.<sup>37</sup>

Across Northumberland the contributors included 64 clerks (clergy) in 400 vills,<sup>38</sup> and some had married in spite of church regulations.<sup>39</sup> There were two in Kirkharle and Morpeth, one in Holywell, Killingworth, Mason, Prestwick, Throckley, Rothley, East Chevington, Hirst, Bewick, Welton, Fowberry, New Town by Rothbury, Alwinton, and Embleton, plus a clerk and his son in Belford, and Agnes, the wife of the Alnwick clerk. No clerks paid the tax in Corbridge or Bamburgh, or in large tracts of the borders, though Redesdale was omitted from the assessment altogether on account of its lawlessness. In Newcastle one clerk in both All Saints' and St. Nicholas' parishes paid the tax, but none in St. Andrew's parish, or St. John's parish, except for an illuminator (illustrator). Judging by their second names, which were preceded by 'de' (of) in French records. Some tax payers or their forbears evidently came from Westmoreland, Cumberland and Yorkshire. Others had come from Coventry, Dover, Dunwich, Gloucester, Grimsby, Harlow, Hornby, Iver, Lincoln, Linton, London and Ludworth. Eleven were Scott or Scotte, three were Scoticus, and others evidently had roots in Dumfries, Dunbar, Galloway, Jedburgh, Perth and Roxburgh. One was called Wales and another Welsh. One may have come from Röskilde in Denmark, one may have been Flemish, while another was called Rome.<sup>40</sup>

In 1297 the king restored the bishop of Durham's rights and privileges.<sup>41</sup> Scots invaded Northumberland, but avoided Tynemouth priory, which had 80 armed men and others to support them.<sup>42</sup> Subsequently a Scottish army defeated an English army at Stirling Bridge, pillaged along the Tweed and north Tyne,<sup>43</sup> laid the country waste and slayed people. Survivors fled to Newcastle, and when townsmen sallied out the Scots turned away, though they met opposition at Alnwick and Berwick. For the first time two Newcastle freemen attended a parliament in York, which ordered an army to muster at Newcastle in 1298.<sup>44</sup> It went on to crush a Scottish army at Falkirk,<sup>45</sup> yet Scots reportedly burned all of Northumberland in 1299.<sup>46</sup> A state of war or armed truce would last for 300 years.

After taking a leading role at Falkirk the bishop of Durham had gone abroad. When he returned he quarrelled with the Durham prior, deposed and excommunicated him and locked up the priory. Both appealed to the king, but several of his advisors supported the prior and the king confiscated the bishop's lands.<sup>47</sup> In the early 1300s, after the bishop attacked the priory, the king suspended him and made him pay the prior £840. The pope backed the prior and suspended the bishop from office, yet his steward remarked that 'There are two kings in England, namely, the lord King of England wearing a crown in sign of his regality, and the lord Bishop of Durham wearing a mitre in place of a crown, in sign of his regality in the diocese of Durham'. After the bishop visited the pope,<sup>48</sup> the king restored his powers, yet the prior brought more charges and the king confiscated the bishop's lands again.<sup>49</sup>

In 1305 an English army defeated a Scottish army and captured the king,<sup>50</sup> who was taken to London, hanged until almost dead, emasculated, disembowelled and quartered.<sup>51</sup> In 1306 the pope appointed the bishop of Durham patriarch of Jerusalem, the senior cleric in England,<sup>52</sup> and in 1307 he conducted the king's funeral service at Westminster Abbey. The new king restored the bishop's lands and rights. In 1309, the new Durham prior promised he would not begin legal proceedings,<sup>53</sup> and in 1310 the new bishop surrendered his rights over Durham priory.<sup>54</sup>

In 1309 the wardens of the marches had become permanent officials.<sup>55</sup> They were effectively viceroys, with wide powers, including those of life and death. The East March of Scotland went from the North Sea to the Lammermuir hills, and the Middle March included Roxburghshire and the rest of Berwickshire. The East March of England included Northumberland, except for Tynedale and Redesdale, which were notorious for reivers (thieves). They were effectively viceroys, with wide powers, including those of life and death. The East March of Scotland went from the North Sea to the Lammermuir hills, while the Middle March included Roxburghshire and the rest of Berwickshire. The East March of England included Northumberland, except for Tynedale and Redesdale, which were notorious for reivers (thieves).<sup>56</sup> One leader was caught and executed,<sup>57</sup> though the Scots recaptured Berwick.<sup>58</sup>

In the early 1310s the king leased Berwick to its freemen for £200 a year, under the bishop's supervision, though the mayor and four bailiffs (officers) ordered that 'no burghess shall take a Scotchman for his apprentice'.<sup>59</sup> Scots raided north Northumberland and successfully demanded £2,000 before they left,<sup>60</sup> and the bishop appointed a baron to tackle the 'great number of vagabonds and disturbers of the peace'.<sup>61</sup> There were peace negotiations;<sup>62</sup> but Scots burned Hexham, Corbridge and Hartlepool.<sup>63</sup> The prior of Tynemouth was told to put the castle on a war footing,<sup>64</sup> and while 52,000 English infantry and 40,000 cavalry mustered at Berwick,<sup>65</sup> the Scots subsequently defeated them near Stirling. The Alnwick garrison had over 2,000 armed men,<sup>66</sup> yet Englishmen and Scots plundered Northumberland, and castles as far south as Newcastle and Tynemouth were the only places of safety.<sup>67</sup>

In 1319 Scots reached York's Bootham Bar, and in 1322 many Englishmen died in a battle with Scots near Boroughbridge, and the king narrowly escaped capture at Byland.<sup>68</sup> Some Northumberland people reportedly ate horses and dogs during a famine.<sup>69</sup> In 1323 a peace treaty for 13 years was agreed at Newcastle, yet the bishop of Durham ordered the restoration of the city's walls.<sup>70</sup> By 1325, after a decade of atrocious weather had caused famine across England,<sup>71</sup> the population had shrunk by up to 10 percent.<sup>72</sup> In 1326 the king granted eight towns a regional monopoly of exporting wool fells (skins with wool on) and hides, including Newcastle and York.

Beverley was the main settlement in east Yorkshire, and had sent two representatives to parliament in 1295. It was a centre of the region's wool trade, which it exported via Wyke on the Humber, and in 1299 the king granted Wyke the status of a royal borough as the King's Town upon Hull. By 1308, if not before, the incomplete Beverley Minster had boy choristers, and the school was at the south-west corner of the churchyard.<sup>73</sup> A lord was permitted to crenellate his manor house at nearby Leconfield, yet in 1313 a group of Beverley merchants sent £4,000's worth of goods to Flanders in three Flemish ships, and some had agents in Bruges.<sup>74</sup> Scots raided north Yorkshire in 1316,<sup>75</sup> and had to be bribed not to invade again in 1317.<sup>76</sup> In 1322 Scots forced the inhabitants of Beverley to pay blackmail,<sup>77</sup> and they petitioned the king for permission to build a wall, but had to remain content with ditches.<sup>78</sup>

The king died in 1327, and the new king was 14, so his mother and her lover wielded power.<sup>79</sup> The English recaptured Berwick, yet the Scots invaded and had to be paid before they went home.<sup>80</sup> In 1328 the English king's sister married the Scottish king at Berwick,<sup>81</sup> and the English parliament acknowledged Scotland as an independent country.<sup>82</sup> The English king got control of his royal powers in 1330,<sup>83</sup> though parliament was worried about the decline in French-speaking among the nobility.<sup>84</sup> The 'de' between first and second names was going out of use,<sup>85</sup> and surnames, some based on occupations, and preceded by 'le' (the), were more common in official documents.<sup>86</sup>

By 1334 York was the second most important provincial town in England. Newcastle's population was probably around 2,660, and it was the third most important.<sup>87</sup> The Scottish king paid homage to the English king there,<sup>88</sup> and surrendered the Scottish shireffdoms of Berwick, Roxburgh, Peebles, Dumfries and Edinburgh.<sup>89</sup> Scots ravaged the Tees valley in 1335,<sup>90</sup> and by 1337 Durham's wall went from the tower on Framwellgate Bridge, round the market and past Claypath Gate to Elvet Bridge.<sup>91</sup> Beverley was the 15<sup>th</sup> most important provincial town.<sup>92</sup>

In 1342 the king decreed that two men from Newcastle's 12 most powerful trades were to elect four from among themselves and choose eight other 'more trusty, better, and faithful men of the whole community'. These 12 were then to choose another 12 to make up the Four and Twenty who would elect the civic officers.<sup>93</sup> The border remained troubled, and in 1345 the supervisor of work on the Newcastle's keep was granted the right to crenellate his manor house at Whitley.<sup>94</sup> In 1346 a Scottish army reached just west of Durham, though an English army captured the Scottish king and pursued the rest up the Tyne valley.<sup>95</sup> The bishop had led the first English division, the archbishop of York and two lords the second, the bishop of Lincoln and a lord the third and the archbishop of Canterbury and another lord the fourth.<sup>96</sup> Reportedly, Scots never seriously threatened Durham again,<sup>97</sup> and the king and the pope allowed the monks of Tynemouth to manage their own affairs.<sup>98</sup>

Newcastle was almost destroyed by fire in 1349,<sup>99</sup> and half of York's 13,000 people may have died of plague.<sup>100</sup> Across England five percent of survivors were 65 or older, half were 21 or under and 35 to 40 percent were under 15. Wages rose. A master mason might earn 5½d a day, a carpenter 3d, and a labourer 1¾d.<sup>101</sup> The supply of land was greater than the demand, and some peasants refused to accept less than 3d for work that had previously paid ½d. The king ordered that all men and women, whether 'bond or free', who did not live by tilling the land, or who were merchants or craftsmen, had to work on the land for pre-famine wages.<sup>102</sup>

In 1351 parliament banned employers from hiring more workers than they needed, or paying higher wages than before the plague. Parliament also decreed that since 'many valiant beggars, as long as they may live of begging, do refuse to labour, giving themselves to idleness and vice, and sometimes to theft and other abomination', 'none, upon pain of imprisonment', should 'presume to favour them in their sloth'. Everyone aged from 15 to 60 had to work.<sup>103</sup> Husbandmen could pay labourers in corn at the statutory price of 6s 8d for a quarter of a ton, when the market price fell below that level, or in money when it rose above.<sup>104</sup> During the 1350s attempts to force serfs to work on their lord's land proved unsuccessful, and villeins' tenure began to change to copyhold (customary tenure).<sup>105</sup> In a century and a half three safe conducts had been issued to Englishmen to trade in Scotland, yet no



Scottish merchant had received permission to trade in England until the late 1350s, when two Scottish drovers were allowed to cross the border to sell livestock and other goods.<sup>106</sup>

Plague returned to England in 1361 and wages rose again. A master mason now might earn 6d a day, a carpenter 4½d and a labourer 3½d.<sup>107</sup> Magistrates were ordered to regulate wages, punish forestalling (buying large quantities of goods), and engrossing (the interception of goods on their way to market) to raise prices. They also had to enforce laws against 'sturdy beggars', plus recusants who refused to attend church and unlicensed ale-house keepers.<sup>108</sup> By 1363 parliamentary proceedings were sometimes recorded in English.<sup>109</sup>

In 1371 a parliamentary commission examined Beverley's defences, but little happened.<sup>110</sup> By 1377 England's population may have been around 2.5 million. London's was around 40,000, around 170,000 more lived in large towns, and over 400 in about 200 market towns. Including smaller towns around 12 percent of people were urbanised. Most villagers lived within eight miles of a market town, and on market days there might be two or three times as many visitors as inhabitants, and many more on fair days,<sup>111</sup> from up to five miles away, and up to ten miles in remote regions.<sup>112</sup> The king died, and his 10-year-old grandson succeeded him.

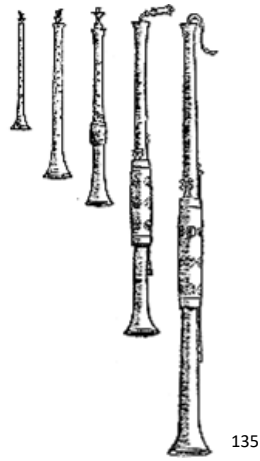
York's cloth exports had boomed.<sup>113</sup> Its population was almost 7,250 and it was the most important provincial town in England.<sup>114</sup> In Beverley 2,663 people were taxed, suggesting a population of around 5,000, which made it the 10<sup>th</sup> largest town outside London.<sup>115</sup> County Durham's population was around 24,500,<sup>116</sup> including about 2,000 in Durham.<sup>117</sup> In Newcastle 2,647 people were taxed, and so its population was not far short of 5,000, and it was the 11<sup>th</sup> most important provincial town.<sup>118</sup> Northumberland's population was around 30,000,<sup>119</sup> though Simonburn parish, which covered over 150,000 acres, was so sparsely populated that the tithes could not pay for a priest.<sup>120</sup> Berwick masons earned 3d a day, other journeymen (skilled workers) 2d and servants and boys 1½d.<sup>121</sup>

Across much of southern England feudal relations had virtually disappeared,<sup>122</sup> and most lords had ceased to farm their land with serf labour.<sup>123</sup> For decades the nobility had spoken and written a sort of 'Franglais', and in 1379 one southerner thought a northern English nobleman was a Scot. Around 1380 Geoffrey Chaucer was the court poet in London.<sup>124</sup> He was the son of a London vintner, and wrote in London English, and he made two poor university scholars from Durham swear by 'seint Cutberd' in *The Reeves' Tale*.<sup>125</sup> Oxford and Cambridge students were organised into northern and southern 'nations' for disciplinary purposes,<sup>126</sup> yet musicians moved around.

## **(ii) Minstrels and waits**

In the early 1200s an earl's army had lifted a Welsh siege of Chester. He had a 'tumultuous rout' of fiddlers and other musicians and subsequently gave a lord power over them and other itinerants in Cheshire. The lord conferred his authority on his steward, who held a court in Chester on Midsummer Day, and a minstrel who wished to obtain a licence had to give him or his family four flagons of wine and 4½d.<sup>127</sup> In 1277 Robert Parvus, the 'King of the Minstrels', received 12d a day in Berwick during its fortification. The king's minstrels in London were minor servants, though the 'string men' who played instruments were the elite. In the 1280s the king gave a silver-gilt cup worth 59s 2d to a minstrel from the court of Burgundy and 2s 5d to a harper. The harper and another minstrel received seven ells (8¾ yards) of striped burnet, a brownish cloth, for their 'parti-coloured gown', and fur and budge (lambs' wool) for their hoods. The queen gave a minstrel of the French king £2, and a minstrel of the court of Flanders £5. In 1290 a princess gave a French minstrel £3 6s 8d, and a minstrel of the Marshall of Champagne £5 for playing at a royal wedding at Westminster.<sup>128</sup> The harper Le Roy ('King') Capenny (James de Cowpen from Northumberland) played at that wedding, and in the late 1290s the bishop of Durham brought Capenny and the harper Dureme to the wedding of another princess at Ipswich, and they both received £1. Most of the ten harpers had recently been involved in the king's raid into Scotland, and while they may have taken part in the fighting, their main task was to note acts of prowess and make songs to recite after battles and then polish them for future performance, and Capenny became a king's herald soon after, since he possessed military knowledge and knew the strengths and weaknesses of the Scottish lords. Minstrels did not necessarily sing in French, though some may have known a little Latin.<sup>129</sup> Those who wore the livery of the king, a nobleman, archbishop or bishop, played at the principal feasts, and for the rest of the time they were itinerants.<sup>130</sup> Richard Whirlepipyn played on both sides of the border.<sup>131</sup>

In 1296 London gatekeepers were ordered to employ a 'weyt' or watchman.<sup>132</sup> In some towns and cities they were also musicians,<sup>133</sup> and many played shawms. The treble shawm was an ancestor of the oboe, the alto and tenor shawms were ancestors of the cor anglais and bassoon, and there were also bass and great bass shawms. Most musical instruments were hand-made and had no standard form. Shawms were usually made from one piece of wood and had a large coarse reed, a conical bore and a long and flared bell.<sup>134</sup>



In 1298 Robert le Taborer (who played a portable snare drum, and was named after his trade and not his or his family's place of origin) accompanied an earl to Scotland with a letter of protection from the English king,<sup>136</sup> who attended a service at a chapel in Heaton near Newcastle in 1299, where a boy-bishop and other boys sang vespers, and the king gave them £2.<sup>137</sup> The 'bishop' would have been a chorister dressed in bishop's robes, with a mitre and crozier, and be attended by other choristers dressed as priests.<sup>138</sup>

By the early 1300s nakers, two small kettledrums attached by a strap around the waist, or larger ones set on the ground, were in use, as was the Welsh crwth, a bowed or plucked lyre, usually with three pairs of strings, while a cornett was a horn with two holes which produced a single scale without elaboration.<sup>139</sup> Henry de Blida (Blyth), the 'old king's minstrel', entertained the crown prince at Newcastle and received 6s 8d for a tunic. John de Greyndone, the bishop of Durham's minstrel, received a silver-gilt cup worth £3 6s 8d for taking a gift to the king at Burstwick near Hull, and £2 for playing for him.<sup>140</sup> The bishop's harper Guilleme Gillot brought a sparrow-hawk to the king when he was near Beverley, and he gave 'King Copyn, herald' (Capenny), a gold clasp worth £4 10s. On 31 May 1306 119 minstrels were present at a Pentecost feast at Westminster, including 30 who served the king, one the queen, and 14 the crown prince and other royal children, while 12 were from earls' households, five from countesses' and 22 from barons' and knights'. One served the abbot of Abingdon, three served ladies, eight served king's officers and six were from abroad. There were 26 harpers,<sup>141</sup> including the bishop of Durham's Guilleme le Harpou and John de Grendon (Greyndone), who received 10s and 13s 6d respectively,<sup>142</sup> though Capenny got £4 15s.<sup>143</sup>

Minstrels accompanied the king on his campaigns in France. Two received 10s apiece for playing at Ghent, and the king gave a gold clasp worth £3 to a minstrel of the court of Flanders. Back in England Nicolaus le Blund, the king's harper, received £2 3s 4d, and 6s 8d for expenses, at York. Some names were not recorded in Latinised form. Gygor and another German who played a geige, a stringed instrument, received a pennyworth of bread and a pennyworth of wine for two days at court, and 26s 8d at Berwick. William de Hathewy and Gilbert who played a vielle, a bowed stringed instrument, received 6s 8d and 13s 4d for playing for the king at York. Henry, a German geige-player, received £1 for 'certain necessities' at Eston in north Yorkshire, plus 8s 2d for firewood and litter (probably kindling) and 13s 4d for 'necessaries' at Westminster. Henry and Scondred, another king's geige-player, received 13s 4d in York, and two Genevan minstrels played for the crown prince at Newcastle and Durham. One received 6s 8d for a tunic and both received £1 for their return journey. They received £3 16s from a merchant for remaining in London for 102 days, and a Darlington merchant was reimbursed the 30s he had loaned them. Le Blund received £1 for a visit to York, while de Blida, now the crown prince's musician, earned 4½d a day for 64 days, and a nakerer received 8s for playing for the crown prince in Durham. Robert of York received £2 10s to buy trumpets for himself and a musician in London, and a Genevan minstrel played at court. In the year to spring 1307 de Cliderhou (Clitheroe in Lancashire) received 5s 4d for playing at Newborough in Tynedale, and Elena and Ricard Pilke, the king's waferers, made wafers to eat after dinner at court and also played music, and the trumpeters Johannes Trumpator and his son attended the king at Burgh-on-Sands near Carlisle on the day he died.

By the early 1310s de Blida owned a bay horse worth £6 13s 4d and employed a groom. A king's nakerer passed on 3s to a trumpeter in Berwick. John Scot, one of the crown prince's boy choristers, received 3s, while John the organist received a contract in Berwick and another in Newcastle. A king's harper received £5 and £2 at Berwick, then 6s 8d in Newcastle, and Franceskin received 2s. John the organist received 4½d a day for 200 days at court, though he was owed £2 17s 0½d. Robert le Taborer received £1 6s 8d at Berwick and had a horse worth £20, and Ricard Pilke received 13s 4d. A piper whose bag was made of goatskin received £2 in Berwick for having played for the king in London and £1 for a new outfit when he was in York. A lord's minstrel received £1 from the king, and John Scot received 3s and 2s in London. A minstrel from the court of Champagne received £2 for playing for the

king, and others received £24 13s 4d for playing for him at York. One of them later got £2 for taking pearls to him at Newcastle, then returned to Berwick at 12d a day, for a total of £7 13s. A French minstrel and 54 actors danced naked in front of the king and queen in London, and they gave the minstrel 2s 9d. A Lombardy minstrel received 3s for playing for the king with snakes, and the king of France's minstrel received £2 to return.<sup>144</sup> The king limited the number of uninvited liveried minstrels visiting lords' houses to three or four a day, and if they visited lesser people's houses uninvited they would lose their protected status. In the later 1310s, in the midst of attempts to lower the costs of the royal household, the king insisted that his favourite minstrels received 7½d a day even when they were not at court, and a woman dressed as a minstrel delivered rode into Westminster hall and handed the king a letter that contained a riddling remonstrance.<sup>145</sup> At York Parvus received £3 10s for his wages and the loss of two horses in the year to spring 1317, and later £2 0s 10d for two grooms and horses and £ 1 13s 2½d for a livery. In the year to spring 1320 a nakerer received £1 for both his summer and winter outfits at York, and Brian the waferer, a court minstrel, received 12d for 15 days at Berwick.<sup>146</sup> In 1328 an English princess married the Scottish king at Berwick amid a 'flourish of trumpets, bugles' and a 'mynstrels' chorus'.<sup>147</sup> The English king gave a group of minstrels £13 6s 8d in 1341 and another £31 6s 8d in 1345. He went to war in France with musicians,<sup>148</sup> including five trumpeters, five pipers, three waits, two clarinettists, a citoler (a holly-leaf shaped stringed instrument like a short lute and plucked with a plectrum), a taborer and a fiddler.<sup>149</sup>

Some musicians earned a living in towns. A guild was a religious fraternity for mutual aid, and the word was reportedly based on the Old English term *gield* or *gild*, which signified a payment, offering or sacrifice,<sup>150</sup> and some helped sick and needy members financially.<sup>151</sup> The word *mystery* for a craft reportedly came from the term *mastery*.<sup>152</sup> The main difference between them was that the members a *mystery* had no say in the governance of a town or a city, while guild members were freemen and could take apprentices.<sup>153</sup> London's corporation employed minstrels by 1334.<sup>154</sup> Across England some guilds put on plays on Corpus Christi day between 21 May and 24 June, and the civic authorities held copies of the texts. The guilds produced banns (announcements), and though hardly any surviving texts include notated music, guilds in some towns hired a choir master, singing men and choristers from a local church, who could read Latin and understood plainsong notation, and some boys who played the organ were included in a select group trained in polyphony,<sup>155</sup> which was plainsong with an accompaniment sung below or above the melody. By 1350 a Guild of Minstrels had been established in London, and its ordinances (rules) were in French. Members paid 13d a year, and any who became too old to work, fell into poverty, suffered illness, maiming, robbery or other loss of property, imprisonment or an act of God, without it being their fault, would receive 14d, and where possible, a loan to help him get started again; though any who caused offence or strife and refused to apologise when asked three times would be expelled. All members had to attend the funeral of a deceased brother and the Guild would pay for 30 masses for his soul. The Guild had £2 4s 5d and was owed 8s.<sup>156</sup>

In 1352 the crown prince bought four silver-gilt and enamelled pipes with pouches for his minstrels,<sup>157</sup> and Walter Hert attended a school of minstrelsy before returning to court in London.<sup>158</sup> In the early 1360s William Volauant was made 'King of the Heralds and Minstrels' in London, and in 1380, on the day of the Assumption of our Lady (15 August), minstrels elected a 'King' at Tutbury in Staffordshire, and the duke of Lancaster approved.<sup>159</sup> In 1381 the king delegated control of musicians north of the Trent, except for Cheshire, to the Tutbury minstrel 'King' and his four officers, who settled controversies, enacted laws and arrested any who failed to attend.<sup>160</sup>

By the 1390s nine million sheep's fleeces were exported each year,<sup>161</sup> and Geoffrey Chaucer composed a scientific work in English.<sup>162</sup> By 1399 most land north of the Trent belonged to the duke of Lancaster, and the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, who helped the duke to usurp the throne.<sup>163</sup> He spoke his oath in English. His court followed suit, and the usurper was the first monarch to write in English.<sup>164</sup>

### **(iii) Stationers, booksellers, textwriters, scriveners and limners**

In the later 1300s London stationers included booksellers and a scrivener could be any professional writer. Many wrote legal documents, and some specialised in conveyancing, petitions and wills, while others were public notaries or accountants. Textwriters wrote liturgies, psalters, hymnals, breviaries, creeds, paternosters, other prayers and saints' lives, and limners illustrated books. Most belonged to a separate guild, but in 1357 a Gild of Writers of the Court Hand and Text Letters was established in London, and stationers, scriveners and textwriters were exempted from jury service in sheriffs' courts.<sup>165</sup> In 1374 the king decreed that only Oxford and Cambridge university stationers or their sworn deputies could sell books costing more than 13s 4d.<sup>166</sup> Almost every official document was in Latin.<sup>167</sup> Few nobles were fluent in English, though some had books read to them at home, and their sons learned English at school. Fees of up to 10d a week were too much for most parents, yet around ten percent of adult males in the countryside and 20 percent in towns were probably literate.



By 1400, in spite of outbreaks of plague in the 1380s and 1390s, the English population was probably around 2.5 million.<sup>168</sup> The smallest town had at least one retail shop, and across the country there were two or three dozen annual fairs. Large ones sold every known article and the biggest were international markets.<sup>169</sup> In larger towns some grocers, who sold things by the gross (144) and mercers, who sold fine cloth, sold manuscripts and writing material and visited the major fairs;<sup>170</sup> yet writing could be dangerous. Early in 1401 parliament passed a law about the 'false and perverse people of a certain new sect' who wrote books, 'wickedly instruct and inform people' and 'commit subversion' of the Catholic faith'. Their 'preachings, doctrines, and opinions, should from henceforth cease and be utterly destroyed', and anyone who had their books or any of their writings were to deliver them to the local bishop in 40 days. If anyone did not deliver them, then the bishop, or persons acting on his behalf, should arrest them. If they failed to abjure their heretical beliefs, or relapsed after an initial abjuration, they would be burned at the stake to 'strike fear into the minds of others'.<sup>171</sup> The sect in question was the Lollards, the followers of John Wycliffe, and in March a Lollard priest was burned at Smithfield, just outside the city of London.<sup>172</sup> In 1403 the 'Writers of Text Letter, those commonly called Limners, and other good people, citizens of London, who use to bind and sell books', wanted to form a single association and petitioned the mayor and aldermen in legal French. The mayor's clerk translated it into Latin, and subsequently recorded their success. One limner and one text-writer were to be elected as wardens for a year, be responsible for 'good rule and governance', and present any members deemed 'disloyal' to the city governor, who would punish those he thought guilty.<sup>173</sup> In 1406 every Englishman was legally permitted to send a son or daughter to school to learn Latin.<sup>174</sup> There was another great plague across England in 1410,<sup>175</sup> and the king died in 1413. By 1417 the London Stationers' guild had merged with the Textwriters and Limners.<sup>176</sup> By then the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland ruled the land from the Trent to the border.<sup>177</sup> The king died in France in 1422, and his nine-month-old son succeeded him.<sup>178</sup>

Chapmen sold cheap goods, and most probably walked, since a packhorse cost from 5s to 10s and a good riding horse from £4 to £5. Around 15 miles a day was a good distance to travel on horseback, while fodder and stabling cost 1½d a night in summer and 2½d in winter, a bed at an inn cost up to 1d a night and a meal around 2d. Laws were written in French, and the discriminatory law of Englescherie remained in force until around 1430.<sup>179</sup> When the king was 16, in 1437, he took control of his royal powers.<sup>180</sup> By 1443 he saw itinerants as a problem, and minstrels in particular. He supported the Tutbury court, and in 1449 he gave his own minstrels more power.

Whereas many rude husbandmen and artificers of England, feigning to be minstrels and some of them wearing the king's livery and so feigning to be the king's minstrels, collect in certain parts of the realm great exactions of money of the king's lieges by virtue of their livery and art, and though they be unskilled therein and use divers arts on working days and receive sufficient money thence, they fare from place to place on festivals and take the profits, wherefrom the king's minstrels and others, skilled in the art (of music) and using no other labours or misteries, should live: the king has appointed William Langton, Walter Haliday, William Maysham, Thomas Radcliff, Robert Marshall, William Wykes, and John Cliff, king's minstrels, to enquire throughout the realm, except the county of Chester, touching all such and to punish them, to hold the same inquisition themselves or by deputies during good behaviour.

Copies of this document were sent to sheriffs throughout the country, with a request that they assist his minstrels in carrying out the inquisition,<sup>181</sup> and he appointed Langton as their marshal.<sup>182</sup>

The king owed £372,000. In the century to 1450 wool exports had fallen from over 40,000 sacks to no more than 9,000, while cloth exports had risen from under 10,000 to 60,000 sacks. The struggle between Yorkists and Lancastrians of Norman heritage had polarised. The Yorkists lost a battle near Ludlow in 1459, yet in 1461 they routed the Lancastrians at Towton near Selby in Yorkshire. They killed the king, and a Yorkist took the throne.

In 1469 the new king noted that 'certain ignorant rustics and craftsmen of various callings' had 'falsely represented themselves' as minstrels, and some pretended to be his minstrels. The charter of the Guild of Royal Minstrels was like that of 'the brothers and sisters of the Fraternity of Minstrels of our Kingdom in times past', and the king appointed Walter Haliday as their marshal for life. He would be in charge of seven others, including two with the same surname. They would elect two wardens every year as governors and were to supervise all English minstrels, except in Cheshire, and ensure that they were properly trained and paid the 3s 4d to join the Guild.<sup>183</sup> By 1472 professional musicians in London may have formed an organisation,<sup>184</sup> and the duties of the king's court waits from 29 September to the day before Good Friday were established by 1475.

A WAYTE, that nightely from Mychelmas to Shreve Thorasdaye *pipethe watche* within this courte fowere tymes; in the Someres nightes three tymes, and makethe *bon gayte* at every chambere doare and offyce, as well as for feare of pyckeres and pillars [thieves]. He eatethe in the halle with Mynstrelles, and takethe lyverey at nighte a loafe, a galone of ale, and for Somere nightes two candles [of] pich, and a bushel of coles; and for Wintere nightes halfe a loaf of bread, a galone of ale, four candles pich, a bushel coles: Daylye whilste he is presente in Court for his wages, in Cheque-roale, allowed *iiii d ob*.

[4½d] or else iii d [3d] by the discesshon of the Steuarde and Tressorore, and that after his cominge and deserving: Also cloathing with the Houshold Yeomen or Mynstrelles lyke to the wages that he takethe: An he be sycke, he taketh two loaves, two messe of great meate, one galone ale. Also he parteth with the household general gyfts, and hathe his beddinge carried by the Comptrolleres assignment; and, under this yeoman, to be a Groome-Waitere. Yf he can excuse the yeoman in his absence, then he takethe rewarde, clotheinge, meat, and all other things lyke to other Grooms of Houshold. Also this Yeoman-Waighthe, at the making of Knightes of the Bathe, for his attendance upon them by nighte-time, in watching in the Chapele, hathe to his fee all the watchinge clothing that the Knight shall wear upon him.<sup>185</sup>

In the countryside peasants' labour services were being commuted to cash and copyhold was developing, while yeoman was a well-to-do peasant who held at least 60 acres by custom or freehold and employed one or two labourers.<sup>186</sup>

Some of the 20 chapmen known to have been at work in England before the 1470s may have sold manuscripts,<sup>187</sup> which were hideously expensive,<sup>188</sup> when skilled building workers earned from £5 to £7 a year;<sup>189</sup> and the king had to rely on local magistrates, corporations and other bodies, especially in the north, to police itinerants.

#### (iv) Beverley and York

By 1340 Beverley Minster had had carved stone figures above the nave which resembled musicians and singers. One was of an angel playing a shawm, while the figure above had his hands placed firmly over his ears.<sup>190</sup>



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By 1358 Hull had a Corpus Christi guild,<sup>192</sup> though the centre of the wool trade had moved to the west of England. Beverley's economy was in decline.<sup>193</sup> The wait Roberto Closse left to be a York wait,<sup>194</sup> and work on Beverley Minster ceased in 1349 on account of the Black Death. In 1359 the town received a royal charter which required outgoing Keepers to nominate 18 men who had not been Keepers for three years, and the freemen were to choose 12 of them. They could make new laws and regulations, charge rents, rates and duties, keep up ancient customs and punish wrong-doers if the whole body of freemen agreed. In summer 1377 the guilds put on Corpus Christi plays. Minstrels announced the banns around the town,<sup>195</sup> and the plays were mentioned in the Tailors' ordinances.<sup>196</sup>

By the 1380s Beverley waits acted as watchmen on the walls and at the gates, took part in the April Rogationtide procession and entertained the people at public events, and there were more statues of musicians and their instruments in the Minster. In May 1381 the king sought to impose a poll tax. The poorest were to pay 1s and the richest £1, and there was armed resistance in southern England. In Beverley two chamberlains replaced the Keepers. On 3 June a man who opposed the change had his brains knocked out, and the leader of those in favour was murdered. The 'less sufficient' freemen, who were mainly craftsmen, went to the houses of wealthy merchants, carrying arms, and threatened to kill them and burn their houses unless they deposited large sums of money to guarantee that they supported the change, yet the king ordered that the money be sent to his London chancery. In spring 1382, after the Beverley freemen cancelled the bonds, and the king pardoned them for £729 6s 8d. By 1386 the Keepers were back in the saddle,<sup>197</sup> and in 1390 they ordered the 39 guilds to perform Corpus Christi plays as they had done before.<sup>198</sup> In 1391 the 'under master of the scholars' at the Minster looked after eight choristers, who each received 1d for taking part in the services for the souls of the king, queen and two lords, and a clerk received 2d.

By the early 1400s the Grammar School had 33 pupils. Choristers were taught free of charge, but others had to pay.<sup>199</sup> In 1405 two waits received 40d a year and shared £1 16s. 8d in the year to spring 1408.<sup>200</sup> In 1409 there were 36 Corpus Christi plays, and while only their titles survive, some had music.<sup>201</sup> By 1424 the waits wore the town's livery with an embroidered collar, badge and silver chain. They were paid extra for announcing the Corpus Christi

plays,<sup>202</sup> and the chamberlains paid a Dominican friar for composing the banns in 1431. The plays included eight by religious guilds and 20 by craft guilds.<sup>203</sup> Precious metal workers made silver escutcheons for the waits in 1433 and gold chains in 1434. In 1436 they were elected for one year at the feast of St. Mark (25 April), but had to provide security for the escutcheons. In 1438 three of them received £ 1 16s 8d a year, though their boy servant's 10s yearly wages were subtracted from their salaries in 1440.<sup>204</sup> In 1460 the waits evidently received no fee, but they got 10s for their liveries at Christmas, and in 1461 the Northern Guild of Musicians met in Beverley 40 days after Easter,<sup>205</sup> and not in York.

York was the administrative centre of the largest English diocese, which included all of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire and parts of Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland.<sup>206</sup> In 1306 a caucus which included the mayor formed a guild, swore to support each other in lawsuits, even against their own families, and controlled tax assessments, but paid nothing themselves. When the conspiracy was discovered they were temporarily suspended from citizenship, but were soon back in the saddle.<sup>207</sup> York may have had waits since the 1270s and Thomas le Wayte lived in Walmegate in 1304. Willelmus de Burgh was a harper in 1319, Willelmus de Lyncoln was a piper in 1340, while Adam de Torkosay was an 'organister' (organ player) and Henry le Marechall was a 'fitheler' in 1343. The earliest surviving mention of a shawm came that year, and by 1349 Johannes de Kokerham was an organister. Rogerus Wayte was a piper in 1363 and Johannes de Topcliffe made harps in 1365.<sup>208</sup> The wait Ralph Wayt received 10s for his half-year's fee in the year to spring 1367,<sup>209</sup> and Willelmus de Cayton was a piper in 1373.

Clerics sometimes hired musicians. In 1371 the Minster had paid minstrels 13s 4d for playing during the four days of Pentecost and 3s 4d at the feast of St. William, the city's patron saint, in June. In 1375 St. Leonard's Hospital paid minstrels 3s 4d on their feast day in November. In 1378 the Hospital gave minstrels 2s, and one an extra 6d.<sup>210</sup>

In November 1380 the lesser freemen chased away the mayor and attacked the Guildhall, threatening to kill the oligarchy unless they supported them. In June 1381, after news of the peasants' revolt in the south arrived, lesser freemen partly destroyed walls, gates and property, and in July they attacked Bootham Bar,<sup>211</sup> yet they failed to gain control of the town.<sup>212</sup>

In 1385, on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary (2 February), St. Leonard's Hospital paid two minstrels 4d and minstrels 6s 8d on their feast day. In 1391 Johannes de Stillington was a piper and Thomas de Melton was a wait, while Willelmus de Langton was a minstrel by 1393.<sup>213</sup>

In 1396 the king established his Council of North in York, and made it a city and county in its own right, with a mayor, one council of 12 aldermen and one of 24, who were mainly craftsmen,<sup>214</sup> and two annually elected sheriffs.<sup>215</sup> That year the chamberlains paid minstrels 13s 4d for performing at the feast of Corpus Christi and gave minstrels of the king and lords a total of £7 7s 4d. In 1397 the Minster paid minstrels 6s 8d on the feast of St. William and 26s at Pentecost, and £1 19s 4d in 1398.

In 1403 the Minster paid minstrels £1 at Pentecost and 6s 8d at the feast of St. William, but 13s 4d in 1405.<sup>216</sup> In 1415 a list of the guilds responsible for Corpus Christi plays mentioned no musicians. From 1425 the Minster choir was unusual in having six trebles and six 'means', who probably had a vocal range between a treble and a tenor,<sup>217</sup> and Johannes de Seymour was an organ maker.<sup>218</sup> In 1427 the Minster gave minstrels £1 6s 8d for playing at Pentecost and the feast of St. William. In 1433 the civic chamberlains paid £1 7s 10d for the winter liveries of what were known as the three 'city minstrels',<sup>219</sup> and they paid other minstrels £1.<sup>220</sup> In 1438 the chaplain of Bubwith near Selby bequeathed 'all my books of pricknote' (notated music), a portable breviary (a book of prayers) in two volumes and a song book.<sup>221</sup>

Johannes Shene was a York minstrel and wait by 1440. In time for Christmas 1442 the chamberlains paid 29s for striped and light blue cloth for the three waits. They had been retained all year, though only in winter from 1443. They each received £1 or £1 10s on All Saints' Day (1 November), or from the feast of the nativity of St. John (7 January to the day before Easter Sunday).<sup>222</sup> In 1445 the chamberlains paid 17s 8d for striped cloth for the waits' summer livery, and 13s 4d for 'Reid melde' (red cloth of various colours) in time for Christmas. In 1446 Hugo Loyter, the bishop of Durham's minstrel, received 12d, three others 8d, three Newcastle minstrels 20d, the earl of Northumberland and Sir Thomas Percy's minstrels 20d each, and two French minstrels 8d, yet the king's minstrels got £1, and the city's minstrels received 20d on the feast of St. William and 3s 4d at Christmas. In 1447 three of the earl of Northumberland's minstrels got 2d, Henry Percy's minstrel 12d, two Newcastle minstrels 12d and the king's minstrels £1, while the city minstrels received 20d on the feast of St. William and 3s 4d at Christmas. In 1448 three Beverley minstrels got 18d, three of John Percy of Cleveland's minstrels got 7d, the earl of Northumberland's minstrel and a lord's minstrel got 16d, though two king's minstrels received 13s 4d. The bishop of Durham attended the king's visit to the Minster, and the city minstrels received a total of 4s 4d. In 1449 Hugh Luter and another minstrel of the bishop of Durham received 20d, Robert, a Durham minstrel, and Hardyng of Newcastle got 6d, while the earl of Northumberland's minstrel got 6d and 8d on another occasion. Three Beverley minstrels got 12d and the city minstrels got 20d on the feast of St. William and 3s 4d at Christmas, yet seven king's minstrels received

23s 4d.<sup>223</sup> Since 1446 268 groups of minstrels, including 400 individuals, had visited the city, and 190 were king's minstrels. Most others were the liveried retainers of lords, knights and esquires, 17 were town minstrels, along with a blind minstrel from the south and a 'Minstrel of God', who may have been a monk.<sup>224</sup> In the year to spring 1450 the Mercers paid £1 to the 'Aungels of oure pageant' on Corpus Christi day, and around this time the chamberlains paid 8s and 10s to either the musical director or the leading player.<sup>225</sup>

In 1450 three king's minstrels received 10s, while the city's minstrels got 3s 4d at Easter, 20d on the vigil of St. John the Baptist (24 June), 20d on the feast of St. William and 3s 4d at Christmas. In 1451 five king's minstrels got 16s 8d and the city minstrels received similar amounts as before.<sup>226</sup> In the year to spring 1452 the Mercers paid Wrangle 6s 8d for 'plaiying of our pageants' on Corpus Christi day.<sup>227</sup> That year six king's minstrels got £1 on the exultation of the Holy Cross (14 September), and the city minstrels received 20d on the feast of Corpus Christi and 6s 8d for blue cloth of various shades, and an unknown amount for striped cloth. In 1453 six king's minstrels received £1, and the striped cloth and poor light blue cloth for the city minstrels cost £1 17s 4d. Just before Christmas 1454 their striped cloth and light blue cloth cost £4 2s 11d.<sup>228</sup> In 1457 a chaplain bequeathed a pair of clavichords and a 'ballad book'. The Minster paid the Dominican friar, John Roose, for copying organ music.<sup>229</sup>

In 1461 St. Leonard's Hospital gave minstrels 3s 4d. In 1462 five king's minstrels received 16s 8d in summer and 8s 4d in November, and one got an extra 2s 4d, while a king's taborer got 12d. In time for Christmas the city minstrels receive grey woollen cloth costing £1 6s. In 1468 the chamberlains paid them 40s 8d for their usual fees and blue motley cloth, though seven king's minstrels received £1.<sup>230</sup> In 1469 the Minster paid Roose for copying organ music. Walterus Kirkby was a minstrel in 1472, as was Johannes Swynbourne in 1475, and Edwardus Boyse was an organ maker. In 1483 the wait Shene died, though Edward Skerne was a minstrel.<sup>231</sup> The city minstrels' cloth cost £1 6s. In 1477 'those who know how to sing better' were told to stand next to those in silken copes in the Corpus Christi procession,<sup>232</sup> 'singing as they go'.<sup>233</sup> Six king's minstrels received £1, and four minstrels of the crown prince received 6s 8d, while the three city minstrels received £1 6s 8d for russet cloth.<sup>234</sup> In 1484 the aldermen paid 2d apiece towards the waits' fees, better-off freemen paid 1d, and others paid nothing.<sup>235</sup>

York had a book trade. The earliest known stationer had been active in London by 1311, yet the king paid a York stationer for writing his accounts in the year to spring 1319. The production of books was laborious. Parchment made from sheepskin or calfskin was extremely expensive, yet the ordinances of York's guild of parchmeners probably dates from the late 1390s, while those of the guild of 'escriveners de tixt' (textwriters) probably date from the early 1400s, and in 1415 the parchmeners and bookbinders put on a Corpus Christi play. A Masham gentleman died that year and left a book of the Revelations of St. Bridget which he had bought in Beverley, and a York chapman who died in 1446 left some books. In 1449 a Minister canon bequeathed an old missal (liturgy) valued at £1 6s 8d, a breviary at £11 3s 6d, a large Sarum (Salisbury) breviary at £2 13s 5d and a glossed psalter at £2. A textwriter became a freeman, as did another and a parchmener in 1450, and a gentlewoman bequeathed a psalter illuminated with gold. The Latin *Mainz Psalter* of 1457 reached York, and the guild of Corpus Christi's charter was dated 1458,<sup>236</sup> and around 1476 the bookbinders formed a guild.<sup>237</sup>

Incomers from the far north of England were suspect in York. A man from Cheswyk in Northumberland who had become a 'fissher' had had to secure written testimony from a gentlemen and a priest to prove that he was not a Scot in 1477. In 1479 a man born in Hexhamshire had to get the Hexham prior, a priest, and several gentlemen and yeomen to attest that he was a 'trewe English man'. In 1481 a glove-maker had to prove he had been born in Bishop Auckland in County Durham; and another man had to get four knights, including the 'lieutenant' (warden) of the East March, to confirm that he had been born in Norham in Northumberland.<sup>238</sup>

## (v) Durham

Around 1208 the wife of a lord from northern France who was also lord of Barnard Castle and Gainford in County Durham, bore a son. John later married a lord's daughter from Galloway in Scotland, and by around 1250 she had become very wealthy. The king appointed her husband as joint protector of the young Scottish king, and he was one of the king's leading counsellors by 1258,<sup>239</sup> but in 1260 he had a dispute with the bishop of Durham, who had him whipped, and demanded a substantial act of charity. By 1263 he had rented a property in Broad Street, Oxford, for scholars, and after he died in 1269 his widow guaranteed the future of Balliol College.<sup>240</sup>

This was not the first Oxford college with north-east connections. The rector of Wearmouth in County Durham had founded University College, Oxford, in 1249,<sup>241</sup> and the city had a stationer by 1262.<sup>242</sup> The term was based on the Latin *statio*, a stall or shop.<sup>243</sup> (The earliest-known stationer in Cambridge was at work by 1271.)<sup>244</sup> By 1278 Durham priory monks were studying in Oxford, and monks from Darlington by the late 1280s.<sup>245</sup> By 1291 Durham priory had founded Durham College in Oxford. Six to ten monks elected a prior, studied philosophy and theology,

selected lay scholars and taught them Latin and philosophy. They were paid to assist the monks in their daily tasks, and they were all meant to stay for seven or eight years, though the college had no separate income.<sup>246</sup> Durham priory had dependent cells at Coldingham priory in Berwickshire, Farne and Holy island priories in Northumberland, Finchale priory, and small cells at Jarrow and Monk Wearmouth, in County Durham, Lytham priory in Lancashire, St. Leonard's priory near Stamford in Lincolnshire, and Durham College, Oxford.<sup>247</sup>

Scots burned Hexham's school in 1296,<sup>248</sup> yet the city of Durham had had a parchmener and an illuminator by 1304.<sup>249</sup> In Northumberland there was a school in Morpeth's All Saints' Church, and in 1310 Alnwick freemen appointed Adam Rose as master at £4 a year. He was equipped 'with learning, not extracted from ... Rome, but with all the knowledge of the Arabs', which he had acquired at 'Cordova' (Cordoba) in Spain. Schoolboys had to translate from Latin to French and vice versa, and were forbidden to speak English even in the playground.<sup>250</sup> Around this time a Northumberland landowner pawned three books with the master of the Hospital of Our Lady in Westgate, Newcastle,<sup>251</sup> and in 1314 two Berwick boys went out to search for a songbook outside the walls during a siege, and were accused of 'trafficking' with the Scots, but were subsequently cleared.<sup>252</sup> In 1336 Adam Chepman of Woodburn of Redesdale in Northumberland was wealthy enough to have to pay 2s towards a lay subsidy.<sup>253</sup>

In 1316 the new bishop of Durham had not been able to read all the Latin documents at his consecration.<sup>254</sup> In 1327 a Frenchman saw Durham as 'the last outpost of civilisation'. He noted that while noblemen could read French, they spoke it badly.<sup>255</sup> In the early 1340s the bishop visited booksellers in France, Germany and Italy.<sup>256</sup> He owned more books than all the other English bishops put together, and wrote one about how to look after them in 1344.<sup>257</sup> The bedrooms in his manor houses contained so many that it was difficult to cross the floor without treading on one, and after he died in 1345 it took five carts to take them all away.<sup>258</sup> By the early 1360s the Newcastle grocer John Spycer supplied quires of 24 sheets of paper to Durham priory, and in 1377 it employed Guillelmus de Stiphel from Brittany to write books.<sup>259</sup> Coldingham priory was 75 north of Durham priory, and in 1378 the Scottish king replaced the monks at Coldingham with Scottish monks.<sup>260</sup> From that year there were two popes.<sup>261</sup>

By 1381 the bishop of Durham's Wearmouth tenants paid most dues in money, including 6s instead of a 'milch cow' (one which provided milk) on St. Martin's Day (11 November).<sup>262</sup> When the bishop died he left £3,000 at interest which provided Durham College with £200 a year.<sup>263</sup> He stipulated that eight monks, or fellows, were to study theology and philosophy, while four lay scholars were to come from the diocese of Durham, two from Howdenshire in the east Yorkshire and two from Allertonshire in north Yorkshire were to focus on grammar and philosophy. All of them were to be chosen by Durham's priory chapter, though the prior would appoint the warden.<sup>264</sup> Durham priory had sometimes given £20 a year to Durham College, and it did so regularly from 1388.<sup>265</sup>

A translated Latin work had recently characterised the 'longuage of the Northumbers' as 'so scharp, slitting and frotynge' (piercing and abrasive) that southerners could 'unnethe' (scarcely) understand it.<sup>266</sup> A monk from St. Albans visiting Tynemouth priory later recalled that in the early 1390s the library had a dozen or so books, including a work by Pliny. To him local men were 'like Moors, the women are like Ethiopians, the maidens are filthy' and 'the boys are black as Hebrews'. In the early 1400s the abbot of St. Albans was alarmed that the Tynemouth monks were using the church as a theatre to entertain the locals at the feast of St. Cuthbert.<sup>267</sup>

Durham priory's bursar had used watermarked paper rather than parchment since 1396. By 1397 there was a gatehouse at Durham College in Oxford. A Durham monk had supported two Oxford students, and others held exhibitions (bursaries) from Finchale priory. By around 1400 almost all the monks in Durham were 'valecti', men of middling status from the city or similar families up to 40 miles away,<sup>268</sup> and their new library held around 450 volumes.<sup>269</sup> By 1409 Durham College, Oxford, had a chapel,<sup>270</sup> and Oxford scribes supplied Durham priory with books by 1410.<sup>271</sup> In 1414 the bishop of Durham founded a Song School on Palace Green to train choristers and a Grammar School to teach a few poor boys Latin.<sup>272</sup> A lay master taught the sons of gentry there, while he taught poor children, who had been proposed by monks and approved by the prior, sub-prior and three senior monks, in the 'aumery' (the almonry, where poor people were given alms). He received £2 a year.<sup>273</sup> The border remained insecure, and by 1415 there were 37 castles and 75 fortified towers on the English side.<sup>274</sup> In 1416 John Fishburn arrived at Durham priory from Oxford. The monks wrote in Latin, stopped conversing in French, and slandered each other in English. By 1418 there was a small library over the parlour on the east side of Durham College cloister in Oxford, yet only two of the 900 or so books were in English,<sup>275</sup> it was the first lending library in England.<sup>276</sup> In 1435 a northern earl wrote to the Durham prior and apologised for his crude Latin. In 1436 a papal envoy disguised as a merchant visited the priory on his way to Scotland, and a Corpus Christi Guild was established or re-established in Durham.<sup>277</sup>

Only people with goods worth at least £5 made a will,<sup>278</sup> and widows were the only women who could make one.<sup>279</sup> In 1420 an aristocratic widow near Barnard Castle in County Durham had bequeathed a 'romance boke' called 'ye gospelle', another 'romance boke', a 'boke with ye knotts' and *Trystram*. In 1427 an aristocratic widow in Ravensworth left a psalter to her son and a daughter, a primer apiece to two other daughters and a book of prayers



to her god-daughter. In 1437 the bishop died, and left Latin works to the priory library.<sup>280</sup> In 1439 the popularity of a versified biography of St. Cuthbert by Bede, a Benedictine monk at Jarrow, was attributed to the 'Language of the Northern lede [people] / That can nan other Inglis rede'. In the 1440s Durham priory's annual income reached £2,000. On Corpus Christi day in 1447 the city's guilds performed the 'playe that of old time longed to thair craft'. Taking Scottish apprentices was forbidden,<sup>281</sup> yet an apprentice bookbinder was bound in in 1452.<sup>282</sup> In 1462 the Scots took Coldingham Priory,<sup>283</sup> though in 1464 the bishop of Durham wrote to aristocrats in English to tell them that the books at the Monkwearmouth cell were in good condition.<sup>284</sup> From 1471 Durham grand juries included some yeomen, yet proceedings were still conducted in Latin. In 1473 two Durham men were charged with being vagabonds,<sup>285</sup> yet by the 1480s Durham priory bought printed books from Basel, Strasbourg and Paris.<sup>286</sup>

Durham priory had occasionally employed minstrels for at least 200 years. In 1287 it had given 2s 6d to a minstrel of the king of Scotland 2s 6d and a Newcastle minstrel and a piper 2d each in 1311.<sup>287</sup> In the 1330s the priory paid a group of minstrels 20d and Robert de Hornecliff's harper 12d, and gave the carpenter Thomas Harpourt a harp worth 3d. In 1342, when Harpourt was in prison in Carlisle, Durham civic officials went to plead for his release.<sup>288</sup> In 1346, when the Scots army and its pipers were fighting an English army west of Durham, the priory monks sang *Te Deum laudamus* (*Thee, O God, we praise*) and other hymns to support the English from the top of the church tower.<sup>289</sup> (The earliest-surviving manuscript of the ballad *Durham Field* cannot pre-date 1484.<sup>290</sup>) In 1388 Scots invaded Northumberland, and the foot soldiers carried horns slung from their necks like huntsmen. Together with their big drums the sound could carry four miles in daytime and six miles at night,<sup>291</sup> and the Scots claimed a victory over the English. (The earliest-surviving manuscript of *The Battle of Otterburn* dates from around 1550).<sup>292</sup>

In the 1350s the priory gave an earl's two pipers 4d and the harper Rygeyway 3s 4d, and the unlatinised William Blyndharpourt of Newcastle received 2d at Christmas and shared 3s 4d with John de Stirling's harper.<sup>293</sup> In the early 1360s Peter Crouder played a lute to accompany his wife's singing at the priory, and Barry Harpourt and several Thomas Harpours may have lived there.<sup>294</sup> The priory paid William de Dalton's Welsh harper 3s 4d at the celebration of the translation of St. Cuthbert (4 September) and the lutenist and his wife received 2d for singing at the prior's house at Beaurepaire. The bishop of Norwich's piper received 5d for playing at the priory, a blind French minstrel and his younger brother got 2d, and Barry the harper received 2d, plus 3s 4d for a tunic. In the 1370s the priory paid two minstrels 3s 4d, and 12 got £1 0s 8d between them, while Thomas and Nicholas Harpourt got 7d each and a king's minstrel got 5d. In the 1380s a duke's minstrel and a dancer both got 6s 8d for performing in the prior's chamber at Durham.<sup>295</sup>

The Cathedral choirmaster played the organ for vespers and masses, and led the choirboys in plainsong and improvised polyphony, when requested, and in 1430 John Stele was permanently engaged as a choirmaster. Many northern lords reportedly fed visiting minstrels, and Durham prior monks asked the prior to halve their payments, and by 1442 he was inclined to agree.<sup>296</sup>

Many people died of plague in Newcastle in 1478.<sup>297</sup> In 1482 war broke out with Scotland. And the English army took Berwick, which remained in English hands thereafter.<sup>298</sup> Berwick waits were separate from watchmen, and had to pipe four times each night between Michaelmas (29 September) and Shrove Tuesday (the first day of Lent, which took place in late February or early March).<sup>299</sup>

The king died in 1483, and his 12-year-old son succeeded him, though he and his younger brother were last seen alive in mid-September.<sup>300</sup> Their uncle took the throne; but in 1485 a challenger's army defeated his army and killed him. Their leader took the throne, ended that dynasty and began a new one.

Across England many landowners now charged farmers rent rather than working their land themselves. Merchants and others bought some land outright, but they required four percent interest on leases, and farmers cut labour costs by turning arable land into pasture and enclosing commons. Tenants lost land, labourers lost wages and they all lost what they had gleaned from the commons. Feudalism was dying,<sup>301</sup> and the king established the Court of Star Chamber to supervise the lower courts in 1487;<sup>302</sup> when a revolution in book-making was underway in London.

## 2. From manuscript to print

### (i) William Caxton

By 1440 Johannes Gutenberg had built a printing press in Strasbourg, and by 1450 he was in Mainz, where he printed a Latin Bible in 1455.<sup>1</sup> A secretary of the Holy Roman Emperor saw a printed Bible that 'could be read without glasses' at Frankfurt fair, and by 1462 printed books were sold there regularly. The earliest surviving catalogue of printed books, without prices, appeared in the late 1460s,<sup>2</sup> and some reached England.<sup>3</sup>

William Caxton was born around 1421,<sup>4</sup> probably into a landowner's family in the thinly-populated agricultural district of the Weald of Kent. He went to school and was subsequently apprenticed to a London mercer. The boy discovered that the 'common English' 'spoken in one shire varieth from another' and that the people of the Weald spoke 'as broad and rude English as in any place'. His master was mayor of London in the year to spring 1440, but died in 1441, and left Caxton just over £5. He had not completed his apprenticeship, though he sailed to Europe, and may have imported goods from England for monarchs who denied them to their subjects. By 1464 he was an ambassador for the duke of Burgundy, stayed on after he died in 1467, and by 1470 the duchess paid him a salary. In 1471 he learned how to print in Cologne and bought black-letter type, and matrices to make more. He printed a book in Latin and translated stories about ancient Greek wars,<sup>5</sup> which he printed in Bruges around 1474.<sup>6</sup> The first book in English printed on the continent was a Salisbury Cathedral breviary in 1475.<sup>7</sup>

In 1476 Caxton brought a press to London, set it up in the almonry of Westminster Abbey outside the city walls, and late that year he rented a shop next to the chapter house.<sup>8</sup> Wynkin de Worde, his assistant,<sup>9</sup> was from the Duchy of Lotharingia (Lorraine) in France.<sup>10</sup> By 1477 Caxton had published Geoffrey Chaucer's *Tales of Caunterbury*.<sup>11</sup> Most of his books were in London English, and print runs were probably between 200 and 300.<sup>12</sup> He sold copies to visitors, and his colophon (imprint) informed booksellers where to buy them wholesale. By 1479 a printer produced books in Oxford using type imported from Cologne; and soon after a printer in St. Albans, who was reportedly a former 'scole mayster', also printed books; and a few foreign printers arrived in London.

John Lettou or his forbears may have come from Lithuania,<sup>13</sup> and learned to print in Rome.<sup>14</sup> He set up a press in Thames Street in the City of London and printed mainly French law books by 1481. William Machlinia had been born in Flanders,<sup>15</sup> and by 1482 he was in partnership with Lettou in London. The stationer Peter Actors had been born in the Duchy of Savoy, in between south-west France and north-west Italy. He later moved to London, visited the main provincial fairs, and in 1483 he and another stationer supplied books to an Oxford stationer. Caxton now owned two houses in Westminster, while continental printers issued books for the English market.<sup>16</sup>

Parliament decreed that no alien (foreigner) was to live or work with another, or practice his trade except for one of the king's subjects. Aliens could sell books by wholesale where they lived, and could take no apprentices except their own children or those English ones, yet English booksellers could sell by retail or wholesale in provincial towns and fairs. This was the first Act to be printed, but the Oxford and St. Albans presses ceased operations.

In 1485 the new king appointed Actors as his stationer for life. De Machlinia left Lettou and settled near Holborn, and in 1486 he published an English translation of a papal bull (decree) with the approval of the Privy Council. By 1487 he was allowed to import any book or manuscript he liked, directly or through agents, without paying customs duty; though the pope ordered that no book was to be printed without the approval of the local 'ordinary', who was usually the bishop.<sup>17</sup> By 1488 the bookbinders' and textwriters' organisations seem to have disappeared.<sup>18</sup> Paper accounted for 75 percent of the cost of production.<sup>19</sup> Imported paper could be bought only in London,<sup>20</sup> where a ream of 20 quires (480 sheets) cost 2s 4d.<sup>21</sup> Little was imported and it reached only a few major towns. The average edition was probably 480,<sup>22</sup> and most bindings were whittawed leather (rawhide) over boards.<sup>23</sup> Caxton had had liturgical books printed for him in Paris,<sup>24</sup> including the *Sarum missal* (Salisbury Cathedral's liturgy), and two in Bruges. He probably died late in 1491, after printing 94 books, and left his press to de Worde.

Another Frenchman arrived in London. Richard Pynson had been born in Normandy. He had probably attended the University of Paris and may have learned to print in Rouen,<sup>25</sup> or possibly in Paris. By 1491 he had a press in the Strand, inside London's walls, where he printed Chaucer's *Tales of Caunterbury* in 1492,<sup>26</sup> yet a York breviary was printed in Venice for a London bookseller in 1493.<sup>27</sup> De Machlinia stopped printing law books, and Pynson took over, and de Worde's name first appeared in a book in 1494.<sup>28</sup> Neither he nor Lettou probably became a denizen, an acknowledged resident, or a freeman. William Faques, a printer from Normandy, may have settled in London by 1495, and the printer Julian Notary from Vannes in Brittany had settled in St. Clements parish.<sup>29</sup> An English merchant, who was probably based in Cologne, asked a merchant from Basel in Switzerland to buy him copies of 50 Latin books and several others at Frankfurt fair.<sup>30</sup>

De Worde had married an English woman, and 1496 he was granted denization. His wife died in 1498, and in 1499 he left Caxton's former shop. Probably in 1500,<sup>31</sup> he rented a house and a printing office for £6 13s 4d a year in Fleet Street in the city,<sup>32</sup> at the 'sygne of the sonne'.<sup>33</sup> Caxton had left a book to his parish church, and it was offered to de Worde for 6s 8d, the price of a quarter of a ton of wheat.<sup>34</sup> Pynson also rented a house in Fleet Street, and became a citizen; but his foreign workmen were attacked, so they moved to just outside Temple Bar.<sup>35</sup>

England's population may still have been 2.5 million,<sup>36</sup> and London's may have reached 50,000.<sup>37</sup> Average life-expectancy was around 33 years, and few reached 60, but serfdom was almost extinct.<sup>38</sup> Occupational surnames were becoming hereditary.<sup>39</sup> The church owned about 20 percent of the nation's wealth, and clerics were probably the main books-buyers.<sup>40</sup> At least one percent of women could probably read and five percent of men,<sup>41</sup> or perhaps as many as ten percent.<sup>42</sup> The imported Salisbury liturgy was 'sold by the booksellers in St. Paul's Churchyard',<sup>43</sup> and at least 46 books were printed in London in 1500.<sup>44</sup> Some London booksellers sold ballads known as 'broad-sides', which measured around 11.8 to 15.7 inches by 7.8 to 9.8 inches, and were usually 80 to 120 lines long,<sup>45</sup> The earliest survivor was printed with wooden type and was an untitled piece about the seven theological virtues.<sup>46</sup>

In 1501 he bought his eldest daughter a lute costing 13s 4d.<sup>47</sup> The London Fellowship of Minstrels complained that owing to the 'Continuall recorse of foreign Minstrells daily resorted to the Citee out of all the contrays of England' they were unable to pay taxes, and the common council decided that 'no maner of foreigner of whatsoever condition' could pay the 3s 4d to 'occupie any Minstrelsie, singyng, or playeng upon any instrument' within the city or its liberties. The Fellowship also wished to have a new rule so members should not 'rebuke, revile or greve each other with any sclanderous wordes' or 'velanys', or teach 'any other person than their own apprentices'. In 1502 the five waits complained that the 'Mynsterels' would not allow them to work unless they joined the Fellowship, though they wanted to do so without paying a fee, and the organisations evidently merged.<sup>48</sup> Richard Arnold's book about London antiquities was printed in Antwerp.<sup>49</sup> It included the *A Ballade of ye Notte Browne Mayde*, and its printer published other works in English.<sup>50</sup>

London booksellers imported books, including at least 12 schoolbooks, from Antwerp, Paris and Rouen; and two aliens had printed almost 87 percent of the 273 surviving items in England. Faques printed four books in 1504 and four in 1505.<sup>51</sup> He had the sole right to print any work belonging to the king, including Acts of parliament, law books, year books, Bibles, service books, almanacs, Latin grammars and other educational works,<sup>52</sup> and he was officially 'Regius Impressor' (the king's printer). Richard Faques, a kinsman, and possibly his son, took over shop in St. Paul's churchyard, and de Worde became a citizen. Pynson printed the Salisbury liturgy,<sup>53</sup> and two books using Roman ('white letter') type for the first time in England;<sup>54</sup> and a northern city's book trade had developed.

## (ii) York

By 1485 there was another bookbinder in York,<sup>55</sup> though a baker had to get the Hexham prior, the Alnwick abbot, a vicar and several others to write that he was from Ponteland in Northumberland.<sup>56</sup> In 1487 the Textwriters, Luminers, Turners and Flourishers were responsible for a Corpus Christi play, while outsiders had to pay 4d a year. Possibly around this time the Scriveners were responsible for a play,<sup>57</sup> with music. William Incecliff, a chantry chaplain who said prayers for the souls of the dead, was a textwriter, and was fined 8s for writing books when not a member of the guild, and he and three other textwriters were compelled to swear that they would do each other no bodily harm.<sup>58</sup> In 1488 Book-makers agreed that nobody, either religious or secular, that was not a freeman could 'bring in or sett out any werke of this citie or franchises', except for clerics with an annual salary of less than £4 13s 4d,<sup>59</sup> and they got a byelaw safeguarding entry to their trade.<sup>60</sup>

Richard Garnett was a stationer by 1490 and became a chamberlain in 1492, though a London stationer had a York breviary printed in Venice in 1493. By 1494 the York bookbinder Newell Morres had become a freeman by patrimony, since his father had been a freeman. By 1496 the bookbinder and stationer Frederick de Vries, who may have been Dutch, was a freeman known as 'Freez' or Wanesford;<sup>61</sup> yet a man born in Hexhamshire had to get the written support of the Hexham prior to prove he was not a Scot.<sup>62</sup> 'Freez' was a 'bukebynder' and 'stacyoner' by 1497. He lived in a Corporation house in Conynge-strete and became a printer.<sup>63</sup> By 1498 John Gunthorpe, a Minster prebendary (honorary canon) held several benefices (paid appointments), and owned printed Latin works by the ancient Roman authors Marcus Cicero and Gaius Pliny. During the 1400s five bookbinders had become freemen, and one stationer and 15 textwriters had done so in the second half of the century.<sup>64</sup>

By 1500 York was little more than a market town.<sup>65</sup> The archbishop bequeathed 34 printed books to Cambridge University. A council called the 48, whose members were mainly craft guild 'searchers' who inspected everything

from raw materials to finished goods, met occasionally to ratify the decisions of the Four and Twenty, and sometimes challenged them.<sup>66</sup> The parchmener John Brown and the textwriter John Weston were freeman by 1503,<sup>67</sup> and in 1505 the Londoner Pynson unsuccessfully sued Freez for £5 3s 6d.<sup>68</sup> Hugo Goes, who was probably Dutch,<sup>69</sup> set up a press in York, and by 1506 he had printed an indulgence and possibly two small grammar books;<sup>70</sup> yet a draper had to get the Alnwick abbot, two vicars, a knight and several yeomen to testify that he had been born in Bamburgh in Northumberland.<sup>71</sup> The Bookmakers had evidently disappeared, and the Stationers sought admittance to the Guild of Corpus Christi, which included small groups of craftsmen.<sup>72</sup> In 1507 Gerard Freez (alias Wanesford), Frederick's brother, published the earliest surviving book with a York imprint which had been printed in Rouen,<sup>73</sup> and he subsequently published other imported books.<sup>74</sup> Primers generally cost 1s 8d a dozen,<sup>75</sup> and Psalms 20d.<sup>76</sup>

York's professional musicians could make a living. Moras Binan had been an 'organer' in 1485. In 1486 Robertus Lemington, Robertus Comlyton and Willelmus Plombre were waits,<sup>77</sup> and they were freemen by 1487.<sup>78</sup> They wore a livery of striped cloth and red or blue motley.<sup>79</sup> Johannes Hugh was an organ maker, while Ricardus Twysday was a 'mynstrall et Brewer' in 1493 and Nicholas Bell was a minstrel in 1498.<sup>80</sup> In May 1499 six of the crown prince's minstrels received 10s. The waits received their fees for playing at Easter, Corpus Christi, the nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June), the feast of St. William (8 June) and Christmas, and the chamberlains paid 24s for cloth for their liveries.<sup>81</sup> Xpofferus (Christopher) Lowe was a minstrel in 1502.<sup>82</sup>

In London the king agreed that his eldest daughter would marry the Scottish king.<sup>83</sup> The 12-year-old took part in a proxy celebration in January 1503,<sup>84</sup> and went north that summer. York council was ordered to greet her as a queen, and the sheriff, knights, esquires 'Gentilmen and other honest persons' in the district met her at Tadcaster bridge, and the mayor and aldermen at York's Micklegate Bar. She had a huge retinue, including those of the earl of Northumberland and the bishop of Durham. She attended mass in the Minster, though the chamberlains recorded no payments for music.<sup>85</sup> Rogerus Smalwode, a York wait,<sup>86</sup> was known to be 'right connyng' (highly skilled), and in 1505 the chamberlains recorded in English that he had

of his awn cost for þe wurship of þis Citie hase maid hym a coler to his gret charge & over þat he awe xiiij s iiij d of his fraunchest money & is of small hauour & power to pay & bere þe said charge wherfor he besecheth my said lord Maier & þe said presence to be good & tender lord & mayster & to help hym toward þe said charge after whiche shewyng it was a greed þat þe said Roger toward his said charge shuld be pardoned of the said xiiij s iiij d.<sup>87</sup>

('þ' was the current usage for 'th', 'fraunchest' money was a freeman's dues and 'hauour' meant possessions). Johannes Symson was a minstrel in 1506, as was Robertus Marshall in 1507.<sup>88</sup> That year a Rouen printer issued a York service book,<sup>89</sup> and York's foreign-born booksellers exchanged books with printers in Rouen and Paris, while Goes printed a service book in Steen gate.<sup>90</sup> De Worde sent an old fount from London to print a directory of priests.<sup>91</sup> In 1508 a York man bequeathed cloth to his curate, so he could sell it to buy a Bible to be held by a 'chyne in the kyrk perpetuall'.<sup>92</sup> The king died in spring 1509, and was succeeded by his 17-year-old son.

### **(iii) A Shawme makithe a sweete sounde**

In 1503 Northumberland was the 38<sup>th</sup> poorest English county out of 39.<sup>93</sup> The earl of Northumberland's income came from estates in Yorkshire, Cumberland and Northumberland, and had a castle at Alnwick, though he often preferred to live in comparative safety at his fortified manor house at Leconfield, around four miles north of Beverley. In the early 1510s he ordered his seven clerks to record his household expenditure, and it turned out that 166 people were paid a total of £46 13s 4d every three months. One of the 11 priests was responsible for 'keeping the Queir' and another for 'Singing of our Ladies Mass in the Chappell daily'. The 'Gentlemen of the Chappell' included two basses, two tenors and four countertenors with the vocal range of a female contralto, and included the 'Maister of the Childer' and the pistoler, who read the Epistle in the chapel. Two gentlemen received £6 13s 4d a quarter, two £4, two £2 13s 4d, one £2 and one £1 5s, while two organists got £1 5s, as did the 'Childeryn of the Chappell, who included two trebles, three 'Meanys', and another boy. The 'Scolemaister' taught the boys grammar and received £5 a quarter, plus coal for the 'Scolehou' and his 'private use'. The three 'Mynstralls in Houshold' played a lute, a taberet (tambourine) and a rebekk (a three-string bowed instrument). The taborer received £4 a quarter, though the rebec player and the lutenist got £1 13s 4d. On 'Scamblynge Days' in Lent, when no hot meals were served, they received a 'Loof of Brede', a 'Pottell' (half a gallon) of 'Bere', four 'White Herryng' and a Dysche of Stokfysche' (reconstituted dried salt fish). On 'Rogacyon days' of fasting in April their suppers were 'a Loof of Brede a Pottell of Bere Half a Dysche of Buttre and a Pece of Saltfysche'. The household's fish cost under four percent

of the total, and 14 percent of that for meat, and two minstrels served as 'Yoman Waiter' on 'Flesch Daies'. Every New Year's morning the musicians woke the earl and countess by playing at their bedroom door and then woke their children, for which the minstrels received a bonus of £1 3s 4d and the trumpeters £1. Another 'Erlis Mynstrall' received 3s 4d if he came every year, or 6s 8d if he arrived every two or three years, while a minstrel of the earl's 'speciall Lords Frende or Kynsman' received an unspecified amount if he came once a year, and 6s 8d if he came every two or three years. If six of the 'Dookes or Erles Trumpetts' came once a year they received 6s 8d, and 10s if they came once every two or three years, though three 'Kyngs Shames' [shawms] received 10s if they visited once a year. There was an inscription on a wall of Leconfield manor house.

A Shawme makithe a sweete sounde, for he tunithe the Basse,  
It mountithe not to hy, but kepithe rule and space.  
Yet yf it be blowne withe too vehement a wynde,  
It makithe it to misgoverne oute of his kynde.

The earl and the countess both had libraries at Leconfield, and the earl had the poems of the 14<sup>th</sup> century monk John Lydgate and an elegy on his murdered father by John Skelton,<sup>94</sup> the vicar of Diss and the king's poet laureate.<sup>95</sup>

In 1509 the Beverley magistrates licensed Hugo Goes from York to establish a press in Highgate.<sup>96</sup> Beverley was not one of the 40 most important provincial towns,<sup>97</sup> some towns further north were catching up in terms of education and civic culture.

#### **(iv) Thomas Carr, mynstrell**

In 1498 the bishop of Durham had excommunicated 'notorious' thieves in Tynedale,<sup>98</sup> and complained about unordained clergy who kept concubines and could not read the Latin mass,<sup>99</sup> though the only books at the Jarrow cell were biographies of Benedict Biscop and his pupil Bede.<sup>100</sup> (Biscop had visited Rome six times to buy books in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>101</sup>) In County Durham the sons of nobles and gentry were educated from the age of eight at Auckland Church, and its large library of Latin manuscripts was catalogued,<sup>102</sup> yet a visiting aristocrat described County Durham as 'an economic back-water' and 'a savage and infertile country' in the early 1500s.<sup>103</sup>

Musicians entertained harvesters near the city of Durham,<sup>104</sup> A local poem probably dates from this period and was set in 'lusty May'. Nobody could sell at the bishop's market until the corn bell rang and the bailiff took the tolls. There were 'craftsmen and 'many more with merchandise' from 'every village there beside', with 'Bullocks, fat swine, sheep, oats, bigg [barley], both rye and wheat; pigs, goats, and capons fat; butter, cheese, nuts, crab-apples and eggs; with leeks both green and great', 'cherries from Denton' and 'harrows, strong spades, shovels, and goads' from Medomsley, a 'great bay mare' from Kibblesworth, and 'Peres of Pelton, Jenken, Davy, Oliver, Winnie, Sandy, Jake, Dick and Willie, and Hodge of Houghton, with one shoe off'. Colliers from 'Brandon Moor, Rainton, Ferryforth, Brasside and Pindon' cried 'Buy Coals, buy' for a 'penny farthing' in Silver Street. There was 'disguising, piping and dancing' near the North Bailey, and a play about 'Robin'.<sup>105</sup> The popular Robin Hood ballads celebrated yeomen.<sup>106</sup>

In 1503 the princess going north to be married was 'conveyed to the church' at Durham with 'trumpets, and mynstrells going before hyr'.<sup>107</sup> In Newcastle, 'At the bryge end apon the yatt [gate] war many children Revested of surpeliz syngynge mellodyously hymnes' and playing 'instruments of many sortez' to greet the princess, and she attended a banquet organised by the earl of Northumberland, where the singing and dancing went on until midnight.<sup>108</sup> The earl's retinue was like that of a prince, and as warden of the East March he escorted the princess to the border.<sup>109</sup> The Berwick garrison captain's minstrels were 'playnge their instruments' on the town wall gate,<sup>110</sup> and she went on to Dalkieth near Edinburgh to marry the Scottish king who was twice her age.<sup>111</sup>

Newcastle's economic power and civic culture had developed. The Merchant Adventurers had performed a Corpus Christi play in 1484, and in the early 1500s a visiting aristocrat noted that they 'constituted a single element of civilisation' in the region.<sup>112</sup> In 1504 the king granted them a monopoly of buying all the wool and wool fells from Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Allerton and Richmondshire, and of shipping them to foreign ports, in return for 2s on every sack of wool and 2s for every 240 fells.<sup>113</sup> By 1505 Trinity House had a hall, lodgings and chapel with pews made of oak from Jarrow monastery.<sup>114</sup> In 1508 a quire of paper cost the brethren 2d, and ink cost 1d, and they paid a scribe 3s 4d to write a 'copp' of a marriage. The civic chamberlains' paper probably came from France, and in spring they noted that they had paid 3s 4d to 'Thomas Carr mynstrall in party payment of his fee' and 3s 4d on 31 July. They also gave 12d to 'the mynstrall that playit affor the mair uppon Lammas day' (1 August), and 6s 8d to 'Weddells son for playing off the organs' in St. Nicholas's Church on the 8<sup>th</sup>.



In September a stationer got 4d for supplying '1 qwharr pawper' and 2d for another for chamberlains, while a scribe got £1 3s 6d for 'writtyng and parchement' for the 'Justic' (judge). Thomas Carr was paid again, and William Carr received 10s as 'the last payment of his fee', and the waits' clerk received 2s for their wine. Late that year the chamberlains gave a sergeant (civic enforcer) £1 13s 4d for 'thre watt'[s] gownys' and £4 6s for a silver collar for William Carr that weighed '16 ounc'. He received 3s 4d 'in party payment off his fee',<sup>115</sup> and the 'Syngger of Santt nycolles kyrk' received £1 6s 8d a year.<sup>116</sup> In spring 1509 the chamberlains gave a scribe 3s 4d for a 'copp' of a marriage, and a foreign ship brought six dozen primers to the Tyne. In summer the waits received 10s 'in party payment' of their fees, and in autumn Thomas Carr received 3s 4d, while William Carr received 6s 8d of his 'last yer' wag' in November.<sup>117</sup> A minstrel got 8d for 'goyng with the players' and the 'Schippmen' (the Shipwrights' guild) got 2s for 'Dancyng affor the mair'.<sup>118</sup>

In January 1510 William Carr's wife got 8d for taking a gallon of wine to the merchants' court, and in April the builder of the dragon for the pageant of St. George got 8d and a man got 3s 6d for 'goyng with the dragon'. In May a painter got 11s 9d for 'paynttyng' and 'writtyng the bann', and another man was reimbursed for the 13s 4d he 'gayff for writtyng' in London. Around this time it cost 6d to bind a book. The waits received 13s 4d for their quarter's wages in August and September, while their clerk got 3s for their wine. In September the chamberlains paid 1d for a quire of paper and 1d for ink. A ream of 'small pauper' and a 'dim "rym"' of 'pauper riall' (half a ream of royal paper measuring around 19 by 24 inches) cost 5s 8d. In spring 1511 the chamberlains paid 'Weddell's son' 6s 8d for 'keppying the orgons' in St. Nicholas' Church, and gave the sergeants £1 14s for four waits' liveries, and paid their quarterly fees due the previous Christmas. In July the waits received 3s 4d.<sup>119</sup> Craft workers and their labourers worked for from 250 to 260 days a year, if they could.<sup>120</sup> A highly skilled mason earned almost 7d a day and his labourer over 5½d. An ordinary mason got 6d a day and his labourer 4d, as did a plumber's labourer, while a paver got 5d and his labourer 3d.<sup>121</sup> The waits' fee averaged barely ¾d a day, so it was a retainer, not a living wage, and the border remained insecure.

#### (v) *A ballade of the Scottyshe Kynge*

By the early 1500s there were around 108 fortified towers in Northumberland,<sup>122</sup> and the king dissolved his Council in the North in York in 1509;<sup>123</sup> yet the warden of the Scottish Middle March pursued a murderer that far.

In summer 1513 between 3,000 and 7,000 Scotsmen sought to revenge a raid by Englishmen, though over 500 Scots died and over 400 were taken prisoner. In autumn a Scottish army of 60,000 to 100,000 met an English army at Flodden Ridge near Branxton in Northumberland, three miles south of the border. Reportedly over 10,000 Scots died, including the king and many noblemen, and 1,500 Englishmen.<sup>124</sup>

The earliest surviving ballad printed in England was about this conflict.

#### *A ballade of the Scottyshe Kynge.*



**K**ynge Jamy/Jamypour. Joye is all go  
 He somnmod our kynge whp dyde pe so  
 To pou no thng it dyde accorde  
 To common our kynge pour souverayne lord.  
 A kynge a somner it is wonder  
 Knowe ye not calte and fuger afonder  
 In pour somnng ye were to malaperte  
 And pour harolde no thngge epperte  
 ye thought ye dyde it full balpauntolpe  
 But not worth thre fappes of a ppe.  
 Spr squer galparde ye were to swpste.  
 pour will remne befoze pour twite.

Before the frenllhe kynge/dance/and other  
 ye ought to honour your lord and brother  
 Crowne ye for James his noble grace/  
 For you and your scottes wolde tourne his face  
 No to ye proude scottes of gelawaye.  
 For your kynge may synge welawaye  
 Now must ye knowe our kynge for your regent/  
 your souerayne lord and president/  
 In hym is figured melchisedech/  
 And ye be desolate as armelech  
 He is our noble champion.  
 A kynge anointed and ye be non  
 Thugh your counseyle your fader was slayne  
 wherfore I fere ye wyl fulfyll payne/  
 And ye proude scottes of dunbar  
 Warde ye be his homager.  
 And suters to his parlyment/  
 ye dyde not your dewty therein.  
 wherfore ye may it now repent  
 ye bere your selfe somewhat to holde/  
 Therfore ye haue lost your copholde.  
 ye be bounde tenauntes to his estate.  
 Spue by your game ye playe cheamate.  
 For to the castell of norham  
 I vnderstonde to soone ye cam.  
 For a pryncer there now ye be  
 Etyher to the deuyll or the trinite.  
 Thanked be saynte. Gorge our ladies knyghte  
 your pryde is paste adwe good nyght.  
 ye haue determyned to make a trape  
 Our kynge than beyng out of the wape  
 But by the power and myght of god  
 ye were beten with your owne rod  
 By your wanton wyl for at a worde  
 ye haue losse spores/cote armure/and sworde  
 ye had bet better to haue bulked to huntay bakes/  
 Than in Englonde to playe ony suche pranks  
 But ye had some toyle sode to sowe.  
 Therfore ye be layde now full lowe/  
 your power coude no lenger attayne  
 warre with our kynge to myntayne.  
 Of the kynge of nauerne ye may take hede/  
 How vnfornately he doth now spede/  
 In double welles now he dooth dzeme.  
 That is a kynge witou a realme  
 At hym example ye wolde none take.  
 Experpence hath brought you in the same brake  
 Of the outples ye rough forced scottes/  
 we haue well eased you of the hottes  
 ye rowe ranke scottes and broken danes  
 Of our englyshe bowes ye haue sette your banes.  
 It is not synne in tour nor towne/  
 A somner to were a kynges crowne  
 That noble erle the whyte Lyon.  
 your pompe and pryde hath layde a downe  
 His sone the lord admirall is full good.  
 His swerde hath bathed in the scottes blode  
 God saue kynge. Henry and his lordes all  
 And sende the frenllhe kynge suche an other fall/

Amen/for saynt charp te=  
 And god saue noble.  
 Kynge/ Henry/  
 The. viij.

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The anonymous author was the king's poet laureate John Skelton.<sup>126</sup> There was no colophon, though the king had confirmed Richard Pynson as 'our prynter' in 1510. Up to 1512 he had received no salary but had become a denizen of London by summer 1513.<sup>127</sup>

In 1514 a blind harper played at the king's court in London for 6s 8d a month, and on New Year's Day 1515 he and a fiddler got 5s apiece. In 1516 the harper got 6s 8d, while another blind harper got 5s 2d.<sup>128</sup> That year the bishop of Durham sang a high mass with 'a superb and noble descant choir' in the king's chapel in London.<sup>129</sup>

A *Little Catechism* and *ABC* for children to learn letters and basic words sold for 1d on paper and 2d on vellum in London, yet it took two men working at a hand press for eight hours a day for 200 days to produce 10,000 copies of a schoolbook of 320 pages,<sup>130</sup> and in 1518 a ream of white paper cost 3s.<sup>131</sup> The city's minstrels were forbidden to take more than one apprentice.<sup>132</sup>

Up to 1516 Thomas Hunte of Oxford had been the only provincial publisher. The Oxford University press was re-instated in 1517, but was closed in 1520,<sup>133</sup> the town had an immigrant bookseller. Johannes Dorn had probably been a printer in Brunswick, Saxony, by 1506. He later moved to Oxford and his stocklist survives from December

1520.<sup>134</sup> Most books were in Latin, though he sold two or three English ballads wholesale for 1d, four or five for 2d, six or seven for 3d, eight or nine for 4d, and 11 or 13 for 5d, and 'Kesmes corals' for 1d (the price of a pound of butter or two pounds of cheese).<sup>135</sup> One day he sold 23 ballads,<sup>136</sup> and he had a stall at St. Fridewide's and Austin fairs.<sup>137</sup>

London musicians were organising and in 1518 the leaders of the Fellowship of Minstrels asked the mayor to agree to change the election procedure for electing their governing body and a rule to prevent a member taking another to court without allowing them to mediate. They wanted to limit the number of apprentices to one, except for themselves, stop others inducing apprentices to leave while still apprenticed, and fine members who might 'rebuke, revile, or smyte each other', 'supplante or get out another being hired or spoken to' for any engagement, or 'use or occupie his instrument openly or privately' in a tavern or at a ceremony.<sup>138</sup> Little notated secular music survives from before 1500, yet a London printer saw an opportunity.

John Rastell was born in Coventry in the 1470s and studied law at the Middle Temple in London in the 1490s. He and his family returned to Coventry in 1504, then went back to London in 1509, and Rastell set up as a printer. Around 1520 he printed secular music for the first time in any country,<sup>139</sup> using movable type folios (half-sheets);<sup>140</sup>

By the 1520s England's population was still about 2.5 million. While around 76 percent lived in the countryside, a significant minority had non-agricultural occupations. Over five percent lived in towns with over 5,000 inhabitants, and there were probably as many in smaller towns, yet around 55,000 lived in London,<sup>141</sup> where Pynson printed an indulgence for York's Carmelite friars around 1520.<sup>142</sup> He evidently stopped printing soon after, though his books were protected from competition for two years. In 1521 de Worde printed a book of carol lyrics in London.<sup>143</sup> John Heywood, a singer who played the virginals, a keyboard instrument, was a member of the royal household, and in 1523 he was made free of the Stationers for the 'olde hauns' (former fee) of £2 4s.<sup>144</sup> Printing was potentially hazardous, since religious controversy was rife.

## **(vi) Ballads and Bibles**

Martin Luther was born in Eisleben in Saxony 1483, but his family moved into nearby Mansfeld in 1484. Martin attended Latin schools and then Erfurt University. He became a monk in 1505, was ordained a priest in 1507, taught theology at Wittenberg University in 1508 and was a professor by 1512.<sup>145</sup> In 1515 the Catholic Council in Rome ordered that no book was to be printed elsewhere without the approval of the local bishop, or the books would be burned and the printer would be fined, suspended for a year and excommunicated.<sup>146</sup> Luther became the provincial vicar of Saxony and Thuringia, and by 1517 he rejected 95 Catholic teachings and practices. In 1519 he argued against papal infallibility, and by 1520 he was convinced that the church hierarchy was corrupt. In 1521 the pope demanded that he renounce his writings, and when he refused he was excommunicated and condemned as an outlaw.<sup>147</sup> In 1522, imprisoned in Wartburg Castle, he translated the Bible into German.<sup>148</sup>

Luther's ideas had reached Cambridge by 1520.<sup>149</sup> Before theological works could be published, a bishop combed them for 'pestiferous errors';<sup>150</sup> yet Oxford had had two printing houses and four printers, and Dorn stocked works by Luther. A campaign against his ideas, led by the king, began in 1521. In 1523 an Act prohibited aliens from employing more than two foreign journeymen at a time, or face a fine of £10,<sup>151</sup> though they could take English apprentices.<sup>152</sup> The Act did not apply to Oxford or Cambridge universities, and in 1524 Dorn paid the Alien Tax in Oxford as 'Thorn'.<sup>153</sup> The bishop of London warned the capital's main booksellers not to import books from Germany, or those containing Luther's 'heresies' from anywhere.<sup>154</sup>

In 1526 3,000 copies of William Tyndale's English New Testament were printed in Worms in the Rhineland. It was deemed heretical in England, yet copies were smuggled across in bales of cloth, and a Strasburg printer produced the first English translation of the Psalms.<sup>155</sup> A Benedictine monk at Tavistock Abbey in Devon, who had printed a book in 1525, left in 1528.<sup>156</sup> There had been 24 printers in London in the 30 years to 1529, when alien craftsmen with no right to settle were banned from trading,<sup>157</sup> and the king inveighed against 'hereticall and blasphemous bokes'. De Worde was now worth £201 11s 1d, and Pynson £60, but he died late that year.<sup>158</sup>

By 1530 most of the three million or so English people lived in the countryside and they were almost self-sufficient. The men wore leather clothes, and they and their families ate black bread from wooden trenchers. Their lives were dominated by harvests, the weather,<sup>159</sup> the church and the king, who borrowed money at 12 percent interest from Antwerp and repayments in gold and silver debased the currency and drove up basic prices enormously.<sup>160</sup>

In 1531 the king still lacked a male heir, yet the pope refused to grant him a divorce.<sup>161</sup> Around this time *A Ballad of Luther, the Pope, a Cardinal & a Husbandman* had a large illustration but no colophon. The 'husbandman'

inveighed against the church's battenning on the poor. 'Luther' backed him up and threatened to bring down the pope with his writing, while the pope damned them both as heretics and the 'cardinal' supported him.<sup>162</sup>

In London Rastell may have written a ballad with musical accompaniment which he printed with metal type, though the surviving fragment has what appears to be a monk's handwriting on the reverse. Rastell's son William, published songs,<sup>163</sup> and another printer produced songsheets with empty staves,<sup>164</sup> while the anonymous *Twenty Songs* were 'part-songs' for several voices and contained music, itinerant sellers faced problems. An Act prescribed whipping for beggars, yet 'impotent' beggars could ask a magistrate for a licence.<sup>165</sup> It was dangerous to challenge the clergy, since if 'any man repowne or argue agaynste them, yf they can nat by good lernynge and reason answere them' they 'proue them heretykes violently other by lawes of theyr owne onely makynge or els by scripture of theyr owne expownynge and interpretacyon'.

James Bainham, the son of a Gloucestershire knight, had entered Gray's Inn in the 1520s, and he circulated banned books, including some by Luther. In 1531 he purchased the freedom of London as a stationer. After the bishop published a list of 30 banned books, Bainham was arrested, recanted, then reverted to his 'heretical' beliefs and was burned at the stake in Smithfield in 1532.<sup>166</sup>

In 1533 parliament empowered any two magistrates to license pedlars,<sup>167</sup> but banned 'fond books, ballads, rhymes and other lewd treatises in the English tongue'.<sup>168</sup> The printed and spoken word and sung lyrics could now be evidence of treason.<sup>169</sup> The king got the archbishop of Canterbury to declare his marriage null and void, married his mistress, and she bore a daughter in September.<sup>170</sup> In 1534 the pope issued a bull to excommunicate the king, then withdrew it when no other monarch would enforce either it, or a second bull.<sup>171</sup> The Act of Supremacy made the king the 'Supreme Head of the Church in England and Wales in so far as the word of God allows',<sup>172</sup> and when 18 priors refused to affirm his supremacy and succession, he had three hanged, drawn and quartered. (The rest died in prison within five years.)<sup>173</sup>

An Act barred binders from hiking prices or face a fine of 3s 4d per copy banned imported bound books, except by wholesale, on pain of forfeiture and a fine of 6s 8d per book, and banned imported bound books, except by wholesale, on pain of forfeiture and a fine of 6s 8d per book.<sup>174</sup> It was largely ineffective,<sup>175</sup> though domestic book production rivalled imports.<sup>176</sup> The king granted Cambridge University the right to print works approved by the Chancellor and three doctors, to be sold within the University, and Tavistock monks printed a book. About two thirds of people connected with the print trade were immigrants.<sup>177</sup> De Worde had printed 21 Christmas 'carolles', six 'ballates',<sup>178</sup> and almost 800 books, before he died in 1535.<sup>179</sup> A London stationer's widow joined the Stationers', while alien printers had almost disappeared,<sup>180</sup> and many religious dissidents had emigrated.

Myles Coverdale was born in Yorkshire in 1488 and later attended Cambridge University. He was a prior by 1535,<sup>181</sup> and had his English translation of the Bible printed in Zurich.<sup>182</sup> The king was desperately short of money, and ordered a survey of ecclesiastical properties and the possessions of senior churchmen.<sup>183</sup> The monk John Pickering wrote a ballad which minstrels memorised and sang widely. It was deemed seditious, and he was hanged, drawn and quartered in London;<sup>184</sup> yet John Rastell printed Coverdale's *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songs drawn out of the Holy Scripture*, with translations of some by Luther, with music, and an introduction.

Wolde God that our Mynstrels had none other thyng to play upon, neither our carters and plowmen other thyng to whistle upon, save psalmes, hymns, and such like godly songs ... And if women at the rockes [distaffs], and spynnyng at the wheel, had none other songes to pass their tyme withall ... they should be better occupied than with 'Hey, nonny, nonny – Hey trolly, lolly,' and suchlike fantasies.<sup>185</sup>

He wanted 'balettes of fylthynges' to be 'thrust under the borde' (table).

In February 1536 parliament dissolved the smaller monasteries.<sup>186</sup> On 30 April Mark Smeaton, a musician from the queen's household, was arrested, interrogated and sent to the Tower on 1 May, and on the 12<sup>th</sup> he and others were found guilty of adultery with the queen and conspiring the king's death. On the 15<sup>th</sup> the queen and her brother were tried at the Tower by 26 peers, presided over by their uncle, and both were found guilty of high treason. On the 17<sup>th</sup> the archbishop of Canterbury declared the king's marriage null and void, and the queen was executed on the 19<sup>th</sup>. He was betrothed to one of his mistresses next day and they married on the 30<sup>th</sup>.<sup>187</sup>

The king had dissolved 318 of the 850 or so religious houses with an income of less than £200 a year. Catholic risings began in Lincolnshire in October and spread to Yorkshire and Cumbria, though they were suppressed. The king consolidated his Council in the North,<sup>188</sup> which now had jurisdiction over the border counties,<sup>189</sup> and its powers included the death sentence.<sup>190</sup> The principality of Wales was formally united with England.<sup>191</sup>

The king reduced the number of saints' days and church holidays by 49, and deprived itinerant minstrels of part of their income.<sup>192</sup> In February 1537 John Higon sang *The Hunt is Up*, accompanied by his fiddle, in several houses in Diss, Norfolk. He complained that 'masters of arte and doctors of divinite' had 'broughte the realm owght of good

unitie', and when some people asked what the song meant, he replied that if the duke of Suffolk's men had assisted when the 'northern men were up', England could have been in a 'better stay than it is now'. He sang the song to a Surrey prior, the son of a duke,<sup>193</sup> who complained to the king's first minister.<sup>194</sup> Hogon was charged with sedition, though his fate is unknown.<sup>195</sup> In May aristocrats convicted of treason for taking part in the Catholic rising were executed at Tyburn, and a female aristocrat was burned, while the earl of Northumberland was executed in June.<sup>196</sup> Reportedly, the 'ancient nobility' were 'much impoverished', in 'power and profit', yet many gentry were great gainers. The income from church and monastic lands trebled the king's revenue to £300,000, and he built a powerful navy. Most clergy retained their positions, and nearly half of all parishes paid tithes to a lay rector.<sup>197</sup> The queen bore a boy in October, but he died days later.<sup>198</sup>

Thomas Gibson from Morpeth was a printer in London by 1535, and in 1537 the bishop of Durham recommended him to the king's chief minister. 'He ys an honeste poore man, who will sett ytt forth in a good letter, and sett ytt good chepe, where as others doe sell too dere, wych doth let [prevent] many to by' (buy).<sup>199</sup> The king approved Coverdale's Bible,<sup>200</sup> and the 1,500 copies which cost £500 to produce sold for 10s each. In 1538 the holders of the patent (monopoly) were allowed to use better printers and paper in France.<sup>201</sup> Religious dissenters were barred from owning books,<sup>202</sup> and 500 copies of the unlicensed Bible were burned.<sup>203</sup> Parish registers were required, but few survive.<sup>204</sup> Every parish had to buy the authorised Bible,<sup>205</sup> and encourage parishioners to read it.<sup>206</sup> The king had larger monasteries suppressed and the pope revived his bull.<sup>207</sup> No books in English could be imported or sold, and translated works had to bear the translator's name, or they and the printer would be fined, while books printed by royal patent had to include a notice that the privilege belonged only to that publication, and printers had to get a licence from secular censors.

Thomas Berthelet had become a stationer in London, though Rastell sued him in 1521. In 1525 Berthelet was questioned about printing four books, including three by the Catholic Dutch scholar Desiderius Erasmus, which had not been submitted to a censor, and was told not to do so again. By 1528 he was one of five printers with royal patents, and early in 1530 he succeeded Pynson as the king's printer, and was appointed to value confiscated imported books when no duty had been paid in 1531. In 1534 he was one of eight London printers, and by 1539 he was one of the six who were also stationers. In November 2,000 copies of Coverdale's Bible were printed, yet there were over 8,500 parishes.<sup>208</sup> Reading the Bible in an English or Scottish translation was permitted, in spite of the opposition of Catholic priests,<sup>209</sup> and copies sold at 10s unbound and 12s bound.<sup>210</sup> Some parishes had registers,<sup>211</sup> and by 1540 some had paid 10s for an official Bible while others had paid 13s 4d.<sup>212</sup>

The king sent his chief minister to the Tower, then married and had the minister executed on the same day.<sup>213</sup> *A Ballad on the Downfall of Thomas Lord Cromwell* appeared anonymously and accused him of interfering with the church, but hoped his soul would be saved.<sup>214</sup> No copy survives, though its chorus was 'Troll on away'. An anonymous ballad denounced the printer and author as 'papystes', and defended the minister, while a third anonymous ballad sought to mediate. Richard Lant may have printed all three. Richard Bankes published four more, and he and Richard Grafton, and the authors Thomas Smyth and William Gray appeared before the Privy Council in December. Bankes denied he had been the printer and evidently went free, though Grafton admitted that he had printed two ballads, and that he owned a banned publication, and was imprisoned.<sup>215</sup> London printers were ordered to put their name and the author's, and the date of publication, on their productions, and provincial printers had to give the mayor a copy two days before publication.<sup>216</sup> Parliament made it illegal for aliens to hold leases. The Stationers' assistants paid fees of 8d, liverymen 6d and yeomen 4d a quarter,<sup>217</sup> and the first book with engravings was a guide to midwifery.<sup>218</sup> The king had Protestants executed for refusing to believe some aspects of Catholic doctrine, and Catholics executed for repudiating the Act of Supremacy.<sup>219</sup>

By 1541 a third of English people were aged under 15, and boys as young as seven worked in agriculture and textile mills. A skilled craftsman with a wife and two children had to work 142 days out of a possible 313 (excluding Sundays and church festivals) to feed his family, while a labourer had to work 214 days.<sup>220</sup> Berthelet, who had been worth £50 in 1537, was now worth £16 13s 8d,<sup>221</sup> yet the widow Maryon Graunt joined the Stationers.<sup>222</sup>

Most country parishes, and some in larger settlements, had not bought an authorised Bible,<sup>223</sup> and faced a fine if they did not do so by 1 November. In 1542 Anthony Marler received a patent to print the English Bible for four years, and William Lily's revised Latin textbook was made compulsory in schools, to the exclusion of all others. Early in 1543 the king granted two London printers a patent to produce service books, though they and five others were imprisoned on suspicion of producing illegal publications in spring. Five were released after a fortnight, but fined. They had to deposit £100 and swear not to repeat the offence, and were ordered to make a list of 'what number of bookes and ballettes' they had bought and sold for the past three years. Soon after 25 booksellers also had to deposit £100 and bring in similar lists. The Privy Council ordered printers not to produce 'any maner of englishe boke, ballet, or playe' without a name or date, and all books about religion had to be approved by the king. Women



(except noblewomen and gentlewomen), apprentices, artificers, journeymen and servants were barred from reading the English Bible or New Testament, or face a month in prison,<sup>224</sup> and an Act noted that

froward and malicious minds, intending to subvert the true exposition of scripture, have taken upon them, by printed ballads, rhymes, etc., subtilly and craftily to instruct his highness' people, and specially the youth of this realm, untruly. For reformation thereof, his majesty considereth it most requisite to purge his realm of all such books, ballads, rhymes, and songs, as be pestiferous and noisome. Therefore if any printer shall print, give, or deliver, any such, he shall suffer for the first time imprisonment for three months, and forfeit for every copy 10l [£10], and for the second time, forfeit all his goods and his body be committed to perpetual prison.<sup>225</sup>

By 1544 almost all parishes now had an authorised Bible, and the translation of church services was underway.<sup>226</sup> Most daughters of nobles and gentry probably learned to read English at home.<sup>227</sup> There was one school for every 8,300 children, and the low fees made them accessible to sons of small landowners and tradesmen.<sup>228</sup>

### **(vii) Thys pyllor made the maynstrels**

William Pyers had been the earl of Northumberland's secretary at Leconfield in 1519-1520. He was a poet, and was paid for revising Beverley's Corpus Christi plays.<sup>229</sup> During the rebuilding of the Minster in the early 1520s, a new pillar bore five figures. On the front, above them, was an inscription: 'thys pyllor made the maynstrels'.<sup>230</sup>



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The badges with the town's arms signified that they were waits. They wore stocks (neck cloths), short coats, girdles (belts) and stockings. Some instruments have been damaged, though they probably included a crwth, a guitar, a treble and bass flute, a side drum and a tabor. They had large purses, and probably went on tour, since pipes and tabors were commonly used at village dances. On the back of the statues was a request for prayers for their souls.<sup>232</sup>

York was still the centre of the region's book trade. The king had paid £2 for 'two new bokes bought of Ursyn' in 1502-1503;<sup>233</sup> and by late 1510 30-year-old Ursyn Mylner had settled in York and testified in a case about imported books.<sup>234</sup> Gerard Freez died in Lynn,<sup>235</sup> and left £40 to de Worde in London. Freez and two other York stationers had bought 1,221 books in France valued at £86 19s 8d, and Freez had contributed about £20.<sup>236</sup> There was a lawsuit about them,<sup>237</sup> in which Frederick Freez was described as a 'buke prynter'. In the year to spring 1511 Louth churchwardens paid a man for 'prekyng' songs in York. Goes evidently printed mainly in York and Beverley, but also in Cambridge and London, where he published with Henry Watson, de Worde's assistant, at Charing Cross, and Pynson printed the York *Book of Hours* (prayers and Psalms) in London.<sup>238</sup> Another York stationer had been made a freeman by patrimony, and the printer and a stationer Mylner printed two small service books in the Minster churchyard in 1513.<sup>239</sup> In 1516 he became a freeman and probably lived in Blake Street.<sup>240</sup> The king appointed a Master of the Post,<sup>241</sup> and a service from London passed through York,<sup>242</sup> where another bookbinder was at work,<sup>243</sup> while de Worde printed the York *Book of Hours* in London.<sup>244</sup> In 1517 Mylner was the first to be designated as a 'prynter' in York's freemen's register.<sup>245</sup>

In 1517 the king granted York a common council. The 13 most powerful guilds were to nominate four members of the aldermen's council, and the outgoing 24, who tended to be mainly former sheriffs, would choose two from each guild. The 15 lesser guilds would nominate two members apiece for the council, and the aldermen and 24 would choose one from each, making 41 in all, plus the senior searchers from all 28 guilds. Every 15 January the

council was to nominate three aldermen who had not been mayors twice, or who had not held that office for six years, and the aldermen and sheriffs would select the new mayor. The mayor, aldermen and 24 would be the day to day governors of the town, and select the chamberlains who would take up office on 3 February.<sup>246</sup> In 1518-1519 the Minster paid John Gibbons for printing hymns, including *Te Deum*, and books, and paid Thomas Bakar for binding two epistles, and in 1519 Mylner printed an indulgence to raise money for a religious guild.<sup>247</sup> By 1520 the town's population was around 8,000.<sup>248</sup>

Musicians also found work in York. Edward Greward had been a minstrel in 1512, as had John Harper in 1514.<sup>249</sup> In the mid-1520s York was 14<sup>th</sup> most important provincial town in England.<sup>250</sup> In the year to spring 1525 the chamberlains paid a vestmentmaker (clerical tailor) 6s 8d for 'brodering of the waytes sleyves' with the 'armes of the City', while another got 5s 4d for the same work.<sup>251</sup> In 1526 the waits were granted an annual wage of £3 13s 4d, new liveries and one of the city's houses.<sup>252</sup> In the 1520s Thomas Bell, Thomas Sutherton, Thomas Cunsby and Johannes Sawghele were minstrels.<sup>253</sup> In 1533 one guild owned a 'bagge pype'.<sup>254</sup> In 1535 the waits' liveries cost £1 16s,<sup>255</sup> and two embroiderers were paid 8s for four escutcheons (badges) with the lord mayor's name.<sup>256</sup>

Another stationer had become active in York 1525,<sup>257</sup> and a church in Spurriergate had paid a friar to write music in 1626.<sup>258</sup> In 1527 the widow Joan Warwyke was the earliest-known woman printer in England. Her son John became a freeman in 1530,<sup>259</sup> and was a printer by 1531.<sup>260</sup> A bookbinder worked in the Minster library. A London stationer had a York devotional work printed abroad,<sup>261</sup> yet in 1532 a book was printed in York 'at the sygne of the Cardynalles hat by Iohan warwyke'. Five printers had worked there from 1509 to 1534, more than in any other provincial town. No more York books have survived from the rest of the century,<sup>262</sup> yet a French-born bookbinder acquired letters of denization.<sup>263</sup>

In October 1536 the Catholic rebels required all the men in Beverley to swear to support them,<sup>264</sup> and early in 1537 York council allowed the leaders to enter the city.<sup>265</sup> Another York bookbinder had become a freeman,<sup>266</sup> and 'Neville' Mores' probate inventory listed 126 volumes and included 24 'messe bookes bound and unbound' for 27s. The overwhelming majority of Latin works showed that he focussed on the clerical market,<sup>267</sup> and he left six printing presses, two sewing presses, a cutting knife and a pair of 'great sheres'.<sup>268</sup> A French-born stationer from Hereford set up a shop in the Minster close, and became a stationer, bookseller and possibly a printer,<sup>269</sup> and the archbishop asked the king's first minister to licence a printer to produce authorised catechisms.<sup>270</sup> From 1538 the chamberlains annotated Corpus Christi play scripts, usually in Latin,<sup>271</sup> and sat at the first station and checked all the performances against the register.<sup>272</sup>

Late in February 1539 friaries surrendered to the king.<sup>273</sup> In York John Wayte's wife was paid 1s 4d for an 'old Reyd hoode laggyd for one of the Eldest wayttes',<sup>274</sup> and the musician John Harper bequeathed 'a noys of pipes called shaumes', but the waits were 'discharged for a 'misdemeanour'.<sup>275</sup> Subsequent waits were sometimes paid for playing at Easter, the day after Corpus Christi day, at midsummer, the feast of St. William and Christmas,<sup>276</sup> and during the 1530s Willelmus Hyll and Johannes Banister were minstrels.<sup>277</sup> In 1542 York had become a city, and the stationer Warwyke made his will and bequeathed a 'prysse with iii maner of letters with brasse letters', three 'mattresses with all other thynges concernynge the prynthinge', all valued at £8 5s, five 'dossed barkyde [tanned] skynnys' worth 5s, and 1,000 'bordes for bookes grett & smalle' worth 9s and 'bookes in the Schoppe' valued at £22 10s 10d, though he owed over £65 to members of the book trade in York and London.<sup>278</sup> Around 1543 another stationer became a freeman.<sup>279</sup> In 1544 a vestmentmaker was paid 8s for 'making of scutcyons to the three wayt of this City' with 'letts of gold for my lord Mayour name Accustomyd Ageynst Crystmas'.<sup>280</sup>

By 1540 Beverley's population may have been around 5,000, yet the Corpus Christi plays lapsed.<sup>281</sup> The York cordwainer Valentine Freez, Gerard's son, had become a freeman by patrimony, but he and his wife were convicted of being Catholics and burned at the stake at Knavesmire.<sup>282</sup> In 1541 St. William's shrine in the Minster was broken up,<sup>283</sup> and the new Chester diocese took over responsibility for the north-western counties.<sup>284</sup> Henry Knight was a wait,<sup>285</sup> and only royal waits were allowed to play in the city.<sup>286</sup> After a former mayor was reimbursed for what he paid to 'straunge mynstrelles', the chamberlains were barred from making such payments in future, and any mayor who went against this ruling would be fined £5.<sup>287</sup> In September 1544 Beverley Minster was the first large monastery to surrender to the king.<sup>288</sup>

In 1545 a York stationer went to Newcastle as a soldier,<sup>289</sup> since the border was in turmoil.

## (viii) Wool and coal

By 1510 Durham court records were in English, and included many instances of up to 60 armed men who 'assembled riotously with other malefactors and disturbers of the peace in warlike fashion', either to kill others or to steal their

animals and other property, yet the Gateshead and Wolsingham bailiffs were both accused letting 'vagabonds and Scots to roam and lodge overnight' in 1511.<sup>290</sup>

In 1516 the Star Chamber in London changed the way Newcastle freemen chose their officers. The 12 most powerful guilds would still elect two members who had been a mayor, sheriff or alderman, and they would elect four to choose eight more. These 12 would elect another 12,<sup>291</sup> and then the Four and Twenty would choose a mayor, six aldermen, a recorder, a sheriff, eight chamberlains, two coroners, a sword-bearer, a clerk and eight sergeants from their own number. The 12 most powerful guilds would each choose two members to audit the annual accounts. The 'coliers, shoemakers, boochers, weavers, smiths, dawbers [plasterers], porters, keelmen, slaters, tylers, millers, cooks, spurriers, barbourers, wrights, furbishers [upholsterers], boiers [bow-makers], fletchers [arrow-makers], gloovers, cowpers, girdlers [girdle-makers], challon [blanket] wevers, masons, sadleres, shipwrights and wallers' could join the Mercers', Drapers' and Spicers' companies if they renounced their craft. Those worth less than £4 a year would have to pay 10s, those worth up to £5 15s £1 and those worth more £1 6s 8d. No man who had lived in the town for a year, and no gentleman's or lord's servant who had not served a seven-year apprenticeship, could become a freeman.<sup>292</sup> By 1517 some Merchant Adventurers were known as Hostmen, and acted hosts to visiting merchants.<sup>293</sup> Merchants exported sheepskins, lamb-fells, canvas, lead, grindstones, tanned leather and coal;<sup>294</sup> Newcastle's population was around 5,000, and it was the ninth most populous provincial town in England.<sup>295</sup>

In 1522 the bishop of Carlisle reported that 'There is more theft and extortion by English thieves than there is by all the Scottes of Scotland'. In and around Hexham on market day 'forescore or 100 strong thieves' had stolen all the cattle, horses, and corn to sow or grind, and those who did not deliver anything immediately were threatened with having their house burned.<sup>296</sup> In Durham a quarter of a ton of wheat had cost anything from around 3s 4d a decade earlier, but it had risen to 9s 4d in 1520. The price of barley had risen from 2s 6d in 1506 to 5s and oats from 1s to 2s 6d.<sup>297</sup> Scriveners knew legal formulae for bills, receipts, wills,<sup>298</sup> leases and agreements, and procured money on security;<sup>299</sup> though 240 sheets of ordinary paper cost 1s 4d, 36 of 'paper royal' 7d, and four pints of ink 1s 5d.<sup>300</sup>

By the mid-1520s Newcastle was third most important provincial town in England, yet it and the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the lands held by the bishop of Durham, were exempted from a lay subsidy.<sup>301</sup> Morpeth Grammar School reopened in 1524 and the master and ushers taught boys Latin and Greek and took 'great care' that they 'read and pronounce articulately with due sound and accent'.<sup>302</sup> Newcastle Grammar School was founded (or refounded) in St. Nicholas' churchyard in 1525,<sup>303</sup> to further the 'erudition and instruction' of freemen's sons.<sup>304</sup> The mayor put some property in trust so that after he died the interest could go towards employing a master.<sup>305</sup> He had to be 'an able and sufficient priest, or master [of arts], profoundly learned', and ensure the 'free erudition and instruction of all scholars', both 'those inhabiting the town' and 'those resorting to it'. The civic officers raised the current master's annual salary by £2 13s 4d.<sup>306</sup>

The reivers' main raiding season was from Michaelmas to Martinmas, and Englishmen and Scots released other reivers from Newcastle Keep. In 1528 the warden of the English East March hanged 16 reivers at Alnwick,<sup>307</sup> and a peace treaty was renewed for five years.<sup>308</sup> Almost all the surviving Northumberland villages had a fortified stronghold,<sup>309</sup> and 165 settlements had been abandoned,<sup>310</sup> yet Berwick freemen secured parliamentary representation in 1529.<sup>311</sup> An Act provided that no merchandise was to be discharged on the Tyne between Sparrowhawk at the river's mouth and Hedwin Streams upstream from Newcastle,<sup>312</sup> and only freemen could buy or sell it.<sup>313</sup> Wickham and Gateshead collieries exported around 17,000 tons a year,<sup>314</sup> and in 1530 the king granted Newcastle's Trinity House the power to collect piloting dues on the Tyne its creeks (nearby rivers).<sup>315</sup>

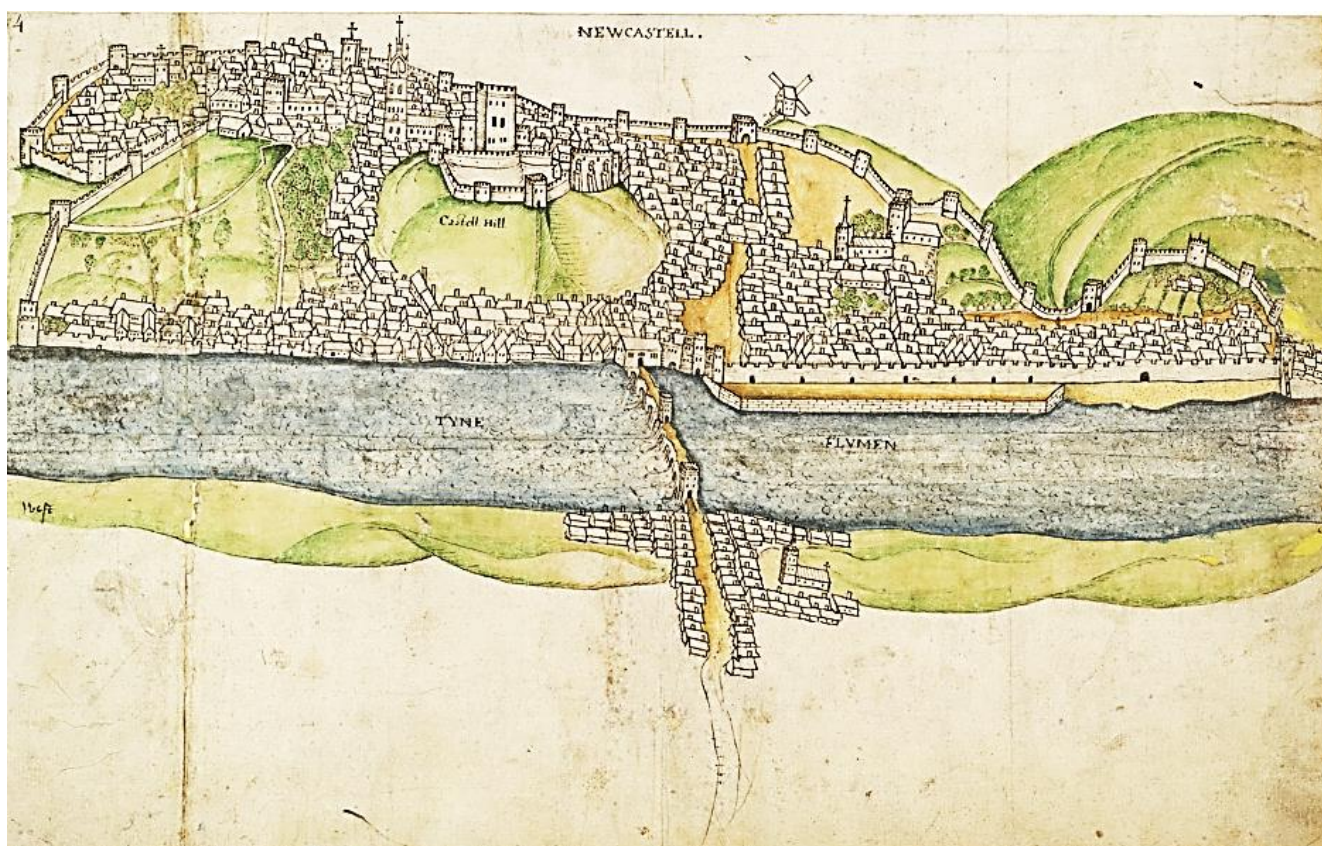
John Armstrong reportedly owned no land, but had 3,000 horsemen and 120 wore his livery. From the borders to Newcastle, 'every Man' paid 'Tribute, to be Free of his Trouble'; then in 1530 the Scottish king led 8,000 men to round up reivers and hanged Armstrong. (The earliest surviving version of *Johnnie Armstrong* appeared over a century later.<sup>316</sup>) The king revived his Council in the North,<sup>317</sup> yet in 1532 a reiver led 3,000 lancers into England.<sup>318</sup> In 1536 coal cost 2s 6d a chaldron at Newcastle and sold for about 4s in London.<sup>319</sup> Trinity House was incorporated and had to pay primage (a small payment given to a captain to look after cargo). The brothers were to erect lighthouses either side of the river mouth and receive 2d from each English vessel and 4d from each foreign one.<sup>320</sup> Newcastle offered no resistance to the rebels,<sup>321</sup> and some people imported a small book which discussed the royal succession, and the bishop of Durham asked the mayor to seize them and trace the importers. He also announced the king's decision to publish the Bible in English,<sup>322</sup> yet the bishop lost the right to pardon treason, and all writs were now to be issued in the king's name.<sup>323</sup> Monkwearmouth cell was dissolved,<sup>324</sup> as was its sister cell at Jarrow.<sup>325</sup>

A County Durham squire had left £3 to a priest to 'syng for me for two yeres' in 1522, and if he died before the squire his executors were to choose another priest. From around 1530 most Durham wills were written in English. In 1533 a Houghton-le-Skerne gentleman left a priest £4 6s 8d to 'syng for my sowl one holl yere'.<sup>326</sup> The first



record in English had appeared in Durham priory documents three years earlier, though Latin and part-Latin entries continued,<sup>327</sup> and in 1533 the priory paid 'ministrallis' £3 2s.<sup>328</sup> Some Durham magistrates were now senior clergy and university graduates in theology and law,<sup>329</sup> and in 1534 a man was charged at the ecclesiastical court in Durham with breaking into West Auckland church and stealing a chalice, money and 'bookes'.<sup>330</sup> The king's commissioners visited Tynemouth in 1536. They made serious charges against the monks and took away the bells made of 62 ounces of gold and 1,827 ounces of silver.<sup>331</sup>

The master of Alnwick Grammar School had been the chantry chaplain,<sup>332</sup> yet by 1538 a former monk was in charge.<sup>333</sup> In January 1539 Tynemouth priory surrendered to the king, as did Durham priory in December.<sup>334</sup> Tynemouth priory had estates all over the country, reaching almost up to the border. When all its household goods and farm stock were sold, and all debts paid, the crown reportedly received £261. The prior received an annual pension of £80, and was allowed to live at his former manor-house at Benwell. The sub-prior received an annual pension of £7 and the perpetual curacy of Earsdon church, and the monks received between £2 and £6.<sup>335</sup> Durham priory's annual income had been £1,572, and it was the third richest priory in England. Its school probably had around 30 pupils,<sup>336</sup> and the library held over 1,000 manuscripts and 100 printed books.<sup>337</sup> The Hexham and Newminster priors received pensions of £30 a year, while the Blanchland prior got £10. All Newcastle's friaries were closed, and the 46 friars received from £1 to £6 a year.<sup>338</sup> Around this time someone sketched the town.



The sketch did not show most of the watermen's district east of the Sandgate.

There were 1,907 armed men in Newcastle,<sup>340</sup> and 3,250 in Northumberland. The county annexed Tynemouth and Redesdale became part of the crown estate in 1540.<sup>341</sup> It cost 1s 8d to get a Newcastle scrivener to write a letter and pay someone to take it to London in 1541.<sup>342</sup> Over the winter of 1543 to 1544 English and Scottish raiders despoiled over 120 Scottish border villages, killed 35 men, hurt many more, and carried off about 7,500 beasts. Other raiders killed hundreds of people, took prisoners, destroyed fortified bastle houses and towers and drove off over 20,000 cattle, though in 1544 12,000 English troops destroyed almost 300 Scottish border towns.<sup>343</sup>

Trinity House had paid 6d apiece for impressing mariners into the Navy in 1542,<sup>344</sup> and again in 1543.<sup>345</sup> In 1544 an Irish bishop thought that northern Englishmen would not understand him, and planned to rewrite one of his books so they and Scots could read it.<sup>346</sup> By 1545 John Hymers from Durham was probably a teacher on Holy Island,<sup>347</sup> and a Morpeth priest was to 'kepe a Grammar School for the erudition and bringing up of children'.<sup>348</sup> The king closed chantries, hospitals and other religious institutions,<sup>349</sup> and gave the Black Friars to the Newcastle freemen,<sup>350</sup> when the plague was raging,<sup>351</sup> and the freemen erected a building outside the walls for the infected.<sup>352</sup>

A list of banned authors was published in 1546,<sup>353</sup> and the king incorporated Newcastle's Merchant Adventurers. They could elect a governor, 12 assistants and two wardens on 9 October each year, a clerk and a beadle, ceremonial officers. They could have a seal, sue and be sued, take recognances (legal bonds), make bye-laws, buy land and export goods.<sup>354</sup> The bishopric remained the only liberty north of the Trent that was not united with crown.<sup>355</sup>

During the king's reign an anonymous manuscript ballad entitled *Nowe-a-Dayes* had lamented the conversion of arable to pasture across England, and the decay of villages.

The townes go down, the land decayes;  
Off cornefeyldes, plain layes;  
Gret men makithe now a dayes  
A sheepcote in the church ...

Commons to close and kepe;  
Poor folk for bred to cry and wepe;  
Towns pulled downe to pasture shepe;  
This is the new gyse.<sup>356</sup>

John Forest had been the only Catholic to be burned at the stake by 1547,<sup>357</sup> though 81 people had been hanged for heresy. The king died in January, aged 55,<sup>358</sup> and was succeeded by his nine-year-old son.



### 3. It is ordained and statuted forever

#### (i) The old world, when this country was called merry England

The late king had ordered his 16 executors to govern as a regency council until the boy king was 18, but early in 1547 two of them persuaded the others that his uncle should be lord protector. By February he was a duke and by March he wielded royal power. The tutors he appointed for the king were Protestants and he ordered every parish without an authorised Bible to buy one within three months and the English translation of Erasmus's paraphrases of the Gospels within a year. Every clergyman without a Bachelor of Divinity degree had to buy a Latin and an English New Testament and Erasmus's paraphrases. No English Bible had been printed for six years. There were 15 printing houses in London, and when Richard Grafton became the king's printer he was told to print only in English.<sup>1</sup>

The lord protector was concerned about 'masterless men'. In summer an Act defined a vagrant as 'a serving man wanting a master' or a beggar not practicing 'some honest and allowed art, science, service or labour' for three or more days. Convicted vagrants were to be enslaved for two years and their master could feed them with bread and water and force them to work by any method including beating. They could buy and sell them, and if nobody wanted them, they would have to work as a slave in their birthplace. Their children could be claimed as 'apprentices', and boys could be held until they were 24 and girls until they were 20. If they tried to escape they would be enslaved for the rest of their apprenticeship and branded with a 'V'. If they escaped again and were captured, they faced lifelong slavery, and if they escaped and were captured a third time they faced execution.<sup>2</sup>

In autumn what turned out to be the last battle between English and Scottish armies took place near Edinburgh,<sup>3</sup> and the lord protector agreed that Berwick should be independent of both nations.<sup>4</sup> In December the Act requiring heretics to be burned was repealed,<sup>5</sup> as were all Acts passed since 1377 that related to religious opinions, yet denying that the king was head of the Church was still treason.

By 1548 there were six new printing houses in London. Early in 1549 the *Book of Common Prayer* appeared and in March every parish church and cathedral was required to buy a copy.<sup>6</sup> All clerics were to adopt it or face six months in prison, a year for a second offence and life for a third.<sup>7</sup> The wholesale price was 13d, and no copy was to retail for more than 2s 2d.<sup>8</sup> Priests who were schoolmasters had a stipend of £10 to £20 a year. They had to pay all of their first year's income to the king and a ten percent thereafter, while a lay master might earn less than £7.<sup>9</sup> Printers were ordered not to produce or sell unlicensed books,<sup>10</sup> and Catholic works in particular.<sup>11</sup> In autumn, after the lord protector sent the king to Windsor, the London authorities sent 500 men to rescue him. They imprisoned the lord protector, and another earl took over the role and was created duke of Northumberland. The widow Elizabeth Hertford printed books, though stationers fewer than 22 percent of works that year.

Across England, most towns had had one market a week with stalls in the open air, for which stallholders paid a toll, and a pillory and stocks for offenders who could not profitably be fined stood in every market. Bread, meat, ale, cooked meals, firewood, candles, articles in leather, wood and metal, cloth and linen, were the staple commodities. Weights and measures used locally were hired out to the public and this was a source of considerable profit. Bread and ale depended on the local corn crop and the prices were rigidly controlled according to a sliding scale. Local officials fixed the price of bread at the 'assize', and since there could be only farthing, halfpenny and penny loaves, their weight varied. A baker would bake anything that was brought to him, since only the wealthy had an oven. A good deal of meat was bought at butchers' stalls, and fish on Fridays, fast days and during Lent, from Ash Wednesday to just before Easter. Salt herrings were the cheapest and most plentiful. Wood for fuel was bought by the hundredweight (112 pounds), or in other customary loads, and nothing was wrapped or packed except barrelled or bottled goods. Everybody drank ale with meals, although the well-to-do might drink wine. Town dwellers kept cows and sheep on the commons, while pigs and poultry in the backyards were fattened on household scraps. Fairs were lucrative for their owners since were free to charge what they liked. There were tolls for hiring booths, building stalls and laying out goods on the ground. People who could afford it also bought salt cod or haddock, which cost a little more, by the barrel at autumn fairs for winter and the following Lent, yet fruit and vegetables were scarce and poor. There was a tax from the buyer and seller on every transaction, and the right to administer justice and impose fines and forfeitures for breaking the assize, or the peace, using bad language or trading out of hours, was profitable. One of the most important items was wine, and nearly all of it came from Gascony in France.<sup>12</sup> By 1550 the English population was about 2.97 million.<sup>13</sup>

There were 19 printing houses in London. Prophesying by speaking, writing, printing or singing was banned, yet one parish paid 6s 8d for eight quires of royal paper to make four 'song bookes',<sup>14</sup> and John Merbecke published chant-melodies for the new church liturgy.<sup>15</sup> Thomas Becon criticised ballads,<sup>16</sup> and William Baldwin wanted to drive

out 'baudy balades of lecherous loue that commonly are indited and song of idle courtiers in princes and noble mens houses'.<sup>17</sup> In 20 years at least 12 new printers had worked in London,<sup>18</sup> though only four percent of surviving books in English were printed in England.<sup>19</sup> By 1551 there were 15 printing houses in London, and setting up a press was so expensive that most time-served apprentices worked for booksellers. The currency's purchasing power had more than halved in 50 years and retail prices had almost doubled in eight years.<sup>20</sup> By 1552 a gold half-sovereign was valued at 15s not 10s, a crown at 7s 6d not 5s and a half-crown at 3s 9d not 2s 6d. The *Book of Common Prayer* was substantially revised and the first version was banned, while writing, printing, painting, carving or engraving prophesies became high treason.<sup>21</sup> It was an offence to question the Protestant faith, and failure to attend a church was punishable by a fine or imprisonment. Seizures of church land, property and gold and silver plate were legalised, and when the bishop of Durham refused to cooperate he was sent to the Tower,<sup>22</sup> and the bishopric was abolished.<sup>23</sup> Prices stabilised,<sup>24</sup> and an Act required the election of two collectors in every parish to request, record, and distribute charitable donations to 'impotent, aged, and needy persons'. They were to 'gently exhort' anyone who could contribute, yet declined to do so, and refer them to the local bishop if they still refused.<sup>25</sup> Most people lived in dark, squalid and cramped dwellings with two rooms open to a thatched roof. They had a timber frame with walls of reinforced mud on a rubble foundation, with no glazed windows and one fireplace.<sup>26</sup> John Caius, the king's physician, wrote of 'the old world, when this country was called merry England'.<sup>27</sup>

The London printer Thomas Berthelet was a member of a committee considering the ordinances of the Fellowship of Minstrels.<sup>28</sup> William Martyn, who had printed a 'seditious ballett' written by John Lawton, had to deposit £100 to guarantee his appearance before the House of Lords every week with all the copies he could find, until they decided what to do with him.<sup>29</sup> The lord protector persuaded the young king to limit the right to print to wholly trusted individuals.

John Day was born around 1522, probably in Dunwich, Suffolk. He later became apprenticed to a London printer, but by 1540 he had left his master and was allowed to marry the 17-year-orphan of a London Merchant Taylor, when the normal minimum age for a bride was 18. Day called himself a stationer, even though he was from outside London, but he may have worked for a bookseller. In 1546 he was admitted to the Stringers, and was 'translated' to the Stationers in 1550.<sup>30</sup> He was a Protestant, and the lord protector, who wanted a few individuals to have monopolies for printing key texts, wrote to a secretary of state.

I have thought good to requier you to be a meane for the kinges ma[jest]ies lycens for the printinge of the same, And that this poore man, who hath byn allwaies A furerer of godlie thinges, may by his highnes gracious goodness be auctorised for the onlie printinge of the same for A certain space as shalbe thought mete by his ma[jest]ie, wherein the poore man shal haue caus to pray for his highness.

The patent was issued six months later and the catechism was authorised for use in schools. Day also received patents for *ABCs*, the *Book of Common Prayer* and other works, which overrode those of the king's printer, and had no time limit, and in 1553 he was granted a patent for printing the Psalms.<sup>31</sup>

William Seres may have been born in Suffolk.<sup>32</sup> He was a London printer by around 1546,<sup>33</sup> became a citizen in 1548 and joined the Stationers by paying £40.<sup>34</sup> By 1553, when he was based in St. Paul's churchyard,<sup>35</sup> he was licenced to print books of private prayers for six years,<sup>36</sup> and had the sole right to print children's primers and catechisms.<sup>37</sup> Bristol and Dublin may have had presses,<sup>38</sup> and London stationers sold books to provincial stationers and paid the carriage costs.<sup>39</sup> Carts and pack horses left the capital regularly, and a licensing procedure for pedlars and chapmen was put in place;<sup>40</sup> so printed books reached markets and fairs across England, and the number of literate people was increasing in the northern England.

## (ii) The north

York Minster's 60 chantries had been abolished in 1547,<sup>41</sup> yet there were 85 grammar schools in the diocese. In 1548 the lord protector ordered that the scholar who put slanderous bills on doors and windows should be set in the pillory with a paper saying why,<sup>42</sup> and the plague had killed hundreds by 1551.<sup>43</sup> A member of the king's Council of the North bequeathed his books to Gray's Inn in London, with £2 to have them chained in the library.<sup>44</sup> The Minster lost much of its silver, vestments and altar frontals, and new service books were issued in 1549 and 1552. The number of services was reduced to Matins, Communion and Evening Prayer.<sup>45</sup> The chamberlains appear to have stopped writing in Latin,<sup>46</sup> though secular musicians earned a living. Nicholas Harper had become a wait by 1546 and Richard Harper was a minstrel in 1547.<sup>47</sup> A vestmentmaker was paid 8s for making the three waits' 'scutcyons' in time for Christmas, with the mayor's name in gold letters. In 1548 the Bakers paid the waits for playing at their

dinners on Corpus Christi day and Trinity Sunday (7 June), 4d on Corpus Christi day in 1549, 2s for playing at two dinners in 1551 and 16d in 1552.<sup>48</sup>

At Easter 1548 the Church of St. John the Evangelist in Beverley had lost its collegiate status, and its annual income of around £1,000 reverted to the king, yet the provost received a pension of £50 a year. The king gave the buildings to a knight and the deputy governor of Hull, and its status was reduced to that of a parish church.<sup>49</sup> The 76 officials were dismissed, but two of the priests and two chantry priests were reappointed. The chantry chapels, canons' chapels, statues and the gold and silver shrine of the saint were destroyed or removed. Businessmen bought the Church, the Chapter House and the charnel house for £100, pulled down the Chapter House, the church of St. Martin and the charnel house and raised £120. By 1552 the Minster was reportedly 'in great decay, and in a short space is very likely to fall into utter ruin'.<sup>50</sup>

In 1541 Durham's priory church had been refounded as a cathedral with a dean and 12 prebendaries,<sup>51</sup> and its annual income of £115 paid for their salaries and those of a rector, six fellows and four 'inferior' fellows.<sup>52</sup> Reportedly six novices 'went daly to schule' for seven years. By 1548 the city's population was between 2,000 and 3,000,<sup>53</sup> and plans were being made for a university with a provost, professors, and 80 scholars, though this was abandoned in favour of refounding the Grammar School with a headmaster and 16 king's scholars. All the major teaching posts and many minor ones were former monks,<sup>54</sup> and the headmaster remained in place.<sup>55</sup>

An average of at least one Newcastle Grammar School pupil went to university each year, and an overwhelming majority went to Cambridge. Over half students were sizars, relatively poor young men who worked their way through college. Some acted as waiters to other students at meal times,<sup>56</sup> and received free food and tuition.<sup>57</sup> College tutors relied on schoolmasters to recommend potential students but the tutors had to be able to understand their accent. In 1547 John Gray, who was from a prominent family, and probably a Cambridge graduate, was master of Newcastle Grammar School with a stipend of £5 a year.<sup>58</sup> In 1551 a former Newcastle monk left his books to a brother clerk,<sup>59</sup> and the mayor and freemen leased parts of the Black Friars to nine lesser guilds in 1552.<sup>60</sup>

St. John's College in Cambridge had favoured students from Cumberland, Westmoreland and Northumberland for 40 years.<sup>61</sup> Morpeth and Alnwick still had schools attached to chantries,<sup>62</sup> and Morpeth's was reopened as Grammar School in 1552.<sup>63</sup> The freemen appointed the master and usher, subject to the bishop of Durham's approval, yet only he could sack them. Thomas Husband taught grammar and 'other literature', including Greek and Hebrew, to the sons of freemen and others without a salary, but if the former chantry's revenue did not exceed £6 13s 4d a year he could take paying scholars from outside the town. The revenue was £20 10s 8d and the master probably received from £6 to £8 and the usher from £3 to £4.<sup>64</sup>

Most Northumberland people spoke much like those in southern Scotland, irrespective of status, and a Scots accent might go unnoticed in the English East March, it was more easily detected in the Middle March.<sup>65</sup> A bishop reportedly considered rewriting a book so that 'northerners and Scots could read it without difficulty'.<sup>66</sup>

During the 1540s the Scot John Knox had preached in France and was arrested. When he was released from a galley in 1549 he moved in England,<sup>67</sup> and was licensed to preach in Berwick. He interpreted the *Book of Common Prayer* in line with the doctrine of continental Protestants, and preached with great effect, so his congregation grew. He married a woman from an old Durham family, and in 1550 he was appointed to preach at St. Nicholas' Church in Newcastle. In 1551 the lord protector appointed him as one of the king's six chaplains, invited him to preach at court, and he refused the post of bishop of Rochester.<sup>68</sup> Late in 1552 the lord protector wanted him moved because his sermons attracted Scots migrants. On Christmas Day he preached against Catholicism, and the king gave him an annuity of £40.<sup>69</sup> The king died, aged 15, in July 1553, and was succeeded by his 37-year-old Catholic half-sister.

### **(iii) Ballads and other pernicious and hurtful deuices**

In July 1553 a ballad against the Catholic queen and another against 'papistes' appeared in London.<sup>70</sup> An illegitimate 'queen' supported by noblemen occupied the throne until the legitimate queen entered London on 3 August, and she had the noblemen executed.<sup>71</sup> She banned 'pryntunge of false fond books, ballats, rymes, and other lewd treatiuses in the englyshe tonge' which 'nourishe sedition' and religious controversy, and were produced 'cheifly by Prynters and Stacioners' for 'vyle gayne'.<sup>72</sup> Protestants, who sold them because of an 'evil zeal for lucre',<sup>73</sup> were deprived of their privileges, so many fled abroad,<sup>74</sup> including the printer Thomas Gibson.<sup>75</sup> The queen's printer was a bookbinder, and had to get a printer to fulfil his functions, and by August seven of the nine leaders of the Stationers' Company were stationers. By autumn nine presses had closed temporarily or permanently, and probably only four invoked their royal patents, though a Canterbury press continued to operate. The queen was prepared to pardon some people, except those who were in the Fleet or Tower prisons or under

house arrest, either by her orders or those of the Privy Council, or anyone whose case was before the Queen's Bench or the Exchequer courts, and 50 other named individuals.<sup>76</sup> Late that year she cancelled William Seres' patent for printing church service books and many copies were confiscated.<sup>77</sup> In spring 1554 she ordered bishops to repress 'corrupt and naughty opinions, vnlawfull bookes, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful deuices, engendering hatred amonges the people, and discord', and in summer she married a Catholic Spanish prince.<sup>78</sup> Seres produced two music books which resembled the Psalm book produced by the French Protestant, Jehan Cauvin, better-known as 'John Calvin'; so she sent Seres to the Tower,<sup>79</sup> and ordered aliens who were not merchants to leave the country in 24 days. The Stationers may have had 125 members, and in December they bought a hall in St. Paul's churchyard and spent £68 on renovations and furniture.

Early in 1555 an Act prescribed that anyone found guilty of printing 'heynous, sedicious and schlanderous Writings, Rimes, Ballades, Letters, Papers and Bookes' was to be pilloried and have their ears cut off,<sup>80</sup> or be fined £100 and spend three months in prison. Those who wrote, printed or distributed anything which slandered the queen and her husband, or who 'procured' someone to do so, would be punished under the Treason Act, if possible, or lose his or her right hand. In summer banned authors included Calvin, Coverdale, Luther and Tyndale, and readers of the *Book of Common Prayer* risked being burned at the stake,<sup>81</sup> as did the authors of works 'conteyning false doctryne contrarye to and agaynste the Catholyque faythe'.<sup>82</sup> A Norwich harper had his ear cut off and nailed to the pillory for 'devysing of vnfitting songes against the quenes maieste', which he had given to two other minstrels. The London mayor made aldermen responsible for policing 'keepers of taverns, dancing houses, unlawful games, and the like', and they were not to allow minstrels or others to sing 'any manner song or songs or to play on any manner of instruments or to make or play any manner of interlude or play within his or their house', except at weddings.<sup>83</sup> The Fellowship of Minstrels complained about the 'dyverse and many foreyn Mynstrells' and the 'great losse and hindruance of the poore mynstralls' who were freemen. They wanted the laws concerning foreigners and apprentices to be enforced, a ban on anyone playing 'any instrument in the open streets, lanes and alleys of the City' between 10.00pm and 5.00am, the suppression of craftsmen singing 'Thre mens songs in the Taverns, ale houses, Innes, and other such places' and at 'weadings, &c.', and those who taught dancing.<sup>84</sup> Only the waits were allowed to play in the streets from 10.00pm until 5.00am and others faced a fine of 10s.<sup>85</sup>

At least 110 large towns and cities in England had waits. They usually played when a new mayor took office, on May Day, at Midsummer, at the annual perambulation of the civic boundary and at processions and civic dinners, including the one after the quarter sessions. From Michaelmas to Shrovetide (the ninth Sunday before Easter), or Whitsun (the eighth Sunday after Easter), waits generally 'piped the watch' at stated hours of night, raised the alarm in an emergency, protected important people and woke them by playing 'soft music' at their door.<sup>86</sup> Some woke workers and called out the state of the weather, and the state of the tide in port towns.<sup>87</sup> They received a retainer from the civic authorities, but also played for money at weddings, dances and other festivities, and could take a paying apprentice. Some played a horn,<sup>88</sup> a cornet,<sup>89</sup> a trumpet, a sackbut, an early trombone,<sup>90</sup> or a lute,<sup>91</sup> and the queen wanted to regulate all the musicians across northern England.

By 1553 Beverley corporation was responsible the upkeep of the Minster, St. Mary's Church and the Grammar School, and the appointment of clergy and schoolmasters.<sup>92</sup> Willelmus Browne, Cuthbert Wharton (or Watson), Robert Sparke and Thomas Davyson were minstrels, as was John Banyster, the wait's son, in 1554.<sup>93</sup> The waits received 1s 8d for 'Rydyng and playing before St. George and the play', and the common council agreed that the 'mynstrelles freemen' should be 'from hensforth a ffellowship and shall have their proper ordynances'. In 1555 the queen sent a letter about minstrels who described themselves as 'Gentylmen Sarvautes',<sup>94</sup> and she gave a charter to the 'famous company or fraternity of Minstrels in Beverley'.

Whereas it is and hath been a very antient custome unto of the memorie of dyvers alges of men heretofore contynnally frequented from the tyme of king Athelstone, of famous memorie, sometyne a notable kyng of Englande, as may appeare by olde booke of antiquitie. That all or the most part of the mynstrell playing of any muscalle instruments, and thereby occupying there honest lyyng inhabytyng dwelling or serving any man or woman of honor, and wonshype of any cite or towne corporate or otherwise, between the rivers of Trent and Tweed, have accustomed yerely to resort unto this towne and borough of Beverley, at the Rogation Days; and then and there to chosse yearly one alderman of the mynstrells, with stewards and deputies, authorized to take names, and receive customeable duties of the brethren of the said mynstrells' fraterntie; and the alderman to correcte, amend, execute, and continue all such laudable ordynances and statutes as they have hitherto ever used for the honestee and profit of their science and art muscalle, to be only exercised to the honour of God, and to the comforte of man.— Therefore William Pridsay, Robert Thompson, Christopher Farer, Richardo Craven, William Sande, William Yong, Robert Sparrowe, Robert Maryson, Henry Powre, Alexander Guy, and William Farley, the governors of the said towne, A. D. 1555, by virtue of the ancient charters granted to this same towne of Beverley by the noble kyngs of this realme of England, and successively confirmed the same under their brode seall from the tyme of the above named king Athelstone, hitherto and now last of all confirmed in most ample manner by the gracious good-

ness of our most virtuous sovereign Lord and Lady Kyngo Phylip and Queen Marie, do grant unto the said brotherhood of mynstralls the renewing of all the godly and goodley orders concerning the said science, of late partly omitted to be revyved in as large and ample a manner and form as they have been hitherto at any tyme used, and so to be continued at the said place and tyme yearly for ever, in maner as followeth.

Imprimis—It is ordained and statuted for ever, to be kept by the assent and consent of all the brethren of the fraternity of mynstralls,—That all the brethren within that science shall come at the commandment of the alderman or his stewards to what place within Beverley as he shall assign them, and there to chuse the aldermen and stewards, and to keep the hour to them assigned in payne of every offence xij d.

Also if there be any brother that will not come in or being comed will depart without licence before the new alderman and jeurers be chosen, and other honest orders there to be taken, for the profit and comodity of the said science and brotherhood, shall have for his syne ij s. iij d. without forgiveness.

Also it is ordyned and statuted by the alderman of the mynstralls, with the hole assent and consent of all the brethren of the same, that when the new alderman is chosen, that then he shall have two hours respite for to provide him two honest men, inhabitors and burgresses within the towne of Beverley, to be his sureties for the safeguard of the stock which then shall be delivered unto him by the old alderman, and of the performance of all his other duties according to this present original, which sureties shall be bounden in double value of the said stock, and if no such sureties are found, then that eleccyon to be voyd, and another alderman to be chosen.

Also the alderman shall make eleccyon of two able men for the guilde to fill, and himselfe to be third and of them three all the fellowship shall chuse for that year, to fill the said offys, also the alderman with his stewards shall set two able men on the eleccyon to these two that occupie, and of these fower the alderman shall chose one for steward, and the fellowship shall chose one for that year.

Also an ordynance made by the assent of all the brethren, with the alderman of the mynstralls, that there shall no man been any offys for the said fraternity to the tyme that he have paid his due, and be full brother upon payn of vj s. viij d. paid by the alderman.

Also it is ordyned and statuted by the alderman of the mynstralls, with the hole assent and consent of the mynstralls themselves, that no alderman shall take in any new brethren unless he be mynstrall to some man of honour and worship, or waite of some town corporate, or other ancient towne, or else of some honesty and conyng as shall be thought laudable and pleasant to the hearers there or elsewhere, upon pain of vj s. viij d.

Furthermore it is ordyned by the alderman and his brethren, that if there be any made brother already, not being able as aforesaid, or has been so able, and now declineth from the same for lack of honest usage, that then the alderman and brethren and officers shall them expell from their brotherhood, as alderman and officers will make answer to the kyng's officers when they speak of vagabonds and vallant beggers.

And if any person or persons so deprived shew himself obstynate, and stands in contencion arrogantly, that then the kyng's officers be sent for to carry the offender or offenders to the gaile, and there to remain until he be reconcyled to honest order, and for his obstynacy to forfeit as the alderman and his brethren shall thinke meete and convenient in that behalf.

It is ordyned also that mynstralls to men of worship, waite, conyng men, and able men, being honestly esteemed, and within the liberties of the brotherhood of Beverley, shall come in and be brothers in the said brotherhood at the next Rogation Days, after admonition and warning be given to them, upon payn of xx s. except they can shew lawfull cause to the alderman and his brethren they being thereof examined.

Also it is ordyned by the alderman and his brethren, that no brother shall have but one apprentice at one tyme, upon payne of vj s. viij d. and he to be presented to the alderman in one year and one day to be enrolled and made full brother, upon payn of vj s. viij d.

Also it is ordyned by the alderman and his brethren, that no mynstrall shall teach his own son or any other for a particular summe of money, but he shall present him as is aforesaid, upon payn of vj s. viij d. It is ordered also that no mynstrall shall take any apprentice to teach on any other, as is aforesaid, except the same mynstrall be able and approved by the alderman and his brethren, upon payn of xx s.

Also it is ordyned that when the alderman and his brethren are settin accounts, that then none of the other brethren shall come but as they are called, upon payn of ijs. that is to witt, the steward xij d. for the negligence, and the offender viij d.

Further it is ordyned that no mynstrall, being a foreigner or a stranger, shall remain upon fautes and fealties within the said liberty longer than one fortnight to pass and repass, to be there masters and friends, and so to depart of the said liberties upon payn of xij d. every tyme they be taken, they being once thereof admonished and warned.

It is ordyned also that no shepherd or husbandman, or husbandman's man, or man of other occupation, playing upon pipe or other instrument shall see any wedding, or other thing that appertaineth to the said science, except it be within the parish wherein he dwelleth, upon payn of vj s. viij d.

Also it is ordyned that no mynstrall shall play at any wedding or alderman's feasts within this town of Beverley, (the liberties of the Cross Days and all other fair days excepted) unless he be a burress sworn upon scots and lots within the same, upon payn of ijs. iij d.

Also if there be any man that is no brother, that taketh a brother's castle from him, he shall pay xij d. to the guilde.

And also it is ordyned that none shall play in a castle, except he be a brother, upon payn of xij d.

Also it is ordyned that all manner of forfeits aforesaid shall be divided into three ptes. that is to say, one part to the common place of Beverley, the second part to the brotherhood of the mynstralls, and the third part to the stewards or the officers which the straine is made or the forfeit paid, and within the town of Beverley, the half to the common places.

Also it is ordeyned by the alderman and his brethren, that if there be any old and honest brother syke or at Male East by the visitation of God, within the said liberties, being destitute of help and succour and few friends, then the alderman, being thereof admonished, shall, at the discretion of himself and four of the brethren, relieve and succour the brother so being visited, with some parcel of money, with all Godly customs that have been used heretofore, as aigh as ability may see or attaine.

Also an ordnance made by the assent and consent of all the brethren, with the alderman of the same fraternity, that no man be made brother with the occupation of the mynstralls without he be a mynstrall and able.

Also if there be any brother that disaprise his alderman and stewards, and will not do at the command of them at that time, that is to say, that when he or they will not come at the prime Gild or any other thing which shall be at the welfare of the said, they shall pay ij s. vj d.

And also an order made by the assent of all the aforesaid brethren, that the alderman shall receive of every mynstrall that stands in the castles upon Cross Monday, without he be brother to the said fraternity, then to pay xij d. to his contribute and to the welfare of the said fraternity of our lady of the Head Arke in Beverley.

And it is ordeyned by the alderman and his brethren, that every officer of the said science, authorised by several letters under the common seal of the fraternity, shall yearly make a true account of all the receipts of him or them, or any of them, takes of any brother or other mynstrall, upon such payment as shall be thought mete by the alderman and his brethren, in case any fault can be proved in him or them so receiving any customs.

Also it is ordeyned by the alderman and his brethren, that if any brother of the said science or other do receive or gader any money of any brother or other of that science, having no authority so to do by lawfull letter seal<sup>d</sup> as is promised, then it shall be lawful to punish such an untrue offender, and so proceed according as the law shall permit, or to cause him to make a true account of all such untrue and unlawfully taken receipts.

Also it is ordeyned and statuted by the alderman and his brethren for ever to be kept, That the said brotherhood of minstralls of there own grace and good will shall pay and give unto the governors of the town corporate of Beverley, and to the comonality of the same, xx<sup>s</sup> as often as they shall have to renew the confirmation of the great charter, for there lawful aid in maintaining the said fraternity of mynstralls, as hath been the custom heretofore.

Also it is ordeyned that every brother of the said fraternity shall pay to the alderman for his brotherhood, ij s. within two years of his entry, upon payme of iij s. iij d.

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Robert Hewitt led the waits,<sup>96</sup> though John Peesgrave had to walk barefoot around the market wearing a jacket with a paper at the front and back explaining that he had 'hereticall and sediciouse books contrarie to the lawe'.<sup>97</sup>

That same year the queen confirmed the charter of the 'Bookebynders of York, otherwise called Stacyoners', and added that 'no stranger or fornyer should sell any book or bookes within the city', except freemen, on 'payne of forfeiture'.<sup>98</sup> That year 75 Protestants were executed,<sup>99</sup> and in 1556 the Privy Council banned minstrels from touring,<sup>100</sup> since 'such idle persons have commonly, in their songs and plays, spread heresy and sedition'.<sup>101</sup>

The York waits John Balderston and John Clerke were sacked because they had 'gone abroad in the contry in very evill apparell, with their hose forth at their heeles, also that they are comon drunkerdes and cannot so connynglie play on their instrumentes as they ought to do', yet both were soon reinstated.<sup>102</sup> In 1557 the Mercers paid minstrels a total of 2s 6d.<sup>103</sup> Robert Hushwait was deemed fit to be 'one of the common waytes', 'vpon his good behaviour & dylygens', and after he was admitted as a freeman he would receive the 'syluer cheyne with the skutcheon' so long as he provided surety for it.<sup>104</sup> Musicians, including the waits, performed at the Bakers' annual dinner,<sup>105</sup> and by 1558 Thomas Moore (or Mowar) was a wait;<sup>106</sup> while William Hill made his will and bequeathed his 'best baggepipe'.<sup>107</sup> In 1559 the chamberlains paid the waits a total of 8s 4d for playing at Easter, the feast of St. William and Christmas, and they also paid the minstrels who were in the service of 'honourable men'.<sup>108</sup>

#### (iv) Richard Sheale

By the later 1550s at least ten percent of men and five percent of women in England could probably read.<sup>109</sup> In 1557 William Lily's *Short introduction of grammar* was published in Paris,<sup>110</sup> outside the queen's control, but in 1558 she incorporated the London Stationers' Company, appointed the master and two wardens, and no book could be published without their permission.<sup>111</sup> Sixteen or so older members were to be elected as assistants each year and were empowered to search printers' premises, seize illegal material, imprison anyone who resisted, or printed illegally, for three months, fine them £5,<sup>112</sup> destroy types and presses, limit the number of presses and the amount of type manufactured, set maximum book prices and edition sizes, and apply to the courts for other penalties, up to and including death. Apprentices were to serve at least seven years, though they could not become free of the Company until they were 24, and the Stationers were to regulate them and arrest any who left their masters.<sup>113</sup> Membership was open to everyone in the book trade, and 97 joined immediately, and while at least a quarter of printers did not, 133 freemen, 81 apprentices, 25 others and an unknown number of widows joined later,<sup>114</sup> and they included 33 master-printers.<sup>115</sup> Only 35 members had printed or published books, and others were members



of other companies,<sup>116</sup> and many had come from outside the capital.<sup>117</sup> There were 11 provincial printers,<sup>118</sup> but the Stationers' charter ended legal printing except in London, Oxford and Cambridge,<sup>119</sup> so it had an almost complete monopoly of printing and book-selling and only it and the queen could licence others.<sup>120</sup> Stationers had to import books through London and get the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London's approval before they could sell them.<sup>121</sup> Most small books cost 1s and ballads cost ½d, the price of half a loaf of bread,<sup>122</sup> when skilled craftsmen earned from 8d to 10d a day.<sup>123</sup> It cost 4d to register a ballad with the Company,<sup>124</sup> to protect the publisher, but not the author.<sup>125</sup> William Pickering on London Bridge specialised in ballads,<sup>126</sup> and was the first to enter one in the register. At least 543 books had been published since 1554, though in summer 1558 anyone importing heretical books risked 'marshall lawe'.<sup>127</sup> All the 46 known ballad writers were men, and 13 had a university education or its equivalent,<sup>128</sup> and a provincial singer had an earl's protection.

The earl of Derby was born in 1521 into a family which was powerful in Lancashire, Cheshire, the Isle of Man, the Welsh Marches, Staffordshire and elsewhere. He took part in the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, at the age of 15, and in a raid into Scotland in 1542; and by the 1550s he was a patron of a minstrel. Richard Sheale was based in Tamworth, Staffordshire, and was married to a 'sylke woman' who sold shirts, smocks, neckerchiefs, ribbons, edging, silk thread and linen at fairs. She regularly visited Tamworth, Atherstone and Lichfield, a town of 2,000 inhabitants which had waits. Sheale reportedly sang and played the harp as far south as London, where he claimed that printers loaned him £10 or £20's worth of 'ware', and a lord gave him introductions to other aristocrats and gentry and the earl of Derby 'dyd wryt for me frendly aftar a lovyng facion'. In 1555 the London authorities accredited him. 'Richarde Sheale aswell at the contemplacion of therle of derbyes Lettre wryten in his favour as also for dyvers other consyderacions movynge the Courte was admytted to the Liberties of this Cytie in the ffellowshippe of the mynstrelles for xl s.' The 'resydewe of the comen hounse' (the usual fee) of £20, was 'gevyn vnto hyme agayne.' Late in 1556, or early in 1557, Sheale rode south-east from Tamworth alone, carrying (as he claimed) around £60's worth of gold to pay his debts in London, yet four men robbed him at Dunsmore Heath near Rugby. He returned to Tamworth and appealed to the earl and his son, who assisted him, and friends and neighbours suggested that he held an 'ale'. They gave him money to buy a bushel of malt and the event raised almost £5. Early in 1558 he wrote a verse epitaph for the countess of Derby, who was buried in Ormskirk in Lancashire, and sold it to a printer, presumably in London. In spring the Privy Council feared a Scots invasion and gave the warden of the East March the additional responsibility of the Middle March, and the earl of Derby mustered 5,000 men and marched north to support him, and Sheale may have been in his retinue, yet the rest of his life remains a mystery, except for a manuscript book measuring 7¾ inches by 6¼ inches.

It contains 76 lyrics, including 33 on moral and religious subjects, 20 that were satirical and 15 that were amorous. Eight have some form of narrative, though most seem more suitable for reciting than singing. The central section probably dates from 1554 to 1557, and most of the rest were probably written soon after. Around two-thirds had named authors, and five were attributed to Sheale. *The Hunting in Chevy Chase* probably related to events of over 200 years earlier,<sup>129</sup> yet the first reasonably reliable transcription appeared over 300 years later.

[*Fytte the first.*]

the perse owt off northombarlonde an avowe<sup>1</sup> to god mayd  
 he,  
 that he wold hunte In the mowntayns off chyviat *with*In  
 days iij,  
 In the magger of doughté dogles & all that euer with him  
 be ;  
 the fattiste hartes In all cheviat, he sayd he wold kyll & cary  
 them Away.  
 ' be my feth,' sayd *the* dougheti doglas agayn, ' I wyll let  
*that* hontyng yf *that* I may.' 5  
 the[n] *the* perse owt off banborowe cam, *with* him A myghtee  
 meany,  
*with* xv.C archares<sup>1</sup> bold off blood & bone, *the* wear chosen  
 owt of shyars iij.  
 this begane on a monday at morn, In cheviat the hillys  
 so he ;  
 the chylde may Rue that ys vn-born, it wos the mor pitte.  
 the dryvars thorowe<sup>2</sup> the woodes went for to Reas the  
 dear ;



bomen byckarte vppone the bent *wit* ther browd Aros  
 cleare ;  
 then the wyld thorowe the woodes went on euery syde shear ;  
 greahondes thorowe the grevis glent for to kyll thear dear .  
*ther* begane In chyviat *the* hyls Abone yerly on A monnyn-day ;  
 be *that* it drewe to the oware off none, A(hondrith fat hartes  
 ded *ther* lay. 15  
 the blewe A mort<sup>3</sup> vppone *the* bent, *the* semblyde on sydis  
 shear,  
 to *the* quyrry then the *perse* went to se the bryttlynge off the  
 deare ;  
 he sayd, 'it was *the* duglas promys this day to met me hear,  
 but I wyste he wolde faylle verament ;' A great oth *the* *perse*  
 swear.  
 at the laste A squyar off northomberlonde lokyde at his hand  
 full ny, 20  
 he was war of<sup>1</sup> the doughetie doglas *commynge*, with him a  
 myghtte meany,  
 both with spear, bylle<sup>2</sup>, and brande, yt was a myghtti sight  
 to se ;  
 hardyar men both off hart nor hande wear not In cristiante.  
 the wear xx.C spear-men good, withoute any feale ;  
 the wear borne A-long be the watter A twyde yth bowndes of  
 tividale. 25  
 'leave of the brytlyng of the dear,' he sayd, ' & to your boys.  
 lock ye tayk good hede ;  
 for<sup>3</sup> sithe ye wear on your mothars borne, had ye neuer so  
 mickle nede.'  
 )the dougheti dogglas on A stede he Rode alle his men be-  
 forne ;  
 his armor glytteryde as dyd A glede, A boldar barne was  
 neuer born.  
 'tell me whos men ye ar?' he says, 'or whos men that  
 ye be? 30  
 who gave youe leave to hunte In this chyviat chays In *the*  
 spyt of myn & of me ?'  
 the first mane that euer him An answer mayd yt was *the*  
 good lord *perse*,  
 'we wyll not tell the whoys men we ar,' he says, 'nor whos  
 men *that* we be,  
 but we wyll hounte hear In this chays in the spyt of thyne &  
 of the ;  
*the* fattiste hartes In all chyviat we haue kyld, & cast to carry  
 them A-way.' 35  
 'be my troth,' sayd *the* doughete dogglas agay[n], '*therfor*  
 the ton of vs shall de this day.'  
 then sayd the doughté doglas vnto the lord *perse*,  
 'to kyll alle thes gittles men, Alas! it wear great pitte ;  
 but, *perse*, thowe art A lord of lande, I am a yerle callyd  
*wit*In my contre,  
 let all our men vppone a parti stande, & do the battell off the  
 & of me.' 40  
 'nowe cristes cors on his crowne!' sayd the lorde *perse*,  
 'who-so-euer *ther*-to says nay,  
 be my troth, doughtté doglas,' he says, 'thow shalt neuer se  
 that day,  
 nethar In ynglonde, skottlonde, nar france, nor for no man  
 of a woman born,  
 but, & fortune be my chance, I dar met him on man for on.'  
 then bespayke A squyar off northombarlonde, *Richard* wythar-  
 ryngton was his nam, 45

'it shall neuer be told In sothe ynglonde,' he says, 'to kyng  
 Herry *the* iiij. for sham ;  
 I wat youe byn great lordes twaw, I am A poor squyar of  
 lande,  
 I wylle neuer se my captayne fyght on A fylde, & stande my  
 selffe & loocke on ;  
 but whylle I may my weppone welde, I wylle not [fayle] both  
 hart and hande.'  
 that day, *that* day, *that* dredfull day! *the* first fit here I  
 fynde ; 50  
 & youe wyll here any mor athe hountynge athe chyviat, yet  
 ys *ther* mor be-hynde.

[*Fytte the Second.*]

the yngglyshe men hade ther bowys ye-bent, *ther* hartes wer  
 good ye-noughe,  
 the first off arros that the shote off seven skore spear-men  
 the sloughe ;  
 yet byddys the yerle doglas vppon *the* bent, a captayne good  
 ye-noughe,  
 & that was sene verament, for he wrought hom both woo &  
 wouche. 55  
 the dogglas partyd his ost In iii. lyk a cheffe cheften off  
 pryde,  
 with suar spears off myghtte tre the cum In on euery syde,  
 thrughe our yngglyshe archery gave many A wounde fulle  
 wyde,  
 many a dougheté the garde to dy, which ganyde them no  
 pryde.  
 the ynglyshe men let thear boys be, & pulde owt brandes *that*  
 wer bryghte ; 60  
 it was A hevy syght to se bryght swordes on basnites lyghte.  
 throrowe ryche male and myne-ye-ple many sterne *the* strocke  
 done streght ;  
 many A freyke that was fulle fre ther vndar foot dyd lyght.  
 at last the duglas & the *Persé* met lyk to captayns of myght  
 & of mayne ;  
 \the swapte togethar tyll the both swat, with swordes *that*  
 wear of fyn myllan. 65  
 thes worthe freckys for to fyght, *ther-to the* wear fulle fayne,  
 tyll the bloode owte off thear basnetes sprete as euer dyd  
 heal or Ran.  
 'yelde the, *perse*,' sayde the doglas, ' & I feth I shalle the  
 brynge  
 wher thoue shalte haue A yerls wagis of Jamy our skottish  
 kynge. \  
 thoue shalte haue thy Ransom fre, I hight the hear this  
 thinge ; 70  
 for the manfullyste man yet art thoue that euer I conqueryd  
 In filde fighttynge.'  
 'nay,' sayd the lorde *perse*, 'I tolde it the beforne,  
 that I wolde neuer yeldyde be to no man of A woman born.'  
 with that ther cam An arrowe<sup>1</sup> hastely forthe off A myghtte  
 wane,  
 hit hathe strekene the yerle duglas In at the brest-bane ; 75  
 thoroue<sup>2</sup> lyvar & longes bathe the sharpe arrowe ys gane,  
*that* neuer after In all his lyffe-days he spayke mo wordes but  
 ane,  
*that* was, 'fyghte ye, my myrry men, whylls ye may, for my  
 lyff-days ben gan.'  
 the *perse* leanyde on his brande, & sawe *the* duglas de ; \

he tooke the dede mane by the hande, & sayd, 'wo y<sup>s</sup> me  
 for the! 80  
 to haue savyde thy lyffe, I wolde haue partyde with my  
 landes for years iij. ;  
 for a better man of hart nare of hande was nat In all the  
 north contre.'  
 off all that se a skottishe knyght, was callyd ser hewe the  
 monggombyrry,  
 he sawe the duglas to the deth was dyght, he spendyd A  
 spear a trusti tre,  
 he Rod vppone a corsiare throughe A hondrith archery, 85  
 he neuer stynttyde nar neuer blane tylle he cam to the good  
 lord perse.  
 he set vppone the lorde perse A dynte that was full soare,  
 with a suar spear of a myghtte tre clean thorow the body he  
 the perse ber,  
 athe tothar syde that a man myght se a large cloth-yard &  
 mare.  
 towe bettar captayns wear not in cristiante then that day slan  
 wear ther. 90  
 An archar<sup>3</sup> off northomberlonde say sleane was the lord  
 perse,  
 he bar A bende bowe In his hand was made off trusti tre,  
 an arow that A cloth-yarde was lang tothe harde stele  
 halyde<sup>1</sup> he,  
 a dynt that was both sad & soar he sat on ser hewe the  
 monggombyrry,  
 the dynt yt was both sad & sar that he of monggomberry.  
 sete, 95  
 the swane-fethars that his arrowe bar with his hart-blood the  
 wear wete.  
 ther was neuer a freake wone foot wolde fle, but still In stour  
 dyd stand,  
 heawyng on yche othar whylle the myghte dre, with many A  
 balfull brande.  
 this battell begane In chyviat An owar<sup>2</sup> before the none,  
 & when even-songe bell was Rang the battell was nat half  
 done. 100  
 the tocke [the fight] on ethar hande be the lyght off the  
 mone ;  
 many had no strenght for to stande In chyviat the hillys  
 Abon.  
 of xvc archars of ynglonde went A-way but vij<sup>x</sup> & thre ; )  
 of xxc spear-men off skotlonde but even five & fifti, )  
 but all wear slayne cheviat with In, the hade no streng[th]e  
 to stand on hy ; 105  
 the chylde may Rue that ys vn-borne, it was the mor pitte.  
 thear was slayne, withe the lord perse, ser Johan of agerstone ;  
 ser Rogar the hinde hartly, ser Wyllyam the bolde hearone ;  
 ser Jorg the worthe lounle, A knyghte of great Renowen ;  
 ser Raff the Ryche Rugbe, with dyntes wear beaten dowene ;  
 for Wetharryngton my harte was wo, that euer he slayne  
 shulde be ; 111  
 (for when both his leggis wear hewyne In to, yet he knyled  
 & fought on his kny.  
 ther was slayne, with the dougheti duglas, ser hewe the  
 monggombyrry ;  
 ser dauy lwdale, that worthe was, his sistars son was he ;  
 ser charls a murre In that place, that neuer A foot wolde fle ;

*ser* hewe maxwelle, A lorde he was, *with the* doglas dyd he  
 dey. 116  
 so on the morrowe the mayde them byears off birch & hasell  
 so g[r]ay ;  
 many wedous *with* wepyng tears cam to fache *ther* makys  
 A-way ;  
 tivydale may carpe off care, northombarlond may mayk great  
 mon,  
 for towe such captayns as slayne wear thear on the march  
 parti shall neuer be non. 120  
 word ys comen to edden-burrowe to Jamy *the* skottishe  
 kynge,  
 that dougheti duglas, lyff-tenant of the marches, he lay sleane  
 chyviat *with*In ;  
 his handdes dyd he weal & wryng, he sayd, ‘ alas ! & woe  
 ys me !  
 such A-nothar captayn skotland *with*In,’ he sayd, ‘ ye-feth  
 shuld neuer be.’  
 worde ys commyn to lovly londone, till *the* iiij. harry our  
 kynge, 125  
*that* lord perse, cheyff tenante of the marches, he lay slayne  
 chyviat *with*In ;  
 ‘ god haue merci on his solle,’ sayde kyng harry, ‘ good lord,  
 yf thy will it be,  
 I haue a C. captayns In ynglonde,’ he sayd, ‘ as good as euer  
 was he ;  
 but, perse, & I brook my lyffe, thy deth well quyte shall be.’  
 as our noble kynge mayde his A-vowe, lyke a noble prince of  
 Renowen, 130  
 for the deth of the lord perse he dyde the battell of hombyll-  
 down,  
 wher syx & thritte skottishe knyghtes on a day wear beaten  
 down,  
 glendale glytteryde on ther armor bryght *over* castille, towar,  
 & town.  
 this was the hontynge off the cheviat, that tear begane this  
 spurn ;  
 old men that knowen the grownde well ye-noughe, call it *the*  
 battell of otterburn. 135  
 at otterburn begane this spurne, vppone A monnynday ;  
 ther was the doughté doglas sleane, *the* perse neuer went  
 A-way ;  
 ther was neuer A tym on the marche partes sen *the* doglas  
 & *the* perse met,  
 but yt ys meruele & the Rede blude Ronne not as the Reane  
 doys In *the* stret.  
 Ihesue crist our balys<sup>1</sup> bete, & to the blys vs brynge ! 140  
 thus was the hountynge of the chivyat, god send vs alle good  
 endyng !

*Expliceth, quoth Rychard Sheale.*

130

Sheale may well not have been the author, since ‘quoth’ somebody or other was a common feature of such manuscripts, yet wherever it came from, the ballad was evidently part of his repertoire.<sup>131</sup> His book contains lyrics in 11 different hands, and some have two,<sup>132</sup> and one was by a well-known professional ballad-writer who worked in London.<sup>133</sup>

Across England, and especially in regions remote from London like the north, culture was policed by local magistrates and the sergeants, their civic enforcers.

## (v) What vse of gitterns by nyght

In 1553 Newcastle's Trinity House had paid minstrels 1s 2d on 'saint John and saint peter ewen' (25 June).<sup>134</sup> Parliament had recently required brewers to have a magistrate's licence,<sup>135</sup> and decreed that there should be no more than four taverns or wine-sellers in the town,<sup>136</sup> and thereby restricted the earnings of musicians, including John Allanby, 'late one of the waits', who played a 'sagbott',<sup>137</sup> a 'haut' (loud) instrument.<sup>138</sup>

By 1554 Gawayne Aydon was the Merchant Adventurers' sergeant, though he also got 1s for 'scourging a boy about the town' and 'setting a man on the pillory for two days', and 1s for hiring a horse and cart 'for casting a woman about the town taken in adultery'. A painter got 4d for 'making a paper' describing her offense and 'polling' her hair before she was 'whipped about the town'.<sup>139</sup> That summer the queen confirmed the Newcastle charter.<sup>140</sup>

She also restored the bishopric of Durham,<sup>141</sup> and insisted that the Cathedral had a new litany.<sup>142</sup> There had to be ten choristers aged under 15 'with voices tuneable and fit for singing', while a lay clerk 'of honest report, of upright life, skilled in singing and in playing the organs', was to 'zealously give his time to teaching the boys'.<sup>143</sup>

Across England magistrates were responsible for combating 'worldly pomp' and enforcing the 14<sup>th</sup> century Act which set out that 'None shall wear in his apparel any cloth of gold, silver, or tinsel; satin, silk, or cloth mixed with gold or silver, nor any sables'; except earls and other 'superior degrees'.<sup>144</sup> Late in 1554 Newcastle Merchant Adventurers were outraged by some apprentices' conduct:

what dyseng. cardeng and mumming. what typlinge: daunseng, and brasenge [embracing] of harlots. what garded cotes, lagged hose. lyned with Silke. and cutt shoes. What vse of gitterns [early mandolins] by nyght. what wearynge of berdes what daggers ys by them worn crosse ouerthwarte there backes that theis there entire dooings are more cumlye and decent for rageng ruffians.

Masters faced a £2 fine for allowing such behaviour, and apprentices would begin their servitude again,<sup>145</sup> except for the sons of mayors, aldermen and sheriffs.<sup>146</sup>

The border remained in turmoil. Scots and Englishmen demanded blackmail (protection money) as far south as Morpeth and burned the homes of non-payers.<sup>147</sup> Defensible buildings within 20 miles of the border were ordered to be in good repair,<sup>148</sup> and Newcastle Merchant Adventurers agreed not to take apprentices 'borne or brought up in Tyndall, Ryddisdale' and 'suche lyke places', since they were not of 'honest conversation'.<sup>149</sup> A gentleman in Norton near Stockton in County Durham bequeathed 'all my bookes' to a priest,<sup>150</sup> yet the number of cases of riotous assembly and violence in the county escalated.<sup>151</sup>

The Privy Council raised the number of Newcastle aldermen from six to ten,<sup>152</sup> and reorganised the electoral process. The first four electors had to be former mayors or aldermen, and if there were none available they could be former sheriffs. The 24 electors from the 12 main companies would form a common council,<sup>153</sup> while the lesser companies would have no representatives. There were 11 schoolmasters in the town, though fewer than half of their 850 to 900 pupils were probably ten or over, and the chamberlains paid only the two who taught Latin, which was required at university.<sup>154</sup> Durham College, Oxford, had surrendered to the crown in 1545, and in 1546 half of the garden leased to St. Bernard's College was granted to Christ Church. Two gentlemen got the other half in 1553, and sold it in 1555, when it became part of Trinity College, while the rest became part of St. John's College.<sup>155</sup>

By 1558, nationally, 233 men and 56 women Protestants had been executed since 1553, and at least 30 others had died in prison.<sup>156</sup> The queen died in November, aged 42, leaving debts of £227,000,<sup>157</sup> and was succeeded by her 25-year-old Protestant half-sister.

## 4. Northumberland newes

### (i) Vnfruitful, vayne and infamous bokes and papers

In January 1559 a 'noyse of instruments' greeted the queen's entrance to London for her coronation.<sup>1</sup> The queen allowed a 'modest and distinct song' in services,<sup>2</sup> and approved congregational singing,<sup>3</sup> though a Cambridge professor wanted church organs to be abolished.<sup>4</sup> Everyone had to attend church once a week, or be fined 12d, and clerics had to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, while parishes had to have registers,<sup>5</sup> and surviving religious houses were dissolved. Some schools were founded with a royal charter, yet there were few financial grants. Headmasters had to be academically qualified and religiously conformist, and many were clerics who were subject to 'visitations'. So were the townspeople who boarded pupils, and they had to keep them free of 'all unthrifty pastimes and gaming' and report those who went astray.<sup>6</sup> England was divided into six judicial circuits and two judges rode conducted winter and summer assizes. Postmasters hired out horses for 2d a mile, plus 4d for a guide every 12 to 15 miles, so most travellers, including chapmen and itinerant musicians, probably walked.<sup>7</sup>

The ban on importing works by Calvin, Coverdale, Erasmus, Luther, Tyndale and others was lifted,<sup>8</sup> yet there were injunctions against 'vnfruitful, vayne and infamous bokes and papers',<sup>9</sup> and the Master of the Revels censored plays.<sup>10</sup> Protestant printers gradually returned from abroad and William Seres' patent for printing church service books was restored.<sup>11</sup> The queen confirmed the Stationers' Company's charter and empowered the warden to inspect ships for illegally imported publications and to confiscate any they found. Printers had to submit ballads to the Privy Council before publication. They delegated the job to three minor clerics,<sup>12</sup> and many printers reportedly ignored the process.<sup>13</sup> The fee for freemen of other companies, Englishmen from outside the city and its liberties and aliens to join the Company rose from 1s to 2s 6d,<sup>14</sup> and it fined one member 1s and another 2s for printing an unlicensed ballad, and another 1s 8d for printing 'halfe a Reame of Ballettes of another mans Copey'.<sup>15</sup> (When several stationers owned a ballad the order of names in a colophon indicated their seniority.<sup>16</sup>) Almanacs appeared in greater numbers, and by 1560 expensive ones had blank pages for notes.<sup>17</sup> The London authorities granted members of the Stationers the right to wear a livery and vote in municipal and parliamentary elections if they paid 15s.<sup>18</sup> The Company paid a preacher 6s 2d, but gave a minstrel 12s. At the end of the year 796 unlicensed ballads and 44 books were in a cupboard awaiting the election of a new warden,<sup>19</sup> and 20 of 89 entries in the year to spring 1561 were ballads,<sup>20</sup> and woodcuts were more common.<sup>21</sup> In 1562 a Londoner lamented the 'wanton sound' and 'fithie sense' of 'rimes that run thus large in every shop to sell'.<sup>22</sup> An Act required badgers to be householders of three years' standing, and they had to a legally-binding bond) not to engage in engrossing or forestalling before they got a license.<sup>23</sup>

Nationally, retail prices and rents had doubled in 20 years.<sup>24</sup> In 1563 the Statute of Artificers specified that the hours of labour were to be 12 in summer and during daylight in winter.<sup>25</sup> It required seven-year apprenticeships, reserved the highly skilled trades to the sons of the better off, and empowered magistrates to fix wage rates for virtually all workers and to make the unemployed work on the land. Workers had to get their employer's permission to transfer to another,<sup>26</sup> and buy tickets costing 1d or 2d, yet they could not get a significant rise without risking a crippling fine or prison. Parishes could levy a poor rate, but not many did. All this added to the effects of the debasement of the coinage and the abolition of the social provision previously provided by religious institutions.<sup>27</sup> William Martyne was fined along with many others for selling the French scholar Nostradamus's *Prophecies*. Martyne died not long afterwards, though his widow Joan took an apprentice in December 1564.<sup>28</sup> That year an Act had barred those who had not served an apprenticeship from practising any trade or face a fine of £2 a month.<sup>29</sup>

Thanks to royally-authorized pirates the acquisition of bullion from across the Atlantic the queen began to restore the purity and weight of gold and silver coins, and she gave the London Merchant Adventurers a charter.<sup>30</sup> She had to repeat the order for parishes to have registers,<sup>31</sup> and was warned about 'a great number of scholars' in Louvain, Flanders, who sent books and letters causing 'evil rumours to be spread and disquiet the people'.<sup>32</sup> In 1565 the Stationers fined a member 12d for printing 'other men's copies' of ballads,<sup>33</sup> and in 1566 the Star Chamber gave the warden unlimited powers to search,<sup>34</sup> and stages (long waggons) ran to the main provincial towns.<sup>35</sup>

### (ii) Musicians called the Mynstrelles within the Citie of York

In 1559 York common council had paid a goldsmith 8s for 'makyng the Skutchon of this Cittie Armes' for the three waits, with the mayor's name in 'letteres of gold threyd', in time for Christmas. Robert Bradley was a musician in



1560, and Ambrose Burgh was a harper and Arthur Hodgson was a wait in 1561.<sup>36</sup> The wait Nicolas Wright was reimbursed the 11s he had paid for a 'base shalme', though he and Robert Huthwait complained about Thomas Moore. The council ordered Moore to 'Leave his vunthriftig gamyng', or be sacked, but gave him 'respit to Learne and applie himself' to 'instruments & songes'.<sup>37</sup> An 'embroderar' was paid 'for makyng Scutchoons of the armes of this Citie to the said three waytes of the same' with 'lettres for my Lord mayour name'.<sup>38</sup> The council agreed to the request of 'goodmen of the sciens of mynstrelles' to be responsible for a Corpus Christi play which the Masons no longer performed, and approved the ordinances of the Musicians called the Mynstrelles within the Citie of York.

ffirst it is ordenyed, enacted and stablished that noo maner fforeyner of what condicion he be occupie any mynstrelsy syngyng or playeng apon any instrument within any paroche within this Citie or ffranchis thereof apon any cherche holy dayes or dedicacion dayes halowed or kep within the same paroche or any brotherhedes or fremans dynnar or dynnars made or kept within the same Citie or ffranchise thereof Vpon peyne that every suche forayne Mynstrell after monytion [warning] to hym given by the Maister or Serchers to paye for every tyme that he shalbe fonde doying contrary to this act iij s iij d the one half therof to remayne to the use of the common Chambre of this Citie And thother halfe to the common boxe of the said arte

Item that the ffellowship of the Mynstrelles ffreemen of this Citie nowe beyng and theyr successours forever shall have power autorite and libertie every yere at the fest of saynt lames thapostle [*sic*] to assemble theym selves in Saynt Anthony Hall or other convenient place within the said Citie at a day certayne by theym to be lymyted. And soo assembled by their common voyces and assentes or of the greater parte of theym to choise three hable persones of the same felawship to be a Maister and two Serchers of the said sciens or craft for the yere following And if any persone soo chosen Maister or serchar refuse or forfate the said office of maistership or Serchar Euery persone soo refusing pay xx s thone half therof to the Common chamb[er] of this Citie and thother half to the behof of the said Craft

Item that the Common boxe of the said felawship shalbe and remayne from yere to yere in the Custodie and keypyng pf the maister and Serchars of the said Craft for the tyme beyng. And of all suche money as the same maister & serchars haue at the ende of the yere or within twenty dayes next after shall gyve and yelde up vnto the felawship or the greater part of theym a trewe and just Accompte in wryhtyng apon peyne of theym making defalt to paye x s. to be equally dyvided to thuse aforesaid

Item that euery brother of the said science shall paye yerely towards the supportacion and bryngyng forth of their pageant and other chardges of the said craft viij d by yere that is to say ij d in every quarter And that every suche freman beyng a brother of the said Arte not payeng the said quarterage euery quarter day that is at thende of every quarter of ye yere or within xv dayes next and immediatly folowyng after any of the said quarter dayes And refusing to content the same to paye for every default iij s to be equally divided in the form aforesaid

And that euery ffreman or brother of the said craft present euery of his apprentices to the Maister and serchars of the said craft for the tyme beyng within one moneth immediatly after that any suche apprentice shalbe bonde payeng at his presentacion to the common boxe of the said craft xx d And if any of theym be negligent and doo not present his apprentice within the said moneth nor pay the sayd fine of xx d Every suche brother soo offendyng to forfayte for euery default x s thone half therof to be to the chambre of the Citie And thother half to the common boxe of the said Craft

Item that yf any persone enfranchised in the said craft or brother of the same warned by any of the said Serchars for the tyme beyng to come to the quarter daye or to assemble of the Maister and Serchars of the said Craft for the tyme beyng with others the bretherne of the same craft for the tyme beyng And without reasonable cause absenting hym selfe not willyng to come thether to paye for every default ij s to be equally dyvided to the vses abovesaid

Item that no persone enfranchised in the said craft or brother of the same presume to rebuke revile or gyve slanderouse or vilaynouse woordes to the said Maister or Serchars or to any of theym for the tyme beyng or to any other persone beyng brother or freeman of the said felawship or Craft apon peyne to paye for every tyme that any of theym shalbe founde culpable of any suche opprobriouse or vnfitting woordes to paye for every default vj s. viij d thone [*sic*] half therof to be to the said Chambre And thother half to the Common boxe of the said Craft

Item that none of the said felawship beyng a mynstrell enfranchised and brother of the said Craft teache or enforme any other persone other then his owne apprentice in any poynt or seale of minstrelsie Except he be a freemans sone of the same craft nor goo with any stranger to any wedding or any other feast onely to labour with hym within the said Citie or liberties of the same without lycence of the Maister of the said Craft for the tyme beyng fyrst obteyned apon payne to forfeyte for every default vi s viij d to be devided and employed as is aforesaid Provided that this acte doo not extende to any brother for teachyng any gentleman or free man of this Citie and their children to learne any thing for his pleasure

Item that noo freeman of the said Craft take any servant by covenant for a yere or otherwise Onelesse he be apprentice for the terme of seven yeres at the least according to the laudable custome of this Citie apon payne to forfeyte for euery offence xx s thone half therof to be to the common Chambre of the said Citie And thother [*sic*] half therof to the common boxe of the said Craft Provided that this acte doe not extende to the waytes of the Citie of York for the tyme beyng to hyre any man to helpe theym in their watche

Item that no brother ffreman of the sayd Craft at any tyme open or disclose any woordes or saying towchyng their sciens spoken at the common or privie meatynges of the said Craft or any of theym Except it be to any of the said bretherne or at the tyme of their said assemble apon peyne to forfeyte for every suche default vj s viij d thone half therof to the vse of the Chambre of the said Citie And thother half to the sayde Craft

Alsoo that noo ffreeman brother of the said Craft shall at any tyme hereafter sett forth his or their apprentice or apprentices to labour in any companye as a mynstrell within the said Citie or liberties of the same before the said apprentices and every of theym be examyned and admytted by the said maister or Serchars for the tyme beyng upon payne to forfeytt for every defalt iii s iij d thone half to the Chambre of the said Citie And thother half to the common boxe of the sayde Craft

Item that noo ffreeman brother of the said Craft shall frome hensforth have no moo apprentices but one attones [sic] Except he have bene either Maister or Serchar of the said Craft or ells two at one tyme at the most upon payne to forfeyte for every default xx s the one half thereof to the Common Chembre of the said Citie And thother half thereof to the Common boxe of the said Craft

ffynally it is further ordeyned and by the consent of all the good men of the said Mystery or craft fully agreed that the said ffellowshop of Mynstrelles of their proper chardges shall yerely frome hensforth bryng forth and cause to be played the pageant of Corpus christi viz. the herold his sone two counsels and the Messynger inquiryng the three kynges of the childe Iesu sometye accustomed to be brought forth at chardges of the late Masons of this Citie on Corpus Christi day in suche like semely wise and ordre as other occupacions of this Citie doo their pageants

The waits were paid for playing at Easter, the feast of St. William and Christmas, and given new escutcheons. In 1564 the waits were paid on St. Stephen's day (26 December), and given scutcheons, while Hushwait, who 'for his dewty doying this yere and for that lieth now seke at the marcy of god', received 10s. The waits also received 4d towards the cost of hiring a meeting room in a tavern.<sup>39</sup>

The establishment of the Queen's Council in the North in York helped its economy to improve.<sup>40</sup> John Bowderstone (Balderston) was a wait in 1565,<sup>41</sup> and the mayor ordered Moore to bring in a 'pype or Instrument callyd a Shawme' with a 'case of Ledder' which the former wait John Harper had bequeathed to the city,<sup>42</sup> and a chamberlain noted that 'Collers of Sylvere' had been delivered for the waits in time for Christmas, and they still survive.



43

In 1566 the council sacked the four waits for their 'misdemeanour' and ordered them to hand in their collars. The four shawms which the waits had used at 'solempne tymes' were in private hands, and it agreed to pay £2 for them. Future waits would have 'such ffees & lyverie' with 'Cognisans as thither iij haue ben accustomed to haue' and 'a newe Syluer Cheyne agreeable' with the three 'cheynes' was to be made 'ageynst Christmas' and all four were to be delivered to one wait to distribute.<sup>44</sup>

The London bookseller Thomas Marsh had sent Latin primers to York around 1560, and in 1567 two searchers arrived to examine the stocks of booksellers who they suspected of selling primers, ABCs and Catholic books.<sup>45</sup> They confiscated four items, lodged them with a public notary and the archbishop examined the stationers.<sup>46</sup>

The former Beverley wait Robert Hewitt was now a tailor and wait in York.<sup>47</sup> The council deemed him a 'quyet and mete man' who was fit to be the 'Chief Wayte', and asked him to recruit three others he thought 'most fytt & hable'. On Trinity Sunday the Bakers paid minstrels 10d, and they paid one minstrel 4d in 1568.<sup>48</sup> Civic and other professional musicians found work further north, and the level of literacy continued to rise.

### (iii) Learning and understanding

By 1560 Newcastle's population was probably between 7,000 and 8,000.<sup>49</sup> The Fullers and Dyers paid 3d to 'a Mynstrell yt nyght' and 1s to a musician who accompanied actors around the town, while the chamberlains paid the Scottish musicians who played for the civic leaders.<sup>50</sup> A Merchant Adventurer was 'clear dismissed' for wearing 'fyne silk in oppen court'.<sup>51</sup> The Fullers and Dyers paid a minstrel 3d for a rehearsal, and 12d for taking part in their Corpus Christi play in 1561,<sup>52</sup> and the chamberlains reimbursed the mayor the 4s 8d he had given the waits, and the 3s to the new waits 'in arlles' (advance). Henry Carr received 6s 8d on 1 November for his 'hallomes quarteriche' (three-monthly fee) which had been 'grantyd to hym for his lyfe', while Edward Car and John Payrson received 13s

4d between them. Someone who had given 1s to minstrels was reimbursed, as was another who had given 2s to two minstrels on St. Thomas's Day (21 December), while the mayor was reimbursed the 2s he had given to two 'skottes mynstrilles' and the 13s 4d to the 'mynstrilles of this town' and others at Christmas. In 1562 Henry Carr received 6s 8d at Candlemas (2 February), and the mayor was reimbursed the 6s he gave to 'Sir henry persy mynstrilles', 4s to the 'wayttes of ledes', 3s to each of the 'wayttes of Carlle' (Carlisle), the waits of 'darnton' (Darlington) and 'skottes mynstrelles'. Carr received 6s 8d on St. Elyngmes day (3 May), and in June the mayor was reimbursed the 1s he gave to an 'yryshe mynstrell' and the 3s to the 'wattys of Cokeremouthe'. In August Carr got his quarterly fee, and the mayor was reimbursed the 1s he had given to four 'skottes mynstrilles' and the 1s 8d to 'mynstrilles of perthe'. In October the chamberlains gave £2 to be shared between the four boy choristers at St. Nicholas' Church, and 4s to both Thomas Wegham the 'singer' in St. Nicholas's Church and John Atcheson,<sup>53</sup> and they reimbursed the 6s the mayor gave to men who played a 'Tabarette', 'Luyte' and 'rebece'.<sup>54</sup> In 1563 the chamberlains paid 36s for 4½ yards of 'brode Clothe' for the liveries of Carr and the town's paver, £1 10s to Wegham and William Sivaime for 'singing in saynt nycolas church' and they reimbursed the mayor the £5 he had given to 'mynstrilles' and jesters. In November the waits Carr, John Barnes, Richard Sherloke and William Bennatt received their 6s 8d, and Thomas Stokoo got 5s for 'singing in the quear' with Wegham the previous year. In 1564 Robert Sewell replaced the wait Sherloke, and the Slaters paid the waits 3d. They received their quarterly fees, and Carr got £1 4s for a 'laveraye gouné'. The chamberlains reimbursed the mayor the £5 he had given to minstrels and jesters and the 1s apiece to 21 other minstrels, and gave Stokoo 6s 8d for singing in the choir that year.

In 1565 the four waits received their customary fees in May, and in June three received 'brode clothe' costing 8s a yard, yet Carr's cloth was listed separately, as was his November fee. In February 1566 three waits received £1 between them, while Carr's 6s 8d and 24s for a 'lyvera gouné' were listed separately. He seems to have been in charge of the other waits. In May and August the waits received nine yards of cloth, their fees, and their delayed November fees. The chamberlains reimbursed the mayor the £5 he had given to jesters and minstrels and 17s to players at the 'adytt [audit] dynnar' and a 'banket', and the 'clarkes iiij boyes' got 26s 8d between them for 'synenge in the church'.<sup>55</sup> The chamberlains' last entry for crying the banns of the plays was in 1568, when dinner and wine for 60 men, 2s to the waits for 'playeing befor the playeres', and 35 horses for the players amounted to £4 3s 4d, and the Slaters paid a 'Pyper' 8d.<sup>56</sup>

The leading Newcastle companies dominated trade on the Tyne, though the bishop of Durham had incorporated the Gateshead Glovers' company in 1557.<sup>57</sup> By 1558 around 59 percent of gentlemen in the diocese, 37 percent of yeomen, 22 percent of domestic servants, 16 percent of husbandmen and tradesmen and two percent of labourers and women were probably literate.<sup>58</sup> When an exile had returned to be dean of Durham, the former Grammar School headmaster was in protective custody.<sup>59</sup> A Cathedral prebendary bequeathed 12d each to the scholars and 12d to a singing man and a chorister to perform at his funeral. The Greatham vicar bequeathed 2d apiece to 'skollers' to sing at his, and the rector of Middleton in Teesdale bequeathed money to 'poor scolles' there and in Norham and Berwick in Northumberland,<sup>60</sup> where a Grammar School was founded by 1559.<sup>61</sup> Darlington's once prosperous wool trade had been in decline for 50 years,<sup>62</sup> yet it was the 'best market town in the bishoprick', apart from Durham,<sup>63</sup> and Robert Hall was a schoolmaster there in 1560.<sup>64</sup> Around 20 percent of husbandmen in the region were probably literate. A skilled mason might earn £7 a year.

The 'mayster of the Hygh Skull' in Newcastle got £5 a year. In 1563 school building in St. Nicholas' churchyard had to be shored up.<sup>65</sup> Northumberland villages near the border were being fortified,<sup>66</sup> yet a gentleman of Elsdon in Redesdale willed that his sons should go to Newcastle Grammar School, and 'when they have learned that their friends thinks to be done in learning and understanding' they would get £20 apiece;<sup>67</sup> yet in 1564 the Newcastle Merchant Adventurers forbade members to take apprentices from either Redesdale or Tynedale, since they were 'either by education or nature not to be of honest conversation'.<sup>68</sup>

In January 1565 the bishop granted the freemen of Durham and Framwellgate a corporation. Twelve assistants would be elected for life and they and 12 others they elected would elect an alderman annually.<sup>69</sup> The warden of the West March had to confirm that two pedlars who had been called Scots were Englishmen from Gateshead.<sup>70</sup> Two Newcastle aldermen paid £13 6s 8d for the power to appoint an 'able and sufficient' headmaster of the Grammar School in 1566.<sup>71</sup>

During the 1560s several County Durham clerics and gentry owned books and musical instruments. A Durham Cathedral prebendary bequeathed 'all Seynt Augustyne works' and 'Basyll' (St. Basil) in 'gerik & latten' to the library, 'all saynt Cyprianes workes' to a priest, an 'olde angell' (worth around 8s) to Brimley the organist, and 8d apiece to the Grammar School scholars. A Stainton man asked his cousin to bring up his son in 'godlinesse vertue and lerninge' after he died. A Durham priest bequeathed 'all my bokes', including a 'hole bybell in prente' and a 'boke called sarmones disciple' to two apprentices. A Hunwick squire requested that his widow give his nephew £1 a year for 20 years to ensure his 'bringenge upp att the schole', and hoped he would 'applye his booke'. A Witton Gilbert

husbandman bequeathed a 'book of Iniunctions' (legal remedies) valued at 6d, and a Durham knight bequeathed a 'payr of virgenalls' valued at £2.<sup>72</sup> A Chester-le-Street man owned New Testaments in Latin and English, and four other books.<sup>73</sup> A Durham draper owned books valued at 10s, and left 10s to 'poore scolers' and £30 to both his sons to 'follow the scole att universite', while a Barnard Castle curate owned 'thre boykes' valued at 6s 8d. A Hartlepool priest owned books valued at 13s 4d and 'songe books' valued at 2s 6d, though the will of a Gateshead yeoman denounced Catholic 'superstitions' which were 'devised to illud the symple and unlearned'. An Auckland shopkeeper's half ream of paper was valued at 2s and a dozen catechisms at 6d. A Croxdale cleric left £2 and all his books to his nephew, when he was 21, and a Durham man's 'paire of clavicords' were valued at 2s.<sup>74</sup> The earl of Westmoreland and the bishop of Durham petitioned for the refounding of Darlington's school.<sup>75</sup> In Northumberland the rector of Rothbury, who was also a Carlisle Cathedral prebendary, left 3s 4d apiece to two schoolmasters and four singing men, and the books of a 'Clarke' were worth 5s.<sup>76</sup>

Thomas Pentley had become a minor canon at Durham Cathedral and vicar of St. Giles in the mid-1550s because of his 'exquisite skill in musicke' and his ability to tune the organ. He adopted George Dobson, who was around eight years old and from a well-to-do farming family, and sent him a church school. He showed 'a crabbed and untoward disposition', and did not cover his 'clownish and wayward manners with the habite of civility'. The sons of a merchant, a tanner and a painter bullied him, and when a haberdasher was identified as a cuckold, schoolboys sang ballads about him on every street and put Dobson's name to a scurrilous verse and pinned it on the man's door. Reportedly, 'no man passed by' without 'reading the verses', while 'others that had no skill in letters, got them perused by such as could'. Dobson later entered the Cathedral reading school and then the choir school, where there were 60 to 70 scholar. By 1558 he was chorister in 1558 and received 16s 8d. He also sang for money for visiting gentry in an inn, and stole music from one of the fellows and claimed it as his own. In 1568 he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, where men from the six northern English counties had access to dedicated scholarships and fellowships, though he was later expelled without a degree. He stole a horse, but escaped hanging, and Durham Cathedral made him a canon and vicar of St. Giles.<sup>77</sup> In 1569 the Cathedral bought 'paper to make books for the singing men', and the dean brought songs and anthems from the Queen's chapel in London.<sup>78</sup>

By 1569 the queen had founded, refounded or supported over 24 Grammar Schools, mainly in southern England,<sup>79</sup> where the 'learned' dismissed the idea of there being a distinct north-east region.<sup>80</sup> Around this time a 'Scotch' bagpiper in Durham was asked when he would pay for the hay for his horse. He 'spoke rhymes ex tempore' about the gentlemen in his audience, then told them he would pay 'When sowters cloat na shane' (when shoemakers mend no shoes).<sup>81</sup> He evidently expected at least some of his audience to understand him, and there had been other musical and literary contacts between the two countries for many decades.

#### **(iv) *The Complaynt of Scotland***

Edinburgh had had 'city musicians' as early as 1486, and a householder who declined to billet them in rotation was liable a fine of 9d in Scottish money, which was worth around 15 percent less than English coins. The king paid one English piper and then four more to play for him in the Castle.<sup>82</sup> Some towns employed pipers, and gave them clothes in the town's livery. They had to play through the streets each morning and evening, and at fairs and other events, while others served a lord or clan chief,<sup>83</sup> yet in 1489 English pipers played for the king and received £8 8s. In the early 1500s he gave English minstrels 40 French Crowns and £28 in Scottish money, and in 1504 he gave English women singers £1 3s,<sup>84</sup> and the pipers of Aberdeen and Edinburgh £1 8s.<sup>85</sup> He took musicians with him to Carlisle, where he gave a girl singer £1 8s.<sup>86</sup>

Paris and Antwerp publishers had sent Latin books to Scotland since the 1490s,<sup>87</sup> and by the early 1500s Andrew Myllar sold books in Edinburgh. The merchant Walter Chepman sent him to Rouen to learn about printing and he returned with a 'prent' (press) and 'all stuff belangand tharto' and 'expert men', by 1507, and the king licensed them to print a book about Scottish church practices and saints. *The maying and disport of Chaucer* appeared in 1508, followed by eight other poetical pamphlets,<sup>88</sup> including *Sir Eglamore*, the 'Knightly tale of golgarus and gawayne', *A geste of Robyn hode* and *The Complaint of the Black Knight* by the English poet John Lydgate.<sup>89</sup> Printers and booksellers in Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen had to serve an apprenticeship of five to seven years before they could join guilds and become freemen. Licenses were granted by the king, Privy Council or parliament, and the burgh authorities monitored them, and in 1525 importing Martin Luther's books was forbidden on pain of confiscation of the books and the ship, followed by imprisonment. Those with copies had 41 days to hand them over to a bishop,<sup>90</sup> and yet in 1532 the king's measures to defend the Catholic Church against the Protestants failed.<sup>91</sup>

John and Robert Wedderburn were born into a Dundee merchant's family, and around 1540 they published a book of anti-Catholic satires based on sacred songs, which they may have issued separately as broadsides,<sup>92</sup> and by 1543 William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was freely available in Scotland.<sup>93</sup> The printer John Skot had moved from Edinburgh to Dundee by 1547, and after the Privy Council issued a warrant for his arrest, he moved to St. Andrews, where he printed tracts which offended the government.<sup>94</sup>

*The Complaynt of Scotland*, possibly printed in Paris in 1549, was anonymous. It included a dream sequence about border shepherds playing instruments and singing, and mentioned *The Huntis of cheuet* and *The persee & the montgumrye met*, though it did not include their texts.<sup>95</sup>

In 1551 the Scottish parliament re-enacted laws to end 'crying', 'raming' (selling in the street) and 'stanching' (eliminating) 'maisterful beggars'.<sup>96</sup> By 1559 the population of Edinburgh was around 10,000.<sup>97</sup> The Catholic queen returned from abroad in 1560, and she and the English queen, who reportedly understood 'Scotch',<sup>98</sup> signed a peace treaty,<sup>99</sup> in which murder was deemed a capital offence in border law for the first time.<sup>100</sup> The Scottish parliament disestablished the Catholic Church, and the English queen sent £3,000 to the Scottish Protestants. (An English pound was now worth four Scottish pounds.<sup>101</sup>)

The Protestant Reform Church's General Assembly in Edinburgh, better-known as the 'Kirk', loaned Robert Lekpreuik £200 Scots 'to buy irons, ink, and paper' and to 'fee craftsmen for printing of the Psalmes', and in 1561 the Assembly ordered all ministers to buy one. In 1567 the queen was forced to abdicate, and her infant son became king. the country was ruled by a Protestant regent and the boy was raised in that faith. Lekpreuik acted as his printer, and the Assembly paid him £50 a year.<sup>102</sup> He printed over 20 ballads by Robert Sempill in Edinburgh, Stirling and St. Andrews.<sup>103</sup> The surviving 41 Scottish ballads from this period include 22 duplicates or resettings, two of William Fowler's four reached the English queen's chief minister in London.<sup>104</sup> The Scottish queen had fled to England for safety,<sup>105</sup> and there were prominent Catholics in north-east England.

## **(v) The Rising in the North**

In 1561 the earl of Northumberland's annual net income had been just over £11,<sup>106</sup> and he became reconciled to the Catholic Church in 1568, while most of the Catholic earl of Westmoreland's land was in County Durham.<sup>107</sup> Both were members of the Council in the North.<sup>108</sup> The queen deprived Northumberland of the posts of warden of the East and Middle March, governor of Redesdale and marshal of the field against the Scots.<sup>109</sup> Most English Catholics recognised the Scottish queen's right to inherit the English throne,<sup>110</sup> and in spring 1569 the English queen ordered musters all over England, and sent 400 soldiers to Newcastle in autumn. On 30 October and 4 November the two Catholic earls were summoned to York, but refused to go. Law officers went to bring them, so Northumberland fled to Brancepeth, where Westmoreland and other gentry were armed. On 14<sup>th</sup> the earls and their supporters went to Durham Cathedral, ripped up the Protestant service books, overturned the communion table and celebrated mass. Then they marched to Darlington and Ripon, damaged Protestant books and church furniture, attacked married Protestant clergy and celebrated mass. In Richmond they claimed to be the queen's 'true and faithful subjects' and her authority to recruit. By the 18<sup>th</sup> they had around 6,000 men, yet 80 percent were not connected to their families. They reportedly included 26 from Sedgefield, almost 100 from Darlington, 192 from Durham, 500 from Tynedale and Redesdale and at least 1,000 from the Richmond district of Yorkshire.

In York the earl of Sussex offered men 14s 4d a day, a dagger, sword, long coat, boots, trousers and cap to support the queen. On the 19<sup>th</sup> she authorised him to offer a pardon to rebels who returned home within three days,<sup>111</sup> and remained peaceful, except for the earls and six of their supporters. Next day the earls met at Boroughbridge to decide what to do. Sussex had no more than 400 horsemen, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> the queen denounced the earls, who sent a proclamation to Catholic noblemen, yet none supported them, and the earl of Derby sent his copy to the queen.<sup>112</sup> On the 29<sup>th</sup> 300 rebels went to Hartlepool,<sup>113</sup> and next day Elizabeth Watson could not fight her way through the crowd at Durham Cathedral to attend mass, so she sat down to say her rosary.<sup>114</sup>

By December the Catholic earls commanded 13 minor gentry from Northumberland, while 40 percent of the infantry were from County Durham and 56 percent from Yorkshire.<sup>115</sup> Some infantry went home, though others besieged Barnard Castle on the 2<sup>nd</sup>.<sup>116</sup> On the 4<sup>th</sup> the Catholic priest Thomas Plumtree consecrated holy water for the rebels in Durham Cathedral and 'chaunted the morowe mass bell'.<sup>117</sup> Around 2,500 Scots lived in England's East March, and on the 8<sup>th</sup> the warden called on men of military age to prevent the rebels from reaching Scotland,<sup>118</sup> yet Barnard Castle surrendered to them on the 12<sup>th</sup>.<sup>119</sup> Sussex had mustered around 3,500 troops, and on the 13<sup>th</sup> at least 12,000, mainly from southern England, arrived in Wetherby in Yorkshire, and next day the queen's warships reached Hartlepool. The rebel army had grown to over 14,000. Of the 2,598 whose status is known there were 66 gentry, 2,191 yeomen, 142 husbandmen, 66 labourers, plus barbers, glovers, wheelwrights and other artisans. At

least 71 were village constables and a few were bailiffs.<sup>120</sup> On the 16<sup>th</sup> they left Yorkshire,<sup>121</sup> and expected to meet Spanish troops in Hartlepool,<sup>122</sup> but next day a royal warship fired on them.<sup>123</sup> They reached Northumberland by the 18<sup>th</sup>, and next day the earls and 500 of the 1,000 cavalry took off for the border.<sup>124</sup> By the 20<sup>th</sup> the earls, the countess of Northumberland and around 100 horsemen reached Scotland, where the earl was captured by the 25<sup>th</sup>.<sup>125</sup> He had sought the protection of a border chief, but was betrayed to the regent, who handed him over to a gentleman;<sup>126</sup> yet Westmoreland was 'openly maintained' in Scotland.

In London the Privy Council permitted torturing captured rebels and the queen agreed to hanging several in each town and village, particularly constables and other officials. She had spent over £42,000 on the campaign, so no wealthy men were to be executed. The proportion of those executed in each settlement varied from 16 to 39 percent, and included 231 of the 1,241 in Richmond, Allerton and Ripon in Yorkshire, and others in 24 places in County Durham. On 4 and 5 January 1570 at least one alderman, 66 constables and the priest Plumtree were hanged in Durham marketplace, and on the 6<sup>th</sup> seven constables were executed in Darlington,<sup>127</sup> with 16 others.<sup>128</sup> Reportedly between 600 and 700 were executed,<sup>129</sup> and some corpses were left on the gallows. Westmoreland raided in Northumberland on the 26<sup>th</sup>,<sup>130</sup> and the son of the master of Newcastle Grammar School acted as a courier,<sup>131</sup> to around 2,000 rebels in southern Scotland. The trials of wealthy rebels began in York on 20 March. Two days later others were allowed to ask for a pardon, as were up to 12,000 who had offered support. Those whose property was worth less than £5 a year redeemed it, and 4,311 County Durham men paid a total of around £3,260. On the 24<sup>th</sup> four of the 11 main rebels were hanged, and on 6 April eight were tried at Westminster. Five confessed and begged for pardon, though three who pleaded not guilty were hung, drawn and quartered.<sup>132</sup>

Some Durham Cathedral singing men had sympathised with the rebels. In court William Smith, a minor canon, admitted that he had attended four masses,<sup>133</sup> and the 'master of the quaristers' claimed he had been forced to play the organ, yet the St. Giles curate cast doubt on his story.<sup>134</sup> William Blenkinsop had helped to sing Catholic services, and Roland Blenkinsop, Richard Banckus and nine others had sung mass. They were all over 30 and some were well into their 60s. The priest Robert Pereson testified that Thomas Harrison owned 'unlawful bokes, as well privately as in thye scholes, instructuing the clerkes and quaristers to say and sing' the Catholic mass. Thomas Fawell testified against Robert Gilson from Gilligait, the tinker William Wright from Elvet, the 'Childon' gentleman John Lilborn and the Bishop Auckland labourer William Cooke.

The Sedgefield parish clerk, John Newton, confessed, as did the husbandmen Richard Fleitham, who recalled that Roland Hixson burned Protestant church books while saying 'Lowe, wher the Homilies flees to the devyill'. Margaret Snawden, the 66-year-old wife of a husbandman, had seen Hixson 'lyfting up the leaves of them with his staff, saying 'Se the dyvell domines fle into the allyment [air]'. Two women wanted some books, and though Hixson would not let them have any, they took away some leaves for their children to play with. The 70-year-old widow Isabel Gublinge confessed. She claimed she had not heard Hixson speak, but he eventually confessed.<sup>135</sup> Soon after, in Wolsingham church, the blacksmith Arthur Chapman began 'redinge of an ynglish boke, or prymer, while as the preist was saying of his service', 'no myndynge what the preist red'. At Durham church court he explained that he had not read 'to the hynderenc of the preist'. After the first lesson the priest 'wylyd him' to 'reid mor softly'; yet he had to apologise.<sup>136</sup> The downfall of the earls marked the end of the feudal order in the north,<sup>137</sup> and some London ballad-writers welcomed the outcome.

## (vi) William Elderton

By 1567 around 40 London stationers had registered at least one ballad, five had published several and seven specialised in them.<sup>138</sup> Edward White had registered 36 in ten years.<sup>139</sup> William Griffith republished *A Newe Ballade of a Lover Extolling his Ladye*, with music, perhaps for the first time in England,<sup>140</sup> and William Pickering registered *The Pedler and his packe* in 1569.<sup>141</sup> A song praising Durham, first published in 1509, became popular again. Its chorus was sung by the 'foole' in a play.<sup>142</sup> Late in 1569 William Seres may have written *An Answer to the Proclamation of the Rebels in the North*, and in January 1570 a London churchwarden's account included 'vij Ballys consarning the rebels to be soung ij d'.<sup>143</sup>

William Elderton was probably born in London in the late 1520s. He acted in the Christmas festivities at court in 1552,<sup>144</sup> and his earliest-known printed ballad, attributed to 'W. Ilderton', probably appeared that year.<sup>145</sup> He knew the Master of the Revels, and Protestant courtiers, and appeared in a Twelfth Day entertainment early in 1553,<sup>146</sup> though his wife died in November. In 1561 or 1562 he was satirised in *Eldertons Jestes with his mery Toyes*, and responded, but the printer did not register the ballad and the Company fined him 5s. For the next seven years the register included only one ballad attributed to Elderton.<sup>147</sup> In 1570 Elderton marked the execution of the Durham priest Plumtree with *A Newe well a daye*, to the tune associated with *Welladaye*,<sup>148</sup> and he probably set



*Northumberland newes*, transcribed here from 'black letter', to the tune associated with *Packington's Pound*,<sup>149</sup> with a chorus of 'Come tomblinge downe come tomblinge downe/ That will not yet be trewe to the Crowne'.

YOU Northcountrie nodies whie be ye so bragge  
To rise and raise honor to Romish renowne  
You know y<sup>e</sup> at Tiborne there standeth a Nagge  
For suche as will neuer be trew to the crowne.

What meane ye to followe the man in the Moone,  
With battz bowes and arrowes and billes verye browne.  
His shyninge with shame wilbe shadowed so soone,  
It will greue him that euer he troubled the Crowne.

Thoughe poperie wrought a greate while a goe,  
That *Percie* prouoked Kinge Harry to frowne.  
Yet who wolde haue thought there were any moe,  
That wold not yet be trew to the Crowne.

Our Queene is the daughter of Henry theight,  
Who brought euery Alter and Imagerie downe.  
He lefte her and tawght her a remedie streight,  
For anye that wold not be trew to the Crowne.

And though you do greete her like Traytours with treason  
To whom you owe honour with cappe and knee downe.  
I am suer that saint Peter will saye it is reason,  
To rule ye that will not be trew to the Crowne.

And thoughe you do saye that is matter amis,  
Whiche you wold redresse by noble Renowne.  
What any waye wurse then Rebellion is,  
Of any that will not be true to the Crowne.

What Strangers can be, more straunger then ye,  
That gather together bothe carter and clowne.  
And studie to sturre to seeke and to see,  
Whiche waie to deuise to trouble the Crowne.

Syr Ihon Sborne your morowe Masse Priest,  
Saythe to Lobbe looke aboute will ye knele downe?  
We will haue a Masse before Iesus Christ,  
And that is the waye to trouble the Crowne.

The Knightes to theyr knaues saye sticke and be stowt,  
Our banners and staues shall bringe vs Renowne.  
We haue Nobles and others that be as deuowt,  
To helpe vs at this time to trouble the Crowne.

The Rebelles come flinging but what cometh after,  
A songe worthe the singinge hey downe a downe.  
A Tyborne Typpett a roope or a halter,  
For anye that will not be trew to the Crowne.

For thoughe ye spoile Churches and burne vp the Bible,  
And worshippe gaie Crosses in euery towne.  
Your Idolles you asses are neuer possible,  
To saue ye that will not be trew to the Crowne.

And thoughe ye do carie the banner of force,  
And Iolie rounde Robyn vnder your gowne.  
You know that saint George hath a praunsinge horse,

Canne make enie Rebell to stoope to the Crowne.

The Westmerland Bull must come to the stake,  
The Lyon will rore still till he be downe.  
Northumberland then will tremble and quake,  
For woe that he was so false to the Crowne.

And Catholiques old that hold with the pope,  
And carie dead Images vppe and downe.  
To take better holde they shall haue a Roope,  
To teache them once to be trew to the Crowne.

Let euery Priest that sayethe anye Masse,  
Either chuse to take the Crucifixe downe.  
Or hange as highe as the Crucifixe was,  
Except he will be trew to the Crowne.

For God is a God of Ielosie suche,  
He lokes to haue his holye Renowne.  
Or elles he will mislyke verye muche,  
To gyue anye one his excellent Crowne.

God prosper the Quene as I truste that he shall,  
And graunt of his mercie with blessed Renowne.  
The Northe, and West, countrie, the sowth, east, and all,  
The people of Englande maye cleaue to the Crowne.

And I wishe that Good Preachers & other trewe teachers,  
Wolde visite the vynearde whose branches be downe.  
That all the Northe Countrie yet nosseld in popeerie,  
Might knowe theyr duetie to God and the Crowne.

Finis quothe. W. E.

Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Lucrece  
by Thomas Purfoote.<sup>150</sup>

(Purfoote had probably been born around 1515, and had lived in St. Faith's parish, London, at least since 1547; yet he had printed nothing since 1553.<sup>151</sup>) Other London writers registered 23 ballads about the rising.<sup>152</sup>

The pope excommunicated the queen in February 1570 and relieved her subjects of obedience. In May John Felton nailed the bull on the gate of the bishop of London's palace. He was hanged at Tyburn,<sup>153</sup> and a ballad was published about it.<sup>154</sup> Griffith registered *A Lamentation from Rome, how the pope doth bewayle, that the rebelles in England can not preuale*, to the tune associated with *Rowe well ye mariners*,<sup>155</sup> and there were repercussions.

Around a third of English parishes had a register,<sup>156</sup> and every church was ordered to buy an English Bible, the *Book of Common Prayer* and Protestant books and homilies.<sup>157</sup> The Protestant Londoner Thomas Vautroller published a Catholic's musical compositions, without their 'impurities',<sup>158</sup> and a list of banned books appeared.<sup>159</sup>

John Storey, one of the most powerful English Catholics, had helped the previous bishop of London restore Catholicism in the mid-1550s, and later escaped abroad, but in spring 1570 he was captured and brought to England for trial.<sup>160</sup> Elderton's *Doctor Stories Stumbling into Englonde* attacked Storey, though the Privy Council was concerned that it also slandered 'honourable' people and princes, so they ordered the Stationers' warden to ensure that all the copies were 'called in' and reminded him that 'neither booke ballett nor any other matter' could be published until it was 'allowed either by us' or the 'Commissioners for cawses ecclesyastical'.<sup>161</sup> In 1571 Storey was hanged, drawn and quartered. Church attendance and taking communion became compulsory, and adhering to the bull and possessing 'Papist objects' became treasonable offences.<sup>162</sup>

Roger Ascham had worked for the current and two previous monarchs,<sup>163</sup> and *The Scholemaster* appeared posthumously.<sup>164</sup> It was aimed at gentlemen's sons,<sup>165</sup> and Ascham wished that 'shoppes' would 'not be so full of lewd and rude rymes'. Since 1557 at least 684 of the 1,636 entries in the Stationers' register had been ballads. Griffiths, Pickering and Thomas Colwell owned several, Alexander Lacy 71 and John Alde 72.<sup>166</sup> By then a returned exile had published an influential anti-Catholic book.

John Foxe was born into a fairly prominent family in Boston, Lincolnshire, around 1516. Around 1534 he entered Brasenose College, Oxford, and in 1535 he was admitted to Magdalen College School. He graduated BA in 1537, became a probationer fellow in 1538 and saw a man being burned for heresy. In 1539 he became a full fellow and a lecturer in logic, though he resigned after becoming a Protestant in 1545. He was poor, but eventually became a tutor in a gentleman's household near Stratford-on-Avon. He married in 1547, and the couple moved to London and probably lived in Stepney, where he translated and published Protestant sermons. A duchess hired him as tutor to the children of her Catholic brother, who had been executed for treason, and she introduced him to members of the Protestant elite. He was ordained as a deacon in 1550, and by 1551 he supported excommunication for those who 'veiled ambition under the cloak of Protestantism', and had published tracts opposing the death penalty for adultery, yet he failed to prevent two people being burned for their religious beliefs. In 1553 he lost his tutorship and by 1554 he and his pregnant wife were in Strasbourg. He published a history of the persecution of Christians in Latin, and in autumn his family moved to Frankfurt, where he preached at a church attended by English refugees, and was unwillingly drawn into a bitter theological controversy. One faction favoured the *Book of Common Prayer*, while Foxe supported those who supported John Calvin. In 1555 Foxe became a proof reader in Basel, and published a religious drama in Latin verse in 1556, but was 'wretchedly poor'.

In 1558 he waited to see if religious changes would take place under the Protestant queen of England, though his family was unable to travel until supporters sent money. Back in London they evidently lived in Aldgate, and Foxe met John Day the printer. Foxe was ordained a priest by the new bishop, yet he was 'something of a puritan'.<sup>167</sup> In March 1563 Day published Foxe's martyrology as *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perilous days, touching matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish prelates, specially in this realm of England and Scotland, from the year of our Lord 1000 unto the time now present*.<sup>168</sup> It was about 1,800 pages long and cost over 10s. Catholics attacked it, and one referred to it as 'that huge dunghill of your stinking martyrs', 'full of a thousand lies'. It became known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, yet he remained poor.<sup>169</sup> In 1570 a second edition had 2,300 very large pages of double-columned text,<sup>170</sup> and in 1571 the upper house of the convocation of Canterbury ordered that every cathedral should buy a copy, and church officials should buy copies for their servants and visitors;<sup>171</sup>

By 1572 3,840 or so poor people in County Durham had paid a total of £600 for pardons and the queen had received £4,800 and land worth at least £5,300 a year from wealthy rebels. She sold some worth £418 a year for £10,447, and paid £2,000 for the earl of Northumberland, who was sent to York and beheaded without trial.<sup>172</sup> Hexhamshire became part of Northumberland,<sup>173</sup> yet parliament remained concerned about masterless men.

### **(vii) Vnprofitable Pipers and Fidlers**

In 1572 a Vagrancy Act ordered parish overseers to conduct 'views and searches' and magistrates had to assess inhabitants to support the 'aged, decayed, and impotent'. They were to imprison any who refused to pay, and use any surplus to 'place and settle to work' those with no land, master or legitimate trade or source of income, though two magistrates could licence beggars if there were too many for a parish to provide for. 'Minstrels, not belonging to any Baron of this Realme' or 'any other honorable Personage of greater degree', were 'deemed Rogues, Vacaboundes and Sturdy Beggars', and were to be stripped to the waist, 'grievously whipped' until they bled and then 'burned through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about'. A second offense risked hanging, unless someone agreed to employ offenders for a year, and a third-offender could escape execution only if someone agreed to employ them for two years.<sup>174</sup>

By 1574 the queen was free of debt for the first time,<sup>175</sup> yet basic household commodities cost three times as much as in 1500.<sup>176</sup> In summer the London Company of Minstrels complained that it was 'much decayed' and

brought into contempt and hatryd by occasion of sondry disorders and inormyties vsed by personnes exercising that arte, not subject to the good lawes and ordinaunces of the Company, to the great dishonour of the Cittye, disfurniture of that service, pestering the Cittye with multitudes of apprentices, dishonestinge of the said arte and great occasion of vnchanste, wastful, lewde and dangerous practices amonges good citizens children and apprentices.<sup>177</sup>

The Stationers were ordered to ensure that musicians caused no disorder or immorality;<sup>178</sup> yet a mystic religious group smuggled in heretical ballads printed in Cologne.<sup>179</sup>

In 1575 London waits wore 'blewe gownes, red sleeves and cappes' and a silver collar.<sup>180</sup> Thomas Tallis and William Byrd were given exclusive rights to 'bring or cause to be cause to be brought' 'any song or songes made and printed in any forren countrie', including sacred or secular vocal or instrumental music,<sup>181</sup> for 21 years.<sup>182</sup>

Thomas Vautroller printed a book of their sacred songs, and they dedicated it to the queen, though their money had to come via the Stationers.<sup>183</sup> Later that year the Stationers petitioned unsuccessfully for the abolition of the monopoly on 'impryntinge of all balades' and 'bokes in prose or meetre' of one to 24 printers' sheets. They appointed 24 searchers to inspect 23 printing houses each week and report how many apprentices there were, how many journeymen were not brethren of the Company or freemen,<sup>184</sup> the numbers of presses, the publishers' names and titles and the print-runs of each book.<sup>185</sup> (The Company registers from July 1571 to July 1576 have not been traced.<sup>186</sup>)

In London Thomas Whythorne had not contracted the plague in 1563, and became much more religious.<sup>187</sup> He was a poet, composer, singer and performer on the lute, harpsichord and organ.<sup>188</sup> He became master of music at the archbishop of Canterbury's palace in 1571, and wrote the only secular music known to have been published in England since 1530, including *Buy New Broom*, with an instrumental accompaniment.<sup>189</sup> He taught aristocrats and gentry to play music and sing madrigals, and in 1576 he wrote about musicians who 'go with their instruments about the countries to cities, towns and villages', in 'private houses, to such as will have them, either publicly or privately: or else to markets, fairs, marriages, assemblies, taverns, alehouses and suchlike places'. He was pleased that such 'rascals and off-scum' who made music 'common by offering of it to every Jack' were being 'restrained somewhat from their vagabond life'.<sup>190</sup> That year there was an outbreak of plague across England.<sup>191</sup>

The Stationers limited the number of apprentices,<sup>192</sup> and in 1579 they fined the printers of an unlicensed and 'undecent' ballad and another deemed 'not tolerable' 3s 4d each, though 30 or so stationers failed to register any.<sup>193</sup> Stephen Gosson complained that London was 'so full of vnprofitable Pipers and Fidlers, that a man can no soner enter a tauerne' before two or three of them 'hang at his heeles, to giue him a daunce before he departe'.<sup>194</sup>

The Scottish parliament was increasingly concerned about 'masterless men'.

#### **(viii) He shall be adjudged to suffer death as a thief**

In 1574 the Scottish parliament had passed an Act for the 'charitable relieving of the aged and impotent poor people' and the 'utter suppression' of 'strong and idle beggars'.<sup>195</sup> The Protestant Assembly had failed to suppress music and dancing, especially at 'penny weddings',<sup>196</sup> and Aberdeen burgh council employed Johnne Cowpar to

pas everie day in the morning at four houris, and everie nycht at eight houris at ewyne, throu all the rewis [streets] of the toune, playand upon the almany quihissel [German whistle] with ane servante with him playand upon the taborine, quhairby the craftismen, their servandis, and all utheris folkis, being warnit and excitat, may pas to their labouris in dew and convenient tyme.<sup>197</sup>

In 1575 Alexander Arbuthnot printed the Protestant Geneva Bible in English in instalments which would cost £4 13s 4d over four years, and became the king's printer.<sup>198</sup> In 1578 a bishop noted that borderers 'greatly enjoy their music' and 'rhythmical songs which they compose about the deeds of their elders or their clever wiles, whether in plundering or outwitting' their enemies.<sup>199</sup> In 1579 an Act proclaimed that

idle persons going about, using subtle crafts and unlawful plays, as juglerie, fast and loose, and such others; the idle people calling themselves Egyptians, or any feigning themselves to have knowledge of prophecy, charming, or other abused sciences, by which they persuade people that they can tell their fortunes, and such other fantastical imaginations; all persons being whole and stark in body, and able to work, alleging themselves to have been herryit or burnt in some far part of the realm, or alleging themselves to be banished on account of other's wicked deeds; and others having neither land nor master, nor using any lawful merchandise craft or occupation whereby they may win their livings, and can give no account how they live; and all minstrels, songsters, and tale-tellers, not in the special service of some lord of Parliament or great baron; all common labourers, being persons able in body, living idly, and fleeing labour; all counterfeiters of licences to beg, or using the same knowing them to be counterfeit; all vagabond scholars of the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, not licensed by the rector and dean of faculty to ask alms; all shipmen and mariners alleging themselves to be shipbroken, without they have sufficient testimonials.

... [A]ll strong and idle beggars above the age of fourteen, and under the age of seventy, found wandering and misordering themselves, shall be apprehended and brought before the provost and bailies within burghs, and justices in landward parishes, and by the same be committed to prison the stocks or irons, there to be kept until adjudged, which shall be done within six days thereafter; and if they be convicted, they are to be scourged and burnt through the ear with a hot iron, unless some honest and responsible man will of his charity take and keep the offender in his service for one whole year next following; and if the offender leave such service within the year, on being again apprehended he is to be scourged and burnt through the ear as is before directed; after which he is not to be again punished in like manner for the space of

sixty days. But if at the end of sixty days he be found again in his idle and vagabond trade of life, then being apprehended anew, he shall be adjudged to suffer death as a thief.

... If any beggar's bairns (male or female), being above the age of five years and under fourteen, shall be liked of by any subject of the realm of honest estate - such person may have the bairn by direction of the provost and bailies within burgh, or the judge in landward parishes, if he be a man-child to the age of 24 years, and if a woman-child to the age of 28 years. And if they depart or be taken or enticed from their master's or mistress's service, the master or mistress shall have the like action and remedy as for their 'feit' servant or apprentice, as well against the bairn as against the taker or enticer thereof.

Householders worth 300 Scottish merks, or with land or goods worth £500, had to have a Bible and Psalm book 'for the better instruction of thame selffs and their families in the knowledge of God',<sup>200</sup> or risk a fine of £10.<sup>201</sup> Pipers and other musicians entering Glasgow faced severe penalties, and unlicensed books and ballads were banned on pain of confiscation. An Edinburgh schoolmaster and notary were hanged in Stirling,<sup>202</sup> since the notary had written a rhyme accusing the regent of complicity in the murder of the chancellor. In 1580 an Act provided for 'the Instruction of the Youth in the Art of Music and Singing', which was 'almost decayed, and will soon be altogether lost'. College patrons and provosts in the main burghs were 'to erect and set up' a Song School, with a master 'sufficient and able for instruction of the youth in the said science of music'.<sup>203</sup> Scotland was ahead of England.

### **(ix) The un-countable rabble of rhyming ballet-makers and compylers of senseless sonets**

By 1580 England's population was almost 3.3 million,<sup>204</sup> including about 120,000 in the border marches,<sup>205</sup> and ballads about the border were popular in the south. *A ballad of A rade made into Lyddesdale by certain Englishe gentlemen of ye phenix [Fenwicks] and others against ye Ellyottes for deadly fead* was entered in the Stationers' register,<sup>206</sup> and in 1581 an evil priest was given a northern accent in a play.<sup>207</sup>

In 1580 the Privy Council had required bishops to ensure that schoolteachers had Protestant beliefs and morals, and in 1581 it ordered them to licence them.<sup>208</sup> Robert Fletcher was probably born and raised in Warwickshire. He later entered Merton College, Oxford, and took his BA in 1564 and MA in 1567, though he quarrelled with the new warden in 1569 and was 'turned out from his fellowship' for 'misdemeanors'. He became a schoolmaster in Taunton and then a preacher in London.<sup>209</sup> Fletcher urged the authorities to 'suppresse that huge heape, & superfluous rable of balde Ballads, Rimes & Riddles, Songs & Sonnets', which 'tend to the nourishing of vice and 'corrupting of Youth',<sup>210</sup> yet in 1580-1581 around a quarter of the 219 entries in the Stationers' register were ballads.<sup>211</sup> William Wright was in a prison for handling pirated books in 1582,<sup>212</sup> and a patent-holding printer complained about the 22 printing houses, since he believed that eight to ten were enough for both England and Scotland.<sup>213</sup> The queen gave lands and benefactions intended to support cathedral singing men to deans and chapters, and some reportedly gave handouts to tradesmen who could not read music.<sup>214</sup>

Christopher Barker had purchased the office of queen's printer in 1577, and translated from the Drapers to the Stationers. The first complete Latin Bible was published in 1581,<sup>215</sup> and by 1582 Barker had invested £3,000 in four editions of the English Bible and complained that John Day 'printed the Psalms in metre' and needed 'no great stock' to supply 'all sorts of men, women, and children', and was 'gainful', while William Seres printed 'Morning and Evening prayers, with the Collects and the Litany' and 'furnisheth whole parishes throughout the realm'.<sup>216</sup>

By 1583 printing was re-established in Cambridge,<sup>217</sup> against the Stationers' opposition.<sup>218</sup> In London 23 printing houses had 53 presses, and the Stationers accused John Wolfe and other booksellers of piracy. They 'runne up or down to all ye faires and markets through a great part of ye Realme', yet after 'charges in cariage with their expenses in Innes and Alehouses and other places' they 'returne home more poore than they went out'.<sup>219</sup> The Londoner Philip Stubbes noted that 'Euery towne, Citie, and Countrie' was 'full of these minstrelles to pype up a dance to the Deuille'.<sup>220</sup> He inveighed against music in 'public assemblies', 'private conventicles' and '*filthy dancing*', and while 'all *good* minstrels, sober and chaste musicians (I mean such as range the country, riming and singing songs in taverns, ale-houses, inns, and other public assemblies) may dance the wild morris through a needle's eye', their heads were 'fraught with all kinds of lascivious songs, filthy ballads, and scurvy rhimes, serving for every purpose and every company'.<sup>221</sup> A ballad which criticised the Holy Trinity was publicly burned.<sup>222</sup>

By 1584 London stationers had invested £9,000 in copyrights,<sup>223</sup> which the Company administered,<sup>224</sup> and its monopoly of 'Prymers Psalters and Psalms in meter or prose with musycall notes or without note in greate volumes and small in the Englishe tongue'.<sup>225</sup> John and Richard Day held the patent for ABCs,<sup>226</sup> and when John died that year, he had published around 275 works, and was the only Englishman who matched the output of the major European publishers. In 1585 a lawyer who was also a printer got a patent to produce paper from rags.<sup>227</sup>

In 1586 the queen ordered gentry 'with covetous minds to live in London and about the City privately' without 'charge of company'. 'Mock-beggar Hall' was the ballad-singer's jibe against a country mansion shut up for the

winter.<sup>228</sup> The Londoner William Webbe complained that there was no ‘tune or stroke which may be sung or plaide on instruments, which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof’. The ‘*un-countable rabble of rhyming ballet-makers*’ who ‘stuffe every stall full of grosse devises and unlearned pamphlets’) included some who could ‘frame an alehouse song of five or six score verses’, yet ‘commendations of copper noses or bottle ale’ would ‘catch the garlands due to poets’.<sup>229</sup> Printers had to report the number of their presses and their printing material in ten days, and 25 did so.<sup>230</sup> The Star Chamber issued a decree.

No printer of bookes, nor any other person, or persons whatsoever, shall sett up, keepe or mayntein, any presse or presses, or any other instrument, or instruments, for imprinting of bookes, ballads, chartes, pourtraictures, or any other thing, or things whatsoever, but oneley in the cittie of London, or the suburbs thereof (except one presse in the universitie of Cambridge, and one other presse in the universitie of Oxford, and no more), and that no person shall hereafter erect, sett up, or maynteyne in any secrett, or obscure corner, or place, any suche presse.

Printing law books by anyone except the queen’s printer was forbidden, unless they had been approved by any two of the chief justices and the chief baron, and other books to be approved by the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London.<sup>231</sup> Printers of illegal publications faced six months in prison and sellers faced three months.<sup>232</sup> The number of master printers was limited to 20, plus the queen’s printer,<sup>233</sup> who could have six apprentices. The master and leading wardens of the Stationers’ Company and their predecessors could have three, and lesser wardens two, and the ‘yeomanry’ none, while the master, wardens and assistants could co-opt their successors. Oxford and Cambridge printers were limited to one apprentice each, though they could employ as many journeymen as they wished.<sup>234</sup> Stationers were told to bring in unlicensed ballads for scrutiny, and 237 were registered by 1587.<sup>235</sup> The Stationers limited ballad print-runs to 1,500, and though few exceeded 1,000, they often produced 3,000 grammars, prayer books and catechisms.<sup>236</sup> Musicians who sang William Byrd and Thomas Tallis’s dirges about the late Catholic poet Thomas Campion ended in Fleet prison,<sup>237</sup> and the Scottish queen was convicted of treason and executed in February 1587.<sup>238</sup>

## **(x) The sacred and the profane**

Richard Harrison had been a York minstrel by 1569 and Robert Collyer was a musician by 1571.<sup>239</sup> The common council agreed that the waits ‘shall from hence forth use and keep their morning watch with their instruments accustomed, every day in the week except only Sundays, and in the time of Christmas only, any custom or usage heretofore had and used amongst them, or others before them to the contrary, notwithstanding’.<sup>240</sup> Arthur Hodgson asked the council to let his apprentice use one of the city’s shawms,<sup>241</sup> and they agreed that he could have a ‘Cote of the Citie Chardges’, plus one of the four badges and chains.<sup>242</sup> The Minster had paid Mr Stevenson of Durham 10s for ‘pricking forth of Songs at London’,<sup>243</sup> and around this time a Christmas broadside, *Yule in Yorke*, noted that ‘The shalme and musicke resemble the mirth and melody of Angels’. It was set to a tune called *Our Sauour is come*, though there was no printer’s imprint or date.<sup>244</sup> The archbishop banned

lords of misrule or sommerr Lordes or ladyes, or anye disguised persons or others in christmasse or at may gammes, or anye minstrels morris dauncers or others at Ryshebearinges or at any other tymes to come vnreverentlye into anye churche or chappell or churchyard and there daunce and playe any vnseemlye partes with scoffes ieastes wanton gestures of rybaulde talke namely in the tyme of divine service or of anye sermon.<sup>245</sup>

John Clerke was a wait again in 1572,<sup>246</sup> but the council sacked them all.<sup>247</sup> In 1575 Thomas Dale was a minstrel, as were Laurence Barron and William Sparke in 1576,<sup>248</sup> when a bass shawm cost 11s.<sup>249</sup> The council reinstated the waits, and the chamberlains paid them 3s 4d for playing at Easter and Christmas, and £1 at the feast of St. William. In 1577 the waits Moore, Balderston, Hodgson and Clerke received their fees, and new liveries for Christmas.<sup>250</sup>

In 1573 Beverley freemen had paid the queen £223 to be incorporated,<sup>251</sup> and it happened in 1574.<sup>252</sup> She appointed the first mayor, and the next ones were to be elected on the Monday after Michaelmas and those who had been mayors in the previous five years were ineligible. There was to be a town clerk, a recorder, and 12 governors, who were to be chosen annually from 26 candidates proposed by the previous governors.<sup>253</sup> The waits took 12d from ‘foreign minstrels’ in 1577, yet no later record of them has been traced.<sup>254</sup>

In 1578 Richard Laverock was a York minstrel, as was Richard Browne in 1579,<sup>255</sup> and in December the council ordered the Minstrels’ searchers not to ‘suffer anie strainge musicions or minstrells to go abroade within this Cytie, playnge at mens dowere or in their houses other then such as be allowed by statute’, or face a fine of 6s 8d. The Bakers had paid a minstrel 12d for playing at their feast and another 4d in 1570, more than one 6d and 8d in 1571,



one 6d in 1572, and 6d once in 1573, 12d twice and 20d once. In 1574 they paid a minstrel 8d, and others 12d for playing at their 'Reconyng', and again in 1575, and they paid minstrels 8d for playing at their feast in 1579.<sup>256</sup>

Up to 1580 each guild had performed its Corpus Christi play. Protestant clerics disapproved and performances ceased, yet in 1581 Balderston with his fife and Edmund Archer the city drummer went about for two and a half days before the Midsomereven show. At dawn there was a muster of able-bodied men with their parishes' newly refurbished armour and arms, under the command of the constables, and led by the sheriffs, who were allowed 30 pounds of gunpowder. As the wagons moved from place to place they were accompanied by a colourful procession led by 'Champions', followed by the mounted sheriffs and the armed men, then the city's great white silken standard, which had cost 1s to mend after a swordsman had 'vnadvisedly rented' (torn) it. Around it two swordsmen twirled and flourished two-handed swords, then came the city drummer played and another who played refurbished the 'litle drum', along with the city trumpeter. Somewhere in the procession the four waits would be playing the city's 'noys of shalmes', led by Hewitt,<sup>257</sup> and Henrie Squier was now a wait.<sup>258</sup> That year the Minster paid a lord's musicians 'for settinge of songes for the quere'.<sup>259</sup> William Yonge was a minstrel,<sup>260</sup> and in December the council agreed to reinstate Hewitt as a wait on condition that he wore the same 'apparell' as the others, otherwise he would be sacked. In January 1582 he received 12s for playing with Moore, Balderston and Clerke over winter, and offered him £2 to 'serve forth the watche' until Candlemas'.<sup>261</sup> In 1583 an alderman delivered a 'coller & a cheyn of Silvar' for one wait, and a chamberlain noted that George Coper 'late of ipswiche shalbe a wate of this Cyttie vpon his good behuour during the pleasure of the lord maior & aldermen of this cyttie vpon securitie'.<sup>262</sup> In 1584 Peter Rutlishe (or Rutles) was a minstrel,<sup>263</sup> and in October the council examined Clerke and Balderston about their 'evill and disordelie behaviour to the discredit of this cittie for that they haue gone abroad, in the contry in very evill apparell, with their hose forth at their heels', and were 'comon drunkerdes' who cannot play 'as they ought to do.' Their badges were taken from them. It was agreed to choose 'sufficient men' to replace them,<sup>264</sup> though they were reinstated, and Coper was sacked for defrauding an elderly couple.<sup>265</sup>

Early in 1585 a goldsmith sent the council a bill for

makinge thre skutchons for the waites collers vij s to hym for makinge & amendinge of the iiij<sup>or</sup> cheines - vj s viij d Item for mendinge iiij consynsces & gildinge the reast viij s. Item more for one once and a half of sylver to the same vij s iiij d. Som - xxvij s. Delyverid to the said Robert hewite foure collours with skutchions and foure connysayntes & whereof one of the collers haith xlv lybartes [leopards] besydes the skutchion And one other hath ~~xxvi~~ xlv lybertes besydes the skutchion And one other hath xlvj<sup>ti</sup> lybartes besydes the skutchion And one other of forty five lybartes besydes the skutchion which said foure collers connysantes and skutchions doth weigh all together forty Twenty and seaven ounces etc.<sup>266</sup>

The council agreed to pay whatever the mayor 'shall thinke good'.<sup>267</sup> John Wilson was a minstrel and William Johnson was a wait.<sup>268</sup> The chamberlains paid a drummer and fifer, and gave 13s 4d to Mr Wormemall (or Wormall) for his 'payns' with the boy choristers. A priest got 6s 8d for 'two drinckings that he bestowed on the singers, the Bakers paid 'Mynstrells straungers' 12d for playing at their dinner,<sup>269</sup> and Thomas Grave was a wait in 1587.<sup>270</sup>

## (xi) The Protestant wind

In County Durham a Gateshead quarryman had had to pay 6s 8d to have his will written in 1571.<sup>271</sup> The bishop of bequeathed English books to his school at Rivington in Lancashire, 10s to a student at Christ's College, Cambridge, others to the libraries of 'pore coledges' in Cambridge and a book with a silver gilt cover valued at £10 to a female aristocrat. The rest were to go to 'such as wilbe preachers'. He left his grandson £10 to buy books, and if his daughters died before they married their inheritance should go to 'poore schollers' at Oxford and Cambridge. A Cathedral priest bequeathed 8d to each singing man and 4d to each chorister, while the bishop left each of them 3s 4d and 10s to the 'master of the quieristers'.<sup>272</sup> In 1572 a gentleman left his son £1 to buy books.<sup>273</sup> In 1573 a Chester-le-Street man bequeathed a printed Bible to a friend and a manuscript Bible to the town's church.<sup>274</sup> Around 70 percent of gentlemen may have been literate, though they were mainly older men.<sup>275</sup> In 1574 John Heath of Kepier left money to Bernard Gilpin, an Oxford graduate and clergyman in Houghton-le-Spring,<sup>276</sup> and he established a school for 20 boarders. He accepted fees only from well-to-do parents,<sup>277</sup> paid for an usher and 'three poore schollers' himself and donated £26. The first master was Robert Copperthwaite, whose annual salary was £5 6s 8d. In 1575 a Middleton gentleman left his son an annuity of £8 2s to stay 'at scoole' or an 'inne of court'.<sup>278</sup> In 1577 a Witton Gilbert gentleman bequeathed an 'olde syttorne', a 'broken gyttorne' and some 'small englishe books' valued at 3s 4d. The vicar of Sockburn near Darlington bequeathed books valued at 4s 4d in 1579,<sup>279</sup> and the dean of Durham left a book with a silver cover valued at £10 to two countesses.<sup>280</sup> The Cathedral prebendaries'

income varied from £100 to £1,000 a year.<sup>281</sup> In 1579 the dean bequeathed £1 to his servant, the singing man Thomas Harrison, 3s 4d to others, 10s to the 'master of the queristers', and 10s to a Cambridge scholar.<sup>282</sup>

In the early 1580s a gentleman at Kaverston near Darlington left a 'greatt pair of vergenalls' valued at £1.<sup>283</sup> A Durham notary left a 'pair of Claricords' valued at 5s, and Butterwick gentleman left his 'best payr of virginalls' to his cousin's daughter. Gilpin left 3s to 'everye scholler' at Houghton and 8d to 'schollers of other parishes'. He left books, including two in Greek, to a relative at Queen's College, Oxford, and proceeds from other goods for an exhibition for scholars at Oxford. He left works in Latin or English to friends and the bishop of Durham, others to Houghton School and £1 to the master, Christopher Ranson. An East Brandon gentleman left a 'communyone booke' and a Bible valued at 13s 4d, and a Durham man left his books, except his Bible and prayer books, to his parents.<sup>284</sup> Thomas Harrison lived in Durham's North Bailey and left £100 to both his sons and £80 to both daughters. A Cathedral canon left 8d apiece to the singing men, and a Beamish man left a 'paer of virginalls'.<sup>285</sup> The Grassmen in St. Giles's parish, who looked after pastures just outside the city, paid 6d for writing their accounts.<sup>286</sup> A West Auckland man asked his wife to pay his cousin £1 13s 4d a year, 'so longe as he remayneth at thi'ins of courte, untill he be utter barrester', and £13 6s 8d a year to his son if he stayed at school until he was 'fytt for the universitie',<sup>287</sup> while a Gateshead man had 'monyne bestowed upon him at the Unversyty of Cambrydg'.<sup>288</sup> In 1586 a gentleman left £2 a year to two of the 'porest scollers' at Houghton, and a Redheugh gentleman had a 'Testament' and John Calvin's commentaries on the Psalms, valued at 5s. In 1588 the vicar of Stranton's books were valued at over £14, including a Latin Bible worth 2s 6d, other works in Latin and English, including Aesop's *Fables*, valued at 4d, and an 'An English Dictionary for children, in vellum', worth 6d. An Auckland gentleman left his nephew the 'works' of Geoffrey Chaucer,<sup>289</sup> and in 1587 the bishop of Durham left books valued at £5 to the Cathedral library.<sup>290</sup>

The four Newcastle waits received 6s 8d a quarter in 1576, and the mayor gave £5 to jesters and minstrels. The Coopers gave minstrels 8d,<sup>291</sup> and the waits got 1s each for playing on 'Midsommer even'. In 1577 a merchant wished to be buried 'nygh where the oirganes doithe stande', in St. John's Church, and a neighbour bequeathed a 'payer of virginalls'.<sup>292</sup> In 1579 the waits got 26s 8d between them in February, May, August and November, and 1s each on 'mydsommer even',<sup>293</sup> and the singing man John Wallas lived in St. Nicholas' parish. In 1580 the wait Robert Sewell lived there, though the wait John Barnes died. He left his 'instrumentes' to his apprentice, Nicholas Fletcher, unless the wait William Bennett would 'take and enjoy them' and pay Fletcher 13s 4d. To his maidservant, 'over and above hir wages', Barnes left 3s 4d, and the rest was to repay a debt.<sup>294</sup> The Tanners paid 'Mynstrelles' 1s 8d,<sup>295</sup> and a merchant's 'payer of virgenalls' were valued at 13s 4d,<sup>296</sup> The last surviving reference to Corpus Christi plays was in 1581.<sup>297</sup> In 1584 the wait Tristram Heron died of plague.<sup>298</sup> He left a silver 'scutshon' valued at 2s 6d and a 'lewte and case' and four 'lewte' books valued at 16s. His estate was valued at £15 18s 10d, plus a debt of 10s, yet he owed £13 3s 2d, including £1 9s 1d for 'dighting and cleansing the house' after he and his child died.<sup>299</sup>

A Newcastle cook had bequeathed a 'booke of koukerye in prent' in 1570,<sup>300</sup> and a former mayor left £10 to his grandson for books in 1571.<sup>301</sup> In 1577 an All Saints' Church gravestone indicated how rhymes may have sounded.

Here lieth buried under this stone,  
The right worshipful Mr. Robert Ellison,  
Merchant Adventurer. Of this town,  
Twice right mayor he was.  
All worldly pomp forever thus must pass ...

In 1578 a widow bequeathed 126s 8d for her relatives' sons to go to school,<sup>302</sup> and there were 11 teachers in the town.<sup>303</sup> A merchant owned a Bible and other books valued at 27s in 1582, and another merchant stocked three reams of paper valued at 10s. In 1585 a merchant's 'prynted bookes' were valued at £1, and two 'gylted Frenche bookes' at 2s 6d,<sup>304</sup> while a barber-surgeon owned a 'booke of Marters', an 'Erball', a Bible and three medical books.<sup>305</sup> The 'poore Schole Master' of the Grammar School was still at St. Mary's Hospital, since the 'old Schoolehouse' had not been 'reedified',<sup>306</sup> though a merchant and alderman left a Bible and a 'Chronicle' in 1586.<sup>307</sup>

In Northumberland the bishop of Berwick bequeathed no books in 1572.<sup>308</sup> Morpeth Grammar School's master and usher had no licence in 1577,<sup>309</sup> and in 1579 the resident clergy in 46 parishes were theologically illiterate; yet there were three teachers in Berwick, two in Alnwick and Morpeth and one in Corbridge and Woodhorne.<sup>310</sup> In 1584 the county's population was around 85,000. Alnwick, Bellingham, Berwick, Haltwhistle, Hexham, Morpeth and Wooler had markets, and the border 'surnames' were in irreversible decline.<sup>311</sup> In 1586 a Willimoteswicke gentleman left a 'Booke of Marters' valued at 10s, and a Bible, a Berwick gentleman left a chair, a dish and a Bible valued at 5s, and a merchant left a Bible and 18 other books valued at £1 in 1587.<sup>312</sup> (Unlike many merchants, true gentlemen bore 'the port, charge and countenance' of one and had a coat of arms.<sup>313</sup>) In summer 1588 a 'Protestant wind' scattered the Spanish armada, yet there was a Catholic threat at home, and ballads were a problem.

## 5. The Faire Flower of Northumberland

### (i) A fit of mirth for a groat

In 1588 the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London delegated the perusal of ballads to 12 'preachers and others',<sup>1</sup> and the Stationers' Company raised the cost of registering one to 6d, the same as a book,<sup>2</sup> while some London intellectuals criticised ballads, their authors and singers.

George Puttenham was born into a family of gentry in 1529. He later entered Christs' College, Cambridge, but did not take a degree, and he entered the Middle Temple in London in 1556. He was reportedly a notorious adulterer, rapist and wife-beater,<sup>3</sup> and in 1589 he wrote about ballads anonymously.

The over busy and too speedy return of one manner of tune, doth too much annoy, and, as it were glut the ear, unless it be in small and popular musicks sung by these *Cantebanqui* [ballad singers] upon benches and barrels' heads, where they have none other audience than boys or country fellows that pass by them in the street; or else by blind harpers, or suchlike tavern minstrels, that give a fit of mirth for a groat [4d]; and their matter being for the most part stories of old time, as the Tale of Sir Topaz, Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwick, Adam Bell and Clym of the Clough, and such other old romances or historical rhymes, *made purposely* for the recreation of the common people at Christmas dinners and bride-ales, and in taverns of alehouses, and such other places of base resort. Also they [short tunes] be used in Carols and Rounds, and such light and lascivious poems, which are commonly more commodiously uttered by these buffo[o]ns, or vices in plays ...<sup>4</sup>

A poor fiddler was 'in worse case than his Fiddle'.

One that rubs two sticks together ... and rubs a poor living out of it; partly from this, and partly from your charity, which is more in the hearing, than giving him, for he sells nothing dearer than to be gone: He is just so many strings above a beggar, though he have but two; and yet he begs too, only not in the down-right *for God's sake*, but with a shrugging *God bless you* ... A good feast shall draw him five miles by the nose, and you shall track him by his scent. His other pilgrimages are fairs and good houses, where his devotion is great to the Christmas; and no man loves good times better. He is in league with the tapsters for the worshipful of the inn, whom he torments next morning with his art, and has their names more perfect than their men. A new song is better to him then a new jacket, especially if bawdy, which he calls merry, and [he] hates naturally the Puritan, as an enemy with his mirth. A country wedding, and Whitsun-ale, are the two main places he domineers in, where he goes for a musician, and over-looks the bag-pipe. The rest of him is drunk, and in the stocks.<sup>5</sup>

Around 58 percent of London tradesmen and craftsmen could sign their names, and in 1591 one book in English was printed or imported for every 13 people,<sup>6</sup> yet some university graduates damned them.

Robert Greene was born into an artisan's family in Norwich in 1558, and probably attended the Grammar School before going to Cambridge. He graduated BA,<sup>7</sup> and subsequently became a playwright in London. William Wright published Greene's *The Second Part of Conny-catching* in 1591. Cony-catching was a slang term meaning theft by trickery, and a cony was a tame rabbit bred for the table. He complained about the 'vnsufferable loytering' of those singing 'Ballets and songs at the doors of such houses where plaies are vsed' and 'in open markets and other places', and accused them of being in league with 'cutpurses' (thieves),<sup>8</sup> but he died in 1592.<sup>9</sup>

The ballad-writer William Elderton had taught Eton College boys to act in 1572, and was headmaster of Westminster School in London in 1574. He was briefly imprisoned in 1579, possibly for debt, and he went to see an archery contest in York in 1582.<sup>10</sup> Richard Jones printed *Yorke, Yorke, for my monie*, 'neere Holburne Bridge' in London, in 1584, and it praised York over everywhere except London.<sup>11</sup> He denounced Puritans in 1589, and was dead by 1592, yet only 17 of his ballads had borne his name or initials.<sup>12</sup>

Henry Chettle was born into a London dyer's family around 1564. He was apprenticed to a stationer in 1577 and joined the Stationers' Company in 1584. He and two others published many ballads;<sup>13</sup> and in 1592 William Wright published Chettle's *Kind-Hart's Dream*, which complained about competition in Essex.

There is many a tradesman of a worshipful trade, yet no stationer, who after a little bringing up apprentices to singing broker, takes into his shop some fresh men, and trusts his servants of two months' standing with a dozen groatsworth [48p] of ballads. In which, if they prove thrifty, he makes them petty chapmen, able to spread more pamphlets by the state forbidden, than all the booksellers in London.

A young man with a squeaking treble voice and his brother with an 'ale-blown bass' had earned £1 a day in Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire,<sup>14</sup> and Chettle wanted such 'singers and their supporters burned in the tongue'.<sup>15</sup> By

1594 the Stationers had increased the size of the English Stock,<sup>16</sup> and a printer of unlicensed ballads deemed 'lewd' had his press 'made unserviceable' and his types defaced.<sup>17</sup>

The poet Sir Philip Sydney had written *An Apologie for Poetrie* around 1579, though it was not published until 1595, nine years after he died.

I must confess mine own barbarousness; I neuer heard the old song of *Percy* and *Duglas*, that I found not my heart moued more then with a Trumpet: and yet is it sung but by some blind Crouder, with no rougher voice then rude stile; which being so euill apparelled in the dust and cob-webbes of that vnciuill age, what would it worke, trymmed in the gorgeous eloquence of *Pindar*?<sup>18</sup>

Yet the intellectuals' campaign against ballads was relentless.

Nicholas Bownde, the son of a duke's physician, graduated BA at Cambridge in 1572. He was elected as a fellow and took his MA in 1575. The college gave him a rectorship in 1585 and he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1594. He was a Puritan,<sup>19</sup> and in 1595 the widow Joan Orwin printed his *The doctrine of the Sabbath* in London. It noted that 'the singing of ballads is very lately renewed' and 'in every Faire and market almost you shall have one or two singing and selling of ballads'.<sup>20</sup> He was puzzled that illiterate cottagers had ballads 'so they might learne them', and that they knew far more about Robin Hood than the scriptures.<sup>21</sup> He feared ballads would 'drive away' Psalms, and condemned May-games and morris dances on Sundays.<sup>22</sup>

The earliest surviving London bookseller's catalogue appeared,<sup>23</sup> and some Oxford and Cambridge scholars attended Frankfurt book fair in 1596.<sup>24</sup> Edmund Coote, headmaster of the Free School in Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, registered *The English schoole-master teaching all his schollers, of what age soever, the most easie, short, and perfect order of distinct reading, and true writing our English-tongue, that hath euer yet beene knowne or published by any*.<sup>25</sup> The Stationers told type-founders not to cast any without informing them,<sup>26</sup> and while most printers usually used white letter', they continued to use black-letter for ballads.<sup>27</sup>

## (ii) Thomas Deloney

Thomas Deloney was reportedly born into a refugee French Huguenot family of silk-weavers in Norwich around 1543. He trained as a silk-weaver and later moved to London, married, and a son was baptised in St. Giles-without-Cripplegate in 1586.<sup>28</sup> In 1570 he condemned the rising in the north anonymously, and the peasants' revolt in 1581, celebrated the defeat of the Spanish armada in 1588, and compared the pope to the devil.<sup>29</sup> The earliest-surviving ballad signed 'T.D.' dates from two years earlier. In 1592 Robert Greene referred to 'triviall trinkets' and 'threedbare trash' which 'had better seemed T.D. whose braines' were 'yarking up' (churning out) ballads. In 1596 a Deloney ballad complained about the dearth of corn, and he was accused of 'stirring discontent amongst the poor'. He escaped prosecution, yet the playwright, poet and satirist Thomas Nashe called him the 'Balletting Silke-Weaver of Norwich' who drank penny a quart ale. In spring 1597 a small book appeared in London,<sup>30</sup> dedicated to 'All Famous Cloth-workers in England'.<sup>31</sup> It included *The Maidens Song*, which was set after the battle of Flodden in 1513, when the king was away in France and the Scots invaded. The 'King and Queene, and all the Nobilitie heedfully beheld' young women 'all attired alike from top to toe', who 'in dulcet manner', 'chaunted out this Song, two of them singing the Ditty, and all the rest bearing the burden'.

It was a Knight in *Scotland* borne,  
follow my loue, leape ouer the strand:  
Was taken prisoner and left forlorne,  
euen by the good Earle of *Northumberland*.

Then was he cast in prison strong,  
follow my loue leape ouer the strand:  
Where he could not walke nor lye along,  
euen by the good Earle of *Northumberland*.

And as in sorrow thus he lay,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
The earles sweet Daughter walkt that way,  
and she the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

And passing by like an Angell bright,

follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
This Prisoner had of her a sight,  
and she the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

And leud to her this Knight did cry,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
The salt teares standing in his eye,  
and she the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

Faire Lady he sayd, take pittie on me,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And let me not in prison dye,  
and you the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

Faire Sir, how should I take pittie on thee,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
Thou being a foe to our Country,  
and I the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

Faire Lady, I am no foe he said,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
Through thy sweet loue here was I slayd,  
for thee the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

Why shouldst thou come here for loue of me,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
Hauing wife and Children in thy Countrie,  
and I the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

I sweare by the blessed Trinitie,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
I haue no wife nor children I,  
nor dwelling at home in merrie *Scotland*.

If courteously you will set me free,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
I vow that I will marrie thee,  
so soon as I come in merry *Scotland*.

Thou shalt be Lady of Castles and Towers,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And sit like a Queene in princely bowers,  
when I am at home in faire *Scotland*,

Then parted hence this Lady gay,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And got her fathers ring away,  
to helpe this sad Knight into faire *Scotland*.

Likewise much gold she got by sleight,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And all to helpe this forlorne Knight,  
to wend from her father to faire *Scotland*.

Two gallant steeds both good and able,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
She likewise tooke out of the stable,  
to ride with this knight into faire *Scotland*.

And to the laylor she sent this ring,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
The Knight from prison forth to bring,

to wend with her into faire *Scotland*.

This token set the prisoner free,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
Who straight went to this faire Lady,  
to wend with her into faire *Scotland*.

A gallant steed he did bestride,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And with the Lady away did ride,  
and she the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

They rode till they came to a water cleare,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
Good sir how should I follow you here,  
and I the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

The water is rough and wonderfull deep,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And on my saddle I shall not keep,  
and I the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

Feare not the foord faire Lady quoth he,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
For long I cannot stay for thee,  
and thou the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

The Lady prickt her wanton steed,  
follow my loue come ouer the strand  
And ouer the Riuer swom with speed,  
and she the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

From top to toe all wet was she,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand;  
This haue I done for loue of thee,  
and I the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

Thus rode she all one winters night,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
Till *Edenborow* they saw in sight,  
the chiefest towne in all *Scotland*.

Now chuse (quoth he) thou wanton flower,  
follow my loue come ouer the strand:  
Where thou wilt be my paramour,  
or get thee home to *Northumberland*.

For I haue wife and children fieu,  
follow my loue come ouer the strand:  
In *Edenborow* they be aliue,  
then get thee home to faire *England*.

This fauour shalt thou haue to boote,  
follow my loue come ouer the strand:  
Ile haue thy horse, goe thou a foote,  
goe get thee home to *Northumberland*.

O false and faithlesse Knight quoth she,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And canst thou deale so bad with me,  
and I the faire flower of *Northumberland*?

Dishonour not a Ladies name,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
But draw thy sword and end my shame,  
and I the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

He took her from her stately Steed,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And left her there in extreame need,  
and she the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

Then sate she downe full heauily,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
At length two Knights came riding by,  
two gallant Knights of faire England.

Shée fell downe humbly on her knee,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
Saying, curteous Knights take pittie on me,  
and I the faire flower of *Northumberland*.

I haue offended my father deere,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And by a false knight that brought me heere,  
from the good earle of *Northumberland*.

They tooke her vp behind them then,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
And brought her to her Fathers agen,  
and he the good Earle of *Northumberland*.

All you faire Maidens be warned by me,  
follow my loue, come ouer the strand:  
Scots were neuer true, nor neuer will be,  
to Lord, to Lady, nor faire *England*.

This appeared in *The Pleasant Historie of John Winchcomb, in his younger yeares called lacke of Newberie, the famous and worthy Clothier of England*. The young women worked in his clothing factory in Berkshire.<sup>32</sup> Deloney's message was clear. Scottish knights were not to be trusted, but female aristocrats in Northumberland were hopelessly naïve.

That year an Act permitted noblemen and civic musicians to play interludes in church, though it deemed fiddlers and minstrels who played in inns, alehouses or taverns 'Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars'. Minstrels 'wandring abroad' would be sentenced to hard labour, and anyone found begging, including 'Schollers', chapmen and pedlars, would be 'whipped and passed to the Parish of their Birth or last Residence', or sent to a House of Correction.<sup>33</sup> There were reportedly 30,000 itinerants.<sup>34</sup> Sign-posts appeared on major roads, carriers' wagons carried passengers,<sup>35</sup> and 'road books' guided other travellers.<sup>36</sup>

The Stationers set maximum prices per sheet for popular books,<sup>37</sup> so an octavo (about eight inches by ten) of 160 pages cost about 5d to print and sold for 1s,<sup>38</sup> at a time when husbandman with 30 acres might have up to 18d to spare each week. Craftsmen earned 12d a day and labourers 6d,<sup>39</sup> and beef cost 2d a pound.<sup>40</sup> It was estimated that 400,000 cottagers had to get by on £6 10s a year, while agricultural labourers and servants reportedly earned £15. Around 1.4 million lived in towns and cities, including 530,000 in London,<sup>41</sup> and around 870,000,<sup>42</sup> including over 20,000 in Norwich and Bristol,<sup>43</sup> lived in 32 towns.<sup>44</sup> Over half the population were probably at or below the poverty line,<sup>45</sup> and life expectancy averaged 40 years,<sup>46</sup> and 1597 was a famine year.<sup>47</sup>

For 20 years 35 of the 270 or so London printers and publishers had belonged to other companies, and in 1599 the Stationers required Henry Dunn to promise to bring up his two apprentices 'to the art of Musick and not to the Stationers' trade'. It granted copyright of ballads to others, 'provided that noe Drapers name be set to them'.<sup>48</sup>

The London Catholic Thomas East had printed William Byrd's *Whole Booke of Psalms*, then Byrd settled in Essex in 1593, and the madrigalist Thomas Morley succeeded him as patentee.<sup>49</sup> Musical literacy and the ability to play an instrument were seen as evidence of good breeding among better-off men and women,<sup>50</sup> and in 1597 Morley



had published *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*.<sup>51</sup> His book became a standard work,<sup>52</sup> and in 1599 he recommended *The First Book of Consort Lessons* to the London waits.<sup>53</sup>

Around five percent of London booksellers were widows, and hundreds of women were involved in the print trades. Ballad-writers might get anything from 18d to 5s, and since six cost around 1d to print, they were highly profitable.<sup>54</sup> Richard Jones had registered 164 in 38 years.<sup>55</sup> The Stationers fined Edward Allde and William White 5s for printing an unlicensed ballad and Edward White 10s for selling copies.<sup>56</sup> About 150 out of 200 ballads a year had been registered during the 1590s,<sup>57</sup> and around 3,000 had appeared since 1557, but while 1,500,<sup>58</sup> or perhaps 2,000, had been registered, 4,000 or more had not.<sup>59</sup> Somewhere between 600,000 and 4,000,000 ballad sheets had been printed,<sup>60</sup> yet only 301 different exemplars survive.<sup>61</sup> Nationally, the shawm had been waits' main instrument up to around 1600, though the cornet, sackbut, and curtal (an early bassoon) were becoming popular.<sup>62</sup> A treble or bass viol, bandore (bass lute), cittern, sackbut, timbrel (tambourine), trumpet and drum could cost £2.<sup>63</sup> Deloney died in poverty, but was 'decently' buried. The 'great Ballad-maker' had written at least 80 ballads.<sup>64</sup>

By 1600 England's population was around 4.07 million,<sup>65</sup> and 70 percent worked in agriculture.<sup>66</sup> By 1601 many corporate towns had reconstructed their guild system and tightened bye-laws to ensure full employment for their citizens and to exclude others.<sup>67</sup> Many former chapmen had become shopkeepers and could get three to nine months' credit from printers and stationers. Most petty chapmen travelled on foot, or sometimes with a pack animal,<sup>68</sup> while a 'paultrie' pedlar often had 'a long packe or maund' (basket) hanging from his neck with 'Almanacks, Bookes of News, or other trifling ware'.<sup>69</sup> An Act required that the 'impotent poor' who could not work were to be cared for in an almshouse or poorhouse, and the old, lame and blind were to be relieved. The able-bodied were to work in a 'House of Industry' and their children were to be apprentices. The idle poor and vagrants were to be sent to a house of correction or prison,<sup>70</sup> and minstrels, players, petty chapmen and other travellers were liable to whipping,<sup>71</sup> yet country alehouses often had a 'painted cloath, with a row of ballets'.<sup>72</sup>

The London Stationers were granted copyright in 'all manner of Almanacks and Prognostications in the English tongue',<sup>73</sup> and by 1603 around 76 percent of a sample of London artisans and tradesmen could sign their names,<sup>74</sup> though provincial readers of London publications had to be able understand London English.

### (iii) Fees and liveries

In the 1580s 'certaine women' in Cleveland, north Yorkshire, who were probably Catholics, had sung a song reciting the journey the dead must go via Purgatory.<sup>75</sup> York Minster had paid £1 for strings for the choristers' instruments in 1588, and gave Robert Hewitt 10s for providing 'certaine songes for the choir', and the Bakers paid minstrels 4d and 12d for playing at two dinners.<sup>76</sup> The waits John Clerke, Christopher Dent, William Johnson and Thomas Graves handed in the former wait John Balderston's 'scottson' and 'coller'.<sup>77</sup> The post took 42 hours to reach Berwick from London in summer and 60 hours in winter,<sup>78</sup> though 1589 an urgent message from Berwick to London took 25 hours to reach Newcastle and 16 more to reach Durham.<sup>79</sup>

In 1591 York Minster paid 10s to 'thos that playd vpon Sagbuttes & Cornittes'. In the early 1590s the waits received their customary fees. Dent died, but the common council appointed John Watson, and the mayor was to 'deliver to him the Silver Cheyne and Scutchin vpon sufficient sureties for redeliuerye theirow'.<sup>80</sup> The chamberlains paid a goldsmith 8s for renewing four 'Conysantes', plus 5s for new silver.<sup>81</sup> Christopher Smyth became a wait,<sup>82</sup> and Watson stood as surety for Cuthbert Thompson's 'conisant'.<sup>83</sup> One of them was to have a chain and badge which was already made, and the other a new coat, pending the making of another chain and badge, for which a goldsmith was to receive 13s. The waits requested a pay rise, since there was one man and a boy more than previously, so the council asked them to list their receipts. It paid them £3 6s 8d out of 'benevolence' and £3 6s 8d for four coats. In 1595 a council committee examined the waits' books. Smyth left in 1596, and the others wanted to replace Clerke. He was 'so disordered and distemppred' and 'verie often dronk', besides being 'trobled with the 'falling sicknesse' and deaf. He agreed to step down and stop playing *The Hunt is up*, the waits' signature tune, and the council let him carry on playing 'with a boy or two' to look after him. The other waits agreed to give him £1 6s 8d a quarter, though he had to hand over the 'pipes & instruments for making of the same', and Richard Bradley was appointed. The chamberlains paid a lord's musicians £1, and the Minster gave Hewitt 5s. In the late 1590s the Bridgemasters paid minstrels for playing at their suppers and feasts, and also paid the waits 1s 4d once.<sup>84</sup> They complained that 'diuerse cittizens' had not paid them, and gave the mayor their names, so at least one wait was probably literate, and he agreed to make them pay. The waits complained that a recent Act prevented them from playing in the country, so they could not maintain their families, and they asked for a rise. The council appointed a committee to seek to improve their 'maintenaunce'. The also paid for their boy servant's livery. John Harrison, Richard's son, was a minstrel, and Robert Pacoke and Robert Sympson were musicians,<sup>85</sup> yet the chamberlains paid

the Scottish king's musicians an unrecorded amount. Those who owed the waits £1 11s 1d claimed that they were unable to pay, since the gates were closed, so the ward officer was asked to persuade them. It was agreed that the waits would play on Micklegate Bar to greet the lord president of the Privy Council, and the council paid the £1 7s 8d they were still owed.

In 1600 the mayor received an account of the waits' incomes, but they complained that some aldermen held their 'befre breakfast' at the same time, so they could not attend them all. They threatened to resign, yet the council barred them from playing at any breakfasts unless they were sent for. The wait Thompson had 'given vp his cheyne and Conysent' and 'gone abrode into the Cuntry' without the mayor's permission, so he would be barred from his post forever, and the others had to find a replacement. In 1601 the council loaned the wait Watson £4 to buy a 'doble Curtall' and gave him 13s 4d when he was sick. From 1590 to 1602 the Bakers had fined one member 1d for not paying a minstrel, and spent 6d on minstrels and wine at a 'padgion dynner'. One year they hired them on 12 occasions, and they also gave the waits 2s once. From 1590 to 1602 the Bricklayers paid minstrels from 4d to 2s 6d on 11 occasions, and they once paid 4s for their wine, and they also gave 1s 8d to 'hungaryons' and 1s to a 'straunger'.<sup>86</sup> The archbishop warned the mayor about 'Stage-Players'. He called them 'idle People', 'the Debauchers of the virtuous Principles of Youth' and 'no better than *Strolling Vagrants*'; so the magistrates decided to fine everyone who went to see them 2s 6d, and any landlord who let them use his premises £20.<sup>87</sup>

Other Yorkshire towns had professional musicians. Hull had had a guild of musicians since 1599.<sup>88</sup> The Richmond Company of Mercers, Grocers and Haberdashers had paid the 'waytes' 1s 1d for playing at one of their two dinners in 1583,<sup>89</sup> and they paid musicians 1s several times from 1586 to 1600.<sup>90</sup> Further north there was a contrast in cultural development and security, as between the towns and the countryside.

#### (iv) Very vehement reprehensions

By 1581 around 2,000 border dwellings, mostly in north Northumberland, had been ruined or abandoned,<sup>91</sup> and only one aristocrat was resident in 1586.<sup>92</sup> In 1587 Scots raiders reportedly stole property worth almost £93,000,<sup>93</sup> and in 1593 1,000 raiders drove away over 1,000 cattle, over 1,000 sheep and goats and 24 horses from Tynedale.<sup>94</sup> By 1595 there were fewer than 1,200 armed men Northumberland,<sup>95</sup> and the bishop of Durham and two judges complained to the Privy Council that the wardens of the middle and western marches had allowed the territory to become 'an open spoile and prey to the utter impoverishing and undoing of the poorer sorte' and endangered those of the 'better sorte'.<sup>96</sup> From 1595 to 1597 there was a great dearth,<sup>97</sup> though Berwick was peaceable,<sup>98</sup> People starved to death in the county,<sup>99</sup> and in 1598 royal officials ordered that borderers called Rutherford or Hall should receive no 'quarter' (be left alive).<sup>100</sup>

The Scottish population was probably better educated than the English, and while an ABC cost 10d, other schoolbooks and grammars were moderately priced. In 1590, after one printer died and another returned to London, there was only one printer in the country; yet in 1593 a grammar book was prescribed for all grammar schools. In 1599 James Watson produced the first Scottish newspaper, the *Edinburgh Gazette*, with the authority of the Privy Council,<sup>101</sup> and when a troupe of English actors crossed the border, and Protestant ministers 'preached against them with very vehement reprehensions', the king insisted that they be allowed to perform,<sup>102</sup> yet in 1600 the author of a pasquil (lampoon) against the king had his tongue cut out before his execution.<sup>103</sup> Up to around 1560 a Scottish pound had been worth 5s of English money, and it was worth no more than 2s by 1600.<sup>104</sup>

During the 1590s a Berwick gentleman bequeathed a book of 'Martyrs' and 'Statutes',<sup>105</sup> and Cuthbert Ogle left Morpeth Grammar School for Newcastle Grammar School.<sup>106</sup> A Chillingham gentleman bequeathed a daughter £500, some of which was 'towardses her education'.<sup>107</sup> In 1599 Hexham Grammar School was founded to teach boys Latin, Greek and the catechism. Many governors were not gentry, yet they had all attended a grammar school. Townspeople's sons paid 1d a quarter, and outsiders 1s, plus 6d to the usher. They had to 'use the Latin tongue (such as be able)' and must 'use in or near the school no weapon, as sword, dagger, staff, cudgel, or suchlike'; but they could practise shooting arrows on 'play-days'.<sup>108</sup> They were to 'use no buyinge, sellinge, or defrauding of their fellowes', and 'haunt no ale-houses' or play 'unlawfull games' like 'dice, cardes or suchlike'.<sup>109</sup> For 20 years Northumberland had had no more than four preachers,<sup>110</sup> and only 13 percent of husbandmen and yeomen were literate,<sup>111</sup> yet a County Durham man was an indentured apprentice of a chapman in Allandale,<sup>112</sup> and one Northumberland gentleman owned 20 books.<sup>113</sup>

Berwick waits played for officials and the public on set occasions, though the town guild ordered that minstrels, pipers and fiddlers would not be allowed to frequent alehouses, 'as commonlye they doe'.<sup>114</sup> 1601 Morpeth Tanners paid the county pypers' 1s 5d on Trinity Sunday.<sup>115</sup> An earl paid the earl of Northumberland's musicians to play cornets,<sup>116</sup> and Alnwick waits, who wore a blue livery,<sup>117</sup> kept watch and ward and piped the hour of night.<sup>118</sup>

Nottingham waits played in Blyth and Belford, when a horse might cost from £2 to £2 10s, 1s 6d a day to feed and 4d for a new shoe, and a bed in an inn cost 2½d or 3d a night.<sup>119</sup>

There were more Scots than English in some border towns,<sup>120</sup> and men from the overpopulated English border valleys had moved to Tyneside. Many were keelmen,<sup>121</sup> as were many of the 1,800 Scots;<sup>122</sup> yet some working men on Tyneside owned books. In 1592 Henry Robinson, a keelman, had bequeathed *Short's Brief Chronicles* and Thomas Becon's *The sicke mans salve* to his servant.<sup>123</sup> In Newcastle a shoemaker bequeathed a Bible, 'pissels, gospels and common prayers' valued at 5s. A merchant bequeathed 'the Booke of Marters', one large Bible and two small ones, worth £2 10s, and another bequeathed a Bible valued at 11s 4d in 1596.<sup>124</sup> St. Nicholas' Church had a library.<sup>125</sup> In 1598 the Grammar School returned to St. Nicholas' churchyard.<sup>126</sup> The mystery plays had ceased,<sup>127</sup> though Mr Cooke was a 'scoolmaister' in 1600.<sup>128</sup>

The Newcastle mayor had paid the 'mynstrilles of Whickham' 3s 10d for playing on court day in 1590,<sup>129</sup> yet he forbade unmarried people from dancing together in public.<sup>130</sup> In 1591 the four waits received 16¾ yards of cloth between them and 7s for playing at the audit dinner, while the Coopers paid minstrels 8d. In 1592 the chamberlains paid Robert Askew 1s for 'plainge of his flute' and gave 3s to three musicians who played when the Four and Twenty were 'att dynner'. The music, food and wine at the audit banquet cost £2 13s, including 5s for the waits, and the wine and music at another banquet cost £1 19s. The Tanners paid minstrels 6d for playing the morning after their feast day, and two drummers who played at a military muster got 3s and a flautist got 6d, while mending St. Nicholas' Church organ cost £2.<sup>131</sup> In 1593 two waits, Peter Rutlishe, and Askew,<sup>132</sup> received their fees and back pay, plus 5s for playing at a dinner, and Askew and William Lassles received 5s for playing a flute and drum for the gunners on the anniversary of the queen's coronation. The St. Nicholas' Church organist received £2 13s, and a joiner got 8d for mending it. A tabroner (tambourine-player) received 2s 6d for playing at the 'shore' to make 'mr maior & his brethren merie' as they sank £1's worth of ale.<sup>133</sup> A London merchant supplied 16¾ yards of broadcloth, at 7s 6d a yard, for the waits' liveries.<sup>134</sup> In 1594 the waits were Askew, Abraham Farren and the brothers Jarred and Georgio Heron.<sup>135</sup> When two representatives men who had attended the christening of the Scottish king's first son visited Newcastle,<sup>136</sup> the chamberlains paid 8d for 'geving warninge to muster to mette the Staites of the Low Country cam from Skotland'. A boy got 1s for 'playinge of a drum' and Askew got 1s for 'playinge with his fife before the drume', while the waits got 10s. They also received 5s for playing at the audit dinner.<sup>137</sup> The Saddlers paid minstrels 6s 8d, and the waits received their 6s 8d quarterly fee. Rutlishe received his before he went to London, 'he beinge in want'. The waits received 5s between them for playing at the audit dinner, and musicians received 2s for playing at another. The St. Nicholas' Church organist got £1 for mending it, 'the wiers beinge all broaken', and covers for the 'townes drums' cost 1s.

In 1596 Askew was 'lyinge sicke', but received his 6s 8d, and the other waits received 12s for playing at the audit dinner. In 1597 the chamberlains paid 3s to J. Abrahame, the father of a wait who had 'deed att ledes, he hauing the townes cunisente' for going there, and Mr Anthonieyes' children got £2 for 'playinge of musicke of the coronation daie'. The waits received 6s 8d in February and May, plus their arrears, though in July other 'waittes who came to be hiered' received 10s. Two waits received 2s, yet 'the waittes of Bostonn' in Lincolnshire received 2s 6d twice. The musician John Hobkirke lived in St. John's parish, as did the wait Xpfor (Christopher) Bennett in 1598. 1599 the chamberlains paid five waits their £2 10s arrears in February, and again in April, and gave the 'Kinge of skotes his musicianer' £1 for 'playeing before mr maiore' and his 'Brethren', 3s to two lords' musicians, while the Tanners paid minstrels 2s for playing at 'our Rekninge day at nyght'. The chamberlains paid the waits Jarrett Hearon and John Hawkins 13s due the previous November, and the five waits £1 3s a quarter between them.<sup>138</sup> The musician Thomas Howey lived in St. Andrew's parish, and the musician Richard Ross died in 1602,<sup>139</sup> and around this time Coventry waits played in Newcastle.<sup>140</sup>

In County Durham a Pensher gentleman's 'paire of virginalls' and furniture were valued at £4 in 1594. In 1595 Thomas Swinhoe, a Durham 'musitian', owned a 'viole' valued at 10s, and his worldly goods amounted to £3 16s 10d, plus outstanding loans. In the later 1590s an Eppleton knight owned a 'paire of virginalls' valued at £1. A Durham merchant's 'pare of virginalls' were valued at £1, and a Houghton man left £5 to the school. He had 'bookes and papers', and £224 hidden behind books. A Durham mercer owned three 'paper bokes' valued at 3s 6d, and 14 quires of 'large paper' and 24 quires of 'small paper' worth 7s.<sup>141</sup> Around this time a hen was worth 2d, a ewe 7d and a wether 8d, and the annual rent of a cottage in Wolviston was 9s.<sup>142</sup> In 1600 A Hilton knight bequeathed a 'paire of olde virginals' valued at 2s 6d.<sup>143</sup> A Darlington gentlemen bequeathed 'Certaine books' valued at £3, and a parson left 'Certain litle bookes' valued at 5s;<sup>144</sup> yet the county suffered from violence and disease.

In 1596 a gentleman told the queen's chief minister that 'distressed people are in despair and the country miserable from the horrible murders and incorrigible pride and disobediance of the ravenous malefactors. Touching murders, I cannot yet come by the certain number, but the number is great, the manner horrible; killing men in their beds.' One man had killed 20, and another 16, and one family had murdered 35 members of another.<sup>145</sup> People

starved to death in Durham in 1597.<sup>146</sup> A Cambridge Puritan from the city regretted his failure to pray for plague victims.<sup>147</sup> Over 1,000 had died in Durham, as had 340 in Darlington, and plague broke out in both towns in 1598.<sup>148</sup> In London a Lincoln's inn barrister who hailed from County Durham owned dozens of Latin and English books valued at £13 6s 8d.<sup>149</sup> In 1601 Whickham church court charged that Christopher Watson 'teacheth children not licensed' by the bishop.<sup>150</sup> Almost all the region's aristocrats, gentry and merchants were literate,<sup>151</sup> though Darlington's parish clerk charged 3s 4d for writing wills and inventories.<sup>152</sup> During the 1590s the Durham Grassmen had paid a man 1s to write their accounts, John Litlephare 8d for writing two 'presentments', Rychard Farreless 4d for copying them and others for the magistrates, and 4d for copying 'articles'.<sup>153</sup> Durham Cathedral library had been decimated and held about 320 manuscripts and 60 printed books.<sup>154</sup>

By the early 1600s Northumberland's population was around 73,000, at an average of 40 or so per square mile, or just over half the national level, and its eight market towns served four times the average area.<sup>155</sup> County Durham's population was about 76,500. Darlington's was probably just under 2,000, and it was the third largest town behind Durham and Bishop Auckland.<sup>156</sup> Newcastle was the fifth most populous town in England, with around 10,000 inhabitants,<sup>157</sup> and its merchants were the region's bankers.<sup>158</sup> The region's economy, and Londoners, had become more dependent on coal.

## **(v) The Lords of Coal**

Late in 1547 the lord protector had settled both shores of the Tyne on the Newcastle freemen,<sup>159</sup> and in 1550 the bishop of Durham granted a 21-year lease for Whickham and Gateshead collieries to seven gentlemen, but limited production to 320 corves (large wicker baskets) per pit per day.<sup>160</sup> By 1558 the scarcity of firewood in London had become acute,<sup>161</sup> and the Tyne exported almost 33,000 tons of coal that year,<sup>162</sup> and again in the year to spring 1564. In 1570 the bishop granted a 21-year lease of Whickham and Gateshead collieries at an annual rent of £30, though the lessees were limited working to no more than three pits at once, yet Tyne collieries exported almost 56,500 tons in the year to spring 1575.<sup>163</sup> Across England wealthy yeoman had been building larger dwellings, often of stone, for a decade, and by 1577 the number of chimneys was becoming noticeable.<sup>164</sup> The bishop of Durham gave large portions of the see's possessions to the queen, including the lordship of Gateshead,<sup>165</sup> and in 1578 Thomas Sutton, the master of ordnance at Berwick, negotiated a lease for the crown for 79 years, then bought it himself. He later negotiated a lease for 99 years, and in 1583 he offered it to the freemen of Newcastle. The town had not been incorporated, so the common council and wealthy individuals loaned money to two merchants on the understanding that they would get it back after incorporation.<sup>166</sup> The queen relinquished her interest, and Sutton sold the lease to Henry Anderson and William Selby for £12,000.<sup>167</sup> There were around 60 'Grand Lessees', yet the number dwindled.<sup>168</sup>

From 1585 Durham Cathedral approved the reorganisation of its land-holdings into larger units.<sup>169</sup> Winlaton colliery was sometimes 'laid in' (closed) for lack of men, so employers recruited women and Scotsmen,<sup>170</sup> yet taking 'colles to Newcastle' was already deemed a pointless exercise.<sup>171</sup> The Tyne needed attention, and in 1584 the queen granted Trinity House a new charter. It empowered pilots to take 4d from every English ship entering the river and 8d from every foreign vessel, plus 12d for each foot of water drawn by a laden ship and 18d for those unladen. The brethren were granted 2d for every ton of goods, except fish caught by Englishmen, and 3d for every last (large volume) of flax, hemp, pitch, tar and other commodities. An English ship carrying under 20 chaldrons of coal had to pay 2d, those with over 20 chaldrons 4d and foreign ships 6d.<sup>172</sup> In the decade to 1587 more oak was used across England, especially by the wealthier members of the rural community, than in the previous century.<sup>173</sup> In 1588 the queen raised loyal Protestant gentlemen in the north to positions of influence,<sup>174</sup> and in 1589 she gave the Newcastle freemen jurisdiction over the Tyne within its liberties, and exempted them from the power of the lord high admiral.<sup>175</sup>

By 1591 'sea-coal' was 'the chiefest fuel of the poor' in London, yet lighting a fire each day cost around ten percent of a labourer's pay.<sup>176</sup> In a decade all of the major Newcastle Hostmen had been mayors,<sup>177</sup> and the Grand Lease was said to be worth up to £1,600 a year, yet it served to 'enrich 8 or 10 private men' known as the 'Lords of Coal'. Tyneside collieries exported 112,000 tons in the year to spring 1592,<sup>178</sup> and Gateshead and Whickham collieries were reportedly worth £1,800 a year. In just over a decade the price of coal in London had risen from 6s to 9s a chaldron, and the Newcastle freemen unsuccessfully demanded that the Grand Lease be transferred to them, since they had paid £5,500 towards buying it,<sup>179</sup> though there was some competition.

In the 1560s Sunderland in County Durham had been a 'fishing town and landing place' with 30 householders' and 7 cobsles which employed 20 men.<sup>180</sup> Wains (waggons) pulled by horses or oxen had carried around 17 hundredweight to the Tyne on unmade roads in good weather, yet they stuck in mud when it rained.<sup>181</sup> Wains

holding just over half a ton got to riverside staiths much quicker,<sup>182</sup> yet in 1593 a colliery was linked to the Wear by a wooden waggon way,<sup>183</sup> the river soon exported 3,000 tons a year. It could take days for a collier to reach the open sea from Newcastle,<sup>184</sup> and Sunderland was around 17 miles closer London, and near the mouth of the Wear, but it was still a 550-mile round trip.

Establishing a colliery could cost anything between £300 and £3,000. The Newcastle Hostmen provided keels, and paid middlemen to hire keelmen to deliver coal from riverside staiths to sea-going colliers.<sup>185</sup> In the year to spring 1598 162,500 tons left the Tyne.<sup>186</sup> During the 1590s the number of inward vessels varied between 28 and 61 a year,<sup>187</sup> and Tyneside coal-owners controlled 97.5 percent of the region's exports.<sup>188</sup> In 1599 the Privy Council struck a deal with the Newcastle Hostmen. In return for incorporating the town the queen would receive 1s a chaldron on coal shipped to English ports and 5s on coal shipped abroad. The Hostmen agreed that the price in London would not exceed 10s a chaldron and assigned the Grand Lease to the Newcastle freemen.<sup>189</sup> They agreed to give Newcastle a new charter,<sup>190</sup> in return for £634 10s, plus £100 a year.<sup>191</sup> All except seven of the 42 men named in the charter were Merchant Adventurers, and they included all ten aldermen, five councillors and four civic officers. Many Merchant Adventurers and both of the town's MPs were coal owners.<sup>192</sup> The tax on Tyne coal exports soon contributed £8,000 to the government's ordinary annual revenue of £300,000, and Newcastle received its charter in March 1600.<sup>193</sup> The new Hostmen's Company included all the major coal merchants, and the next mayor of Newcastle was its first governor, while aldermen were the first ten members and nine had been Grand Lessees.<sup>194</sup> The Hostmen operated over 20 collieries.<sup>195</sup>

The mayor and a majority of freemen could admit new freemen, and common council meetings had to include the mayor and six aldermen.<sup>196</sup> They were empowered to elect an 'honest, learned and discreet man, to be the first and modern master' of the Grammar School, and an 'under-master'. They had to ensure that scholars were 'well grounded' in the 'rudiments of the true religion', 'learning and good manners'.<sup>197</sup> The master resigned after the charter refounded it as Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School, and the mayor leased the building to the new master for five years.<sup>198</sup> Only the sons and protégés of Merchant Adventurers and Hostmen could attend,<sup>199</sup> yet over 95 percent of the town's tradesmen were reportedly literate.<sup>200</sup> In 1601 the city of Durham received a royal charter. The bishop suppressed it, yet he later granted another which replaced the bailiff with a mayor and aldermen.<sup>201</sup> In 1602 28 Newcastle Hostmen agreed to vend (sell) 9,080 tons of coal a year apiece, and find 85 keels.<sup>202</sup> That year 162,000 tons left the Tyne,<sup>203</sup> and while exports from the Wear were approaching a quarter of that figure,<sup>204</sup> hardly any Catholics were active in the north-east coal trade.<sup>205</sup>

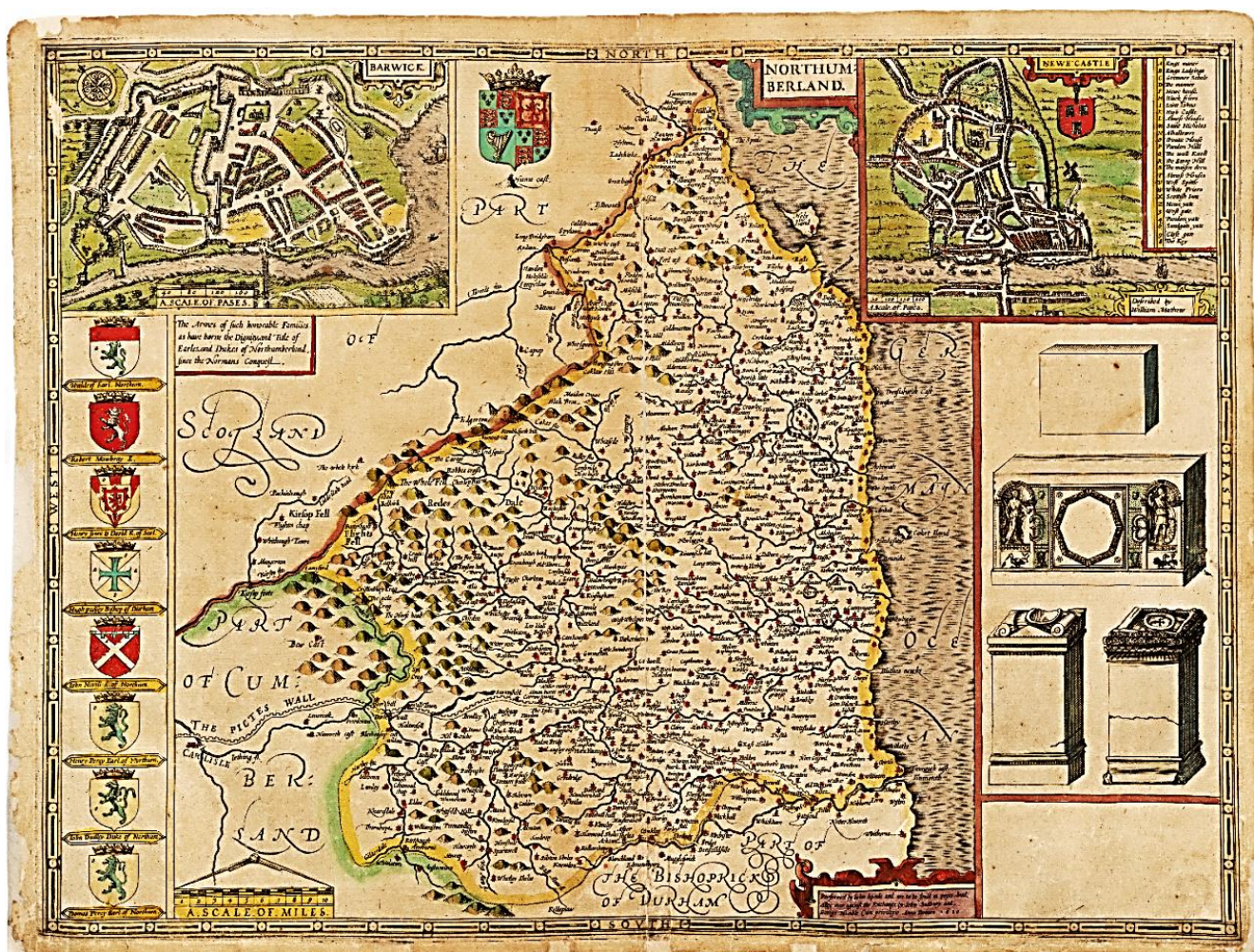
In August 1592 a Catholic was hanged, drawn and quartered on Newcastle Town Moor, and another in January 1594.<sup>206</sup> Two priests had been executed in Durham in 1590, and five 'Egyptians' (gypsies) in 1592. A priest was executed in Newcastle in 1593, and two in Durham in 1600. By early 1603 13 Catholics had been executed in Northumberland and Durham during the queen's reign,<sup>207</sup> though she had never ventured north of Norwich, and around 200 had been executed nationally.<sup>208</sup> In March 1603 a man rode almost 400 miles from London to Edinburgh in 60 hours with news of the queen's death,<sup>209</sup> since the Protestant Scottish king was now also king of England.



## 6. Prophanely Singing or Playing

### (i) One king, two parliaments

In spring 1603, on his way south, the new king granted Berwick a charter which empowered the freemen to elect a recorder, coroner and four sergeants, and he wanted a bridge across the Tweed. (A master mason was later paid 2s 6d a day to lead its construction.)<sup>1</sup> In Newcastle he abolished March Law and wardens.<sup>2</sup> In London his coronation was postponed because of the plague,<sup>3</sup> and 30,000 died.<sup>4</sup> In November a royal commission in Carlisle hanged 32 borderers, banished 15 and outlawed 140.<sup>5</sup> Almost half of Newcastle's freemen could not vote in common council elections,<sup>6</sup> but in December the king amended the town's charter so 'maisters mariners, weavers, barbers chirurgeons, with chandlers, cutlers, shipwrights, house-carpenters, masons, glovers, joyners, milners, curryers, with felt-makers, and armourers, collyers, with carriage men, slaters, glaziers, with plumbers and painters' could vote in the first round. Any freeman could join the Hostmen by paying 53s 4d, or 33s 4d for a son or apprentice, and the 24 auditors would get 13s 4d a day, and in 1604 the king gave electoral rights to another lesser company.<sup>7</sup> Plague broke out across England,<sup>8</sup> the king let it be known that he was to be styled 'King of Great Britain'.<sup>9</sup> He looked forward to a 'communitie of Language' and 'unitie of Religion',<sup>10</sup> yet he and his parliament narrowly escaped being blown up by Catholics in 1605. Border landowners turned their arable to grass.<sup>11</sup> Some complained that the 'dayly and continuall theft' was greater, so the king commissioned five English and five Scottish gentlemen to recruit 25 horsemen,<sup>12</sup> and five borderers were hanged in Carlisle and 17 in Newcastle in 1606.<sup>13</sup> Anyone stealing 12d's worth of goods risked hanging, and by 1607 the border shires were 'as quiet as any part in any civil kingdom in Christianity'.<sup>14</sup> Northumberland petty sessions ordered vagabonds to leave the county and cut alehouse licenses from 105 to 15, though the English parliament rejected the kings' proposal for union between the two kingdoms. Around 1610 Northumberland landlords challenged customary tenures and encroachments on wastes,<sup>15</sup> and in 1611-1612 John Speed produced maps of Northumberland and County Durham.



16





17

The overwhelming majority of people in Northumberland were as law abiding as any others in England, and the king sold baronetcies to men with an annual income of over £1,000. In 1615 seven out of 89 male heads of Northumberland gentry families had attended a university or an Inn of Court, yet 16 were recusants, as were over 5,000 of the county's population of around 83,000.<sup>18</sup> Only half of English parish churches had a register.<sup>19</sup>

The export of wool had been prohibited, and eastern European markets collapsed. A merchant persuaded the king to grant him a monopoly of finished cloth, though it led to overproduction and widespread unemployment, which was intensified by the outbreak of war in Europe in 1618,<sup>20</sup> and by 1620, nationally, retail prices had almost doubled in 40 years;<sup>21</sup> but the musicians played on.

## (ii) The Ballad Partners

In 1604 the London Society of Minstrels had successfully petitioned the king for a new charter. The master and two wardens remained the same, and from 13 to 20 assistants were to be elected annually. The rules included most of the previous ones, though at least four members were to play at weddings, feasts, revels and other social events. None should sing 'any ribaldry, wanton or lascivious ditties', or play with foreigners. Those went from door to door, or got an apprentice to do so 'with an instrument uncased', would be fined 12d, and no apprentices were to enter taverns without two freemen or face a fine of 3s 4d. The Society supervised musicians within three miles of the city. In 1606 the Lord Chancellor amplified some rules and added others, and set out hefty fines for misbehaviour.<sup>22</sup> The king's musicians were exempt,<sup>23</sup> while others had to wear the arms of a noble family or a corporation.<sup>24</sup>

The London printer and bookseller John Bill visited Frankfurt book fair on behalf of the king, Sir Thomas Bodley and the earl of Northumberland.<sup>25</sup> The Company had a 'Ballad Stock',<sup>26</sup> and fined a member 13 4d for printing one owned by the widow Elizabeth Alde.<sup>27</sup> The king gave the Company the patents for printing psalters, almanacs and prognostications, which became its 'English Stock'.<sup>28</sup> Its capital of £9,000 consisted of 15 shares at £200, 30 at £100 and 60 at £50,<sup>29</sup> and the Company undertook to donate to poor members,<sup>30</sup> up to £200 a year. (It rarely paid out over £10.) It had a patent for Psalms in prose or verse, with or without music, primers with prayers and sometimes



the catechism or a simple introduction to reading, and other small books approved by the Church.<sup>31</sup> Most were around 3½ inches by 6 inches, with a woodcut and 4, 8, 12, 16 or 24 pages,<sup>32</sup> and in 1605 the Company bought the monopoly for printing 'hornbooks' for children.<sup>33</sup> They usually contained the alphabet in capitals and small letters, a few two-letter combinations and the Lord's Prayer, and the cover was made of board and horn, fastened by copper tacks and with a copper edging.<sup>34</sup>

John Wright had been apprenticed to Edward White, the ballad publisher, in 1594, and became free of the Stationers in 1602.<sup>35</sup> His shop was near the huge late August St. Bartholomew's Day fair,<sup>36</sup> in Giltspur Street, just outside Newgate.<sup>37</sup> He published William Shakespeare's *Sonnets* in 1609,<sup>38</sup> and the playwright bought Blackfriars gate-house from the minstrel Henry Walker for £140.<sup>39</sup> The playwright Thomas Dekker wrote 'How a Gallant Should Behave Himself in a Tavern'. 'If you desire not to be haunted with fidlers, 'bring then no women'.<sup>40</sup> Fiddlers usually got 4d for a dance tune,<sup>41</sup> when a skilled artisan earned about 2s 6d a day,<sup>42</sup> yet the playwright Ben Jonson called one man's performance a 'noise'.<sup>43</sup>

By 1612 engraved metal plates were replacing moveable type for printing music.<sup>44</sup> The Stationers tackled 'many leude ballades, offensive bothe to god, the Churche and the state' and which led to the 'corruptinge of youthe',<sup>45</sup> and in 1613 William Browne complained about ballad singers making 'as harsh a noise ever cart-wheel made'.<sup>46</sup> All the Company members had been able to print ballads,<sup>47</sup> but now it ordered that they had to be printed on paper costing at least 2s 8d a ream and gave Edward Alldee, George Elde, William White, Symon Stafford and Ralph Blore a monopoly. If one died, the Company would appoint a successor, and George Purslowe replaced Stafford in 1614. Thomas Symcocke charged 7s 6d for a ream of ballads. The retail price rose from ½d to 1d, and the Company ordered unregistered ballads to be registered.<sup>48</sup> Its English Stock was valued at £14,400,<sup>49</sup> and the shareholders, the king's printer and two others produced 44 percent of printed sheets.<sup>50</sup> In 1615 the Star Chamber permitted 14 printers, plus the king's printer, to have two presses, and five others to have one,<sup>51</sup> and in 1617 Robert Robinson published *The Art of Pronunciation*, the first treatise on English phonetics.<sup>52</sup> In 1618 a licensing procedure acknowledged that 'a Pedler or Pettie-Chapman hath heretofore bene used for the benefit' of people 'remote from Cities and Market Townes', though it differentiated between them and 'Rogues and idle wandering Persons', since many were 'of no Religion' or 'infected with poperie'. They were 'Sturdy Beggars, theeves and absolute dissolutes' who 'disperse superstitious Trumperies'.<sup>53</sup> In 1619 the king granted Symcocke and the printer Roger Wood a monopoly of everything printed on one side of a sheet for 31 years, including ballads, for £10 a year, and infringers would be fined £2 and their productions would be confiscated.<sup>54</sup> In 1620 the London playwright Thomas Middleton called ballads 'fashions, fictions, felonies, fooleries'.<sup>55</sup>

By 1620 the Stationers had acquired the copyright of Edmund Coote's *English schoole-master*,<sup>56</sup> and permitted ballad publishers to use any printer.<sup>57</sup> Some appeared in white letter.<sup>58</sup> The unauthorised publication of state affairs had been rarely attempted and severely punished, yet an English translation of an Amsterdam news sheet reached London.<sup>59</sup> In 1621, after parliament abolished licensing,<sup>60</sup> 'N.B.' published *The Corante, or newes from Italy, Germany*, but he did not enter it in the Stationers' register and it lasted for only seven issues. George Cottingham was appointed to license news sheets, and more were registered in 1622, yet all but one folded in months. Most small books now sold for between 2d and 4d.<sup>61</sup> In 1624 parliament declared all monopolies illegal except those held by companies, books and new inventions.<sup>62</sup>

The London bookseller Henry Gosson and his printer had been fined 3s 4d for producing another man's ballad without permission in 1608.<sup>63</sup> His press was on London Bridge, and at some point after 1610 he published *A lamentable new Ditty, made upon the death of a worthy Gentleman, named George Stooke, dwelling sometime on Gate-side Moore, and sometime at New-castle in Northumberland: with his penitent end*. The lyrics called him 'George', 'Georgy', 'Georgie', 'Gorgy' and 'Geordie'. Purchasers could learn the 'delicate Scottish tune', *Come, you lusty Northerne Lads*, from a ballad-singer.<sup>64</sup> 'Stooke' insisted he 'never stole no Oxe nor Cow, nor never murdered any; but fifty horse I did receive of a Merchants man of Gory'. He told his 'beloved Lady' not to mourn and gave her gold for her babies, though he cursed those who had turned him in. Reportedly, 'A thousand Lasses wept', yet nobody defended him, and he went to the gallows calmly.<sup>65</sup>

In 1623 Henry Gosson assigned his part of the English Stock to his brother Edward as a security for a debt of £40, and in 1624 the Stationers ordered Henry Gosson, John, Edward and Cuthbert Wright, Thomas Pavier and John Grismond to register ballads which had been 'disorderly printed'.<sup>66</sup> They registered 128,<sup>67</sup> yet two-thirds had appeared in 1586.<sup>68</sup> One was *A memorable song on the unhappy hunting in Chivey Chase*,<sup>69</sup> yet the Cambridge graduate Abraham Holland mocked people in 'North-Villages', because 'o'er the Chymney they some Ballad have / Of Chevy-Chase, or of some branded slave / Hang'd at Tyburn'. The 'Ballad Partners' dealt with 21-year-old John Trundle, who sold ballads, and ballad publishers Francis Grove and Francis Coles were in Smithfield, where chapmen bought ware,<sup>70</sup> and the rest of England depended on London printers and chapmen for printed ballads.

### (iii) Scandalous libels songes or sonnettes

In April 1603 York common council had sent for a schoolmaster 'to se what good speech and shewe he cold make to welcome the king. The chamberlains paid £8 for a sackbut loaned to the waits, and ordered them to play at Micklegate Bar and Bootham Bar. In October the council ordered that

No waites of anie Cittie or towne whatsoever nor no musytions of any place whatsoever not being fremen of this Citie & fre of the Companie of the musitians of this Cittie shalbe from hensfort permitted or suffred to playe at anie time hereafter within this Cittie vpon any instrumentes whatsoever without licence of the Lord Mayor ... and of the serchers of the saide companie of musytions ... and it is agreed that this order shalbe entred in the musytyons ordinaries.

The waits John Watson, Thomas Grave, Richard Bradley, Thomas Bradley and Christopher Thompson received their customary fee at Easter, 20d at the feast of St. William, and 3s 4d on Christmas Day and St. Stephen's Day. They and their two boys were given £4 3s 4d for their liveries, while 'the king's maiesties mussissions' received 5s. In 1605 the waits received £5 for their liveries in 1506 and 1607, 8s 4d at another event and 3s 4d at Whitsun. In 1608 minstrels received 2s and 3s for playing at the Trinity dinner and 2s at two 'padgion dinners'. In March 1611 the keepers of St. Antoneyes Guildhall complained to the council that the waits had 'devised certaine scandalous libels songes or sonnettes' and sung them publicly in various places. Bradley testified that when he and his wife had been at Louth in Lincolnshire nearly three years earlier the waits had given him songs, though the waits were ordered not to sing any of them again. They received £6 for their liveries, and again in 1612, and £6 3s 4d in 1613, while Bradley got £1 to clothe 'a poore boye borne in this Cittie whom he is to take apprentice', and in 1616 the council gave John Younge 13s 4d towards 'apparelling' his apprentice Thomas Laverock. In 1617 the council asked a poet to write a speech to welcome the king, and the waits played on the city gates. They received £6 15s for their liveries, but £6 6s from 1619 to 1623. John Watson died, and John Girdler replaced him, but he had to provide surety for his 'Sackbutt & Cheyn of silver'. In 1624 the wait Edward Easton left the city, and Rauf Kidd replaced him on condition that he paid £6 13s 4d to be a freeman and £1 a year in sureties. Musicians had other sources of income. The Minster paid George Marshrudder £1 for tuning the organ, 9s 8d for 'vyall stringes, someone else 7s 7d for more, and 13s 4d to the waits for 'playeinge in the quire' twice from 1603 to 1611 the Bakers paid minstrels a total of over £1 for playing 16 times. The auditors refused to allow 12d for minstrels in 1613, yet the Bricklayers paid minstrels £8 or so for playing 87 times between 1603 and 1624.<sup>71</sup>

John Barton had been a musician in 1604, as were George Atkinson, William Clerke (John's son), Thomas Wilson and Christopher Laverock (Richard's son) in 1605. In 1608 Stephen Britten was an organ builder, and Thomas and William Yonge (William's sons) were musicians by 1608. So was John Benson by 1611, and James Simpson, John Wilson (John's son) and Simon Holmes by 1612.<sup>72</sup> In 1618 the mayor summoned Barton for playing in the streets with others. There had been 'much disorder and windowes brokne', and when Barton passed a knightly alderman's door he had announced that he was 'no dissembling knight'. He was drunk in court and sent to prison until he could find sureties for good behaviour, though he protested that only 'a drunken rogue would commit him'.<sup>73</sup> Christopher Setle was a musician in 1621, as were Patrick Howell in 1623 and Robert Blackburne in 1624.<sup>74</sup>

The city's book traders had connections with London and the continent. The stationer John Foster had rented a 'new builded shoppe' in the Minster close in the early 1570s, and in 1616 he advertised *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*.<sup>75</sup> By 1616 Foster had around 3,000 volumes,<sup>76</sup> including books from Frankfurt, and his 750 titles were valued at £144 16s 10d. He was owed money, mainly by clergymen, but also by laymen and a woman, who all lived with 30 miles of the city;<sup>77</sup> yet only one of the five or six other booksellers was a freeman.<sup>78</sup>

Further north cultural expenditure depended directly or indirectly on the dangerous work of pitmen and boys.

### (iv) Richard Backus, burn'd in a pit

In 1603 the Newcastle Merchant Adventurers had ordered apprentices not to 'daunce, dyce, carde, mum' (act) or 'use anye musick eyther by night or daye in the streetes' or wear 'undecent apparell'. They tasked eight masters to deal with them, and an officer was to arrest any who failed to comply,<sup>79</sup> for £2 a year, and put them in Westgate.<sup>80</sup>

In 1605 a pair of women's stockings cost 1d and a petticoat 10d.<sup>81</sup> Feeding and clothing one child cost around £2 a year and a husband and wife with four children needed at least £11, though a husbandman with 30 acres might earn £15.<sup>82</sup> Sending children to school was probably unaffordable to most and dissenting teachers faced difficulties. In 1606 the curate of Tyne Bridge chapel accused Robert Jones and Alexander Leighton, the Gosforth curate, of 'teaching to write without license',<sup>83</sup> while the headmaster of Newcastle Grammar School got £24 a year, plus

perquisites, and the usher £16, in 1608.<sup>84</sup> The cheapest Bible cost 4s,<sup>85</sup> and a former sheriff bequeathed a Bible, a 'Book of Martyrs' and a 'Chronicle' valued at £3 6s 8d.<sup>86</sup> By 1615 the Grammar School headmaster received £40 a year and the usher £20, and there was an 'under usher' by 1616.<sup>87</sup> In 1617 a man bequeathed £6 13s 4d for a gallery in All Saints' Church for schoolchildren,<sup>88</sup> yet a schoolmaster died in St. John's parish in 1618. Customs collectors warned of 'secret & private wayes' of importing illegal books, especially from Holland,<sup>89</sup> and the St. Nicholas' Church preacher Stephen Jerome published *Origens Repentence* (which was about an ancient converted heathen) in London in 1619.<sup>90</sup> In 1622 the Grammar School headmaster bequeathed 88 folio books, 79 quartos and several smaller ones worth an average of around 4s to his two sons. In 1623 a sadler left 10s to a chapman,<sup>91</sup> and around half of tradesmen in the region were probably literate.<sup>92</sup> The king nominated a new master for the Grammar School, yet 18 of the 25 electors defiantly chose the under-master instead.<sup>93</sup>

Musicians found work. In 1605 the House Carpenters paid 8d for music and the Tanners paid a 'pyper' 3d. The chamberlains paid six waits £4 between them for their half year's fees, gave them their previous February fee in August and their August fee in October, but paid their November fee on time. They paid 6d for 'pippings for mr maior & his brethren', and the Coopers paid minstrels 1s 3d. In 1608 eight waits received £3 a quarter between them and got their May and August fees on time, yet the mayor gave the 'wattes of Halifax' 1s and the 'waites of Lenn' (Lynn) and 'poore Soldieres' 11s between them. In 1612 the Goldsmiths, Plumbers, Pewterers, Glaziers and Painters paid 2s for music. In November 1615 the waits received their half-yearly £4 due in September, the £4 due in March 1616 in July, and new liveries costing £3 in October; though the chamberlains paid a trumpeter 5s and the 'waittes at Lynn' £1 for three performances. In June 1617 seven waits received £3 6s 8d due in March. That year the Barber Surgeons paid 5s for music, 14s for wine, tobacco and music, and 3s for music in 1622. Trinity House paid £2 for a supper with music on the evening before St. Peter's Day (29 June), and in 1624 the chamberlains paid 10s for 'Musycke vppon ye election day' and paid the £2 3s 1d spent on music, food and drink the evening before St. Peter's Day, while the Barber Surgeons paid 7s 6d for music at their dinner.<sup>94</sup>

There were plenty of other musicians. In the early 1600s the pipers Edward Brown and David Johnson lived in St. Andrew's parish; the musician Ralph Tweddell and the piper Cuthbert Crawford in St. Andrew's parish, and the minstrel John Hobkyrk in All Saints' parish. Tweddell died in 1609, as did Brown in 1610, when Bernard Newton lived in St. John's parish, Oved Hearon in St. Andrew's parish and the piper Edward Brown had moved to All Saints' parish. During the 1610s Christopher Bennett lived in St. John's parish. Hobkyrk died, as did Robert Wilkinson in All Saints' parish, where Edward Haines remained active,<sup>95</sup> as did James Johnson the piper James Gray and the 'Baso' Charles Green (possibly a professional) in 1620, when the musician Ffrauncis Bain lived in St. John's parish.

Some County Durham gentry owned instruments. In the early 1600s a Durham mercer bequeathed a lute to his son, and a squire left a daughter a 'paire of Virginalls'.<sup>96</sup> In 1609 the Grassmen paid 4d a 'pyper for plaine to the more' to 'dress' it with cattle dung.<sup>97</sup> In 1614 a squire's virginals were valued at £1,<sup>98</sup> and in 1622, when two gallons of barley cost 1s,<sup>99</sup> a Darlington gentleman bequeathed a 'citharon' (presumably a cittern) and a recorder valued at 6d 8d.<sup>100</sup> Durham waits visited Gawthorpe Hall near Burnley in Lancashire in 1618,<sup>101</sup> and Ben Jonson recalled that when he and his company from London visited Durham the 'weightes and cornets came to our lodging'.<sup>102</sup> In the early 1620s the dancing teacher Thomas Edlin died,<sup>103</sup> as did the musicians Cuthbert and Christopher Swinnowe.<sup>104</sup> Cathedral services were more elaborate with musical accompaniments.<sup>105</sup> The bishop discouraged chanting and had the Creed read, though Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins' settings of the Psalms were sung before and after sermons.<sup>106</sup> In 1620 the lay dean sold his office to buy a baronetcy.<sup>107</sup> Thomas Hammond copied music for the choir,<sup>108</sup> and the Cathedral had a 'stately paire of double organs'.<sup>109</sup>

Some well-to-do people in County Durham bequeathed books. In the early 1600s a widow donated 'a great newe English Bible with a chaine to fasten to a deske' to Heighington Church, and archbishop John Whitgift's debates with the Puritan Thomas Cartwright to a Darlington man, while a Barnard Castle mercer bequeathed books to his son.<sup>110</sup> Bishop Auckland Grammar School was founded, and though one governor made his mark in the minute book, 11 signed their names.<sup>111</sup> A Darlington gentleman bequeathed books valued at £2, and a man who owned two mares and pack saddles was probably a chapman.<sup>112</sup> A squire had a 'Scholehouse Chamber',<sup>113</sup> and a Darlington man bequeathed his 'apparell, purse, some books with two old swords' valued together at £3 6s 8d.<sup>114</sup> A Durham Cathedral prebendary left 140 books to Trinity College, Cambridge.<sup>115</sup> In the 1610s a Darlington merchant bequeathed '2 dozen of little bookes for children', valued at 6s, a Bible, a communion book and a testament valued at 13s 4d. A Darlington petty chapman was an executor, but failed to pay the widow £20. A Cambridge graduate, who was probably a curate and schoolmaster, bequeathed around 70 books including a Bible valued at 3s 4d, works by John Calvin valued at 1s and 1s 4d, Philip Stubbes' *The Anatomie of Abuses*, valued at 4d, a children's dictionary valued at 2d, 20 'small bookes' valued at 5s, and Angel Day's *The English Secretarie*, a book on letter-writing for the 'unlearned', and 'three old bookes' valued at 6d.<sup>116</sup> A squire had a 'studdye', and a Bishop Auckland widow bequeathed £40 to maintain her grandson 'at the Universities'.<sup>117</sup> The Gateshead rector bequeathed *Learn to Live*

and *Learn to Die*,<sup>118</sup> and the Ryton rector, who was also a Durham Cathedral prebendary, bequeathed £62 13s 4d towards making 'a librarie in the vestrie', and the same amount to Oxford university, where he had 'reaped whatsoever enabled me to be in any way profitable to the church or Common wealth'.<sup>119</sup> In the early 1620s a Darlington gentleman bequeathed a 'librarie' valued at £6, and another bequeathed a Bible, 'the book of Martyres and litle books' valued at £1.<sup>120</sup> A Middleton-in-Teesdale yeoman bequeathed 'schoole books' to a friend's son,<sup>121</sup> a Durham prebendary left books which sold for £40,<sup>122</sup> and a Westholme gentleman bequeathed £1 to his nephew to buy books.<sup>123</sup> Literacy was far from universal. The Durham Grassmen had paid the writer of their accounts 2s in 1607 and 4d for writing 'all ye naymes in the parishe concernynge a generall muster' in 1608. In 1612 a quire of paper cost 4d, though the Grassmen paid 2d. They paid 2s 6d for 'wrytinge some business for the use of the parishe', and in 1616 they paid 3s 4d for 'a copie of an Indictment & for a Petition' and paid the scribe 2s. In 1623 the '[As]size of bread' cost them 5d and in 1624 'wrytinge the statutut [sic]' for the highways cost 12d.<sup>124</sup> In 1625 the few coaches operating on Northumberland roads were laid up after the first snow fell.<sup>125</sup>

Parliamentary legislation was policed locally. Two constables had been charged with letting an 'unknown woman' evade custody in County Durham. A Bishop Auckland tavern-keeper was charged with selling ale at 6d a gallon instead of the statutory 1d, and a Witton alehouse keeper was charged with selling it without a magistrates' licence. A goose cost 8d, a hog 10d, a sheep 6s 8d, a calf 18s, a heifer £1 10s and a cow £2. In the 1610s a Yarm pedlar was charged with refusing to swear the oath of allegiance, and a Ryton man was charged with saying 'The pope of Rome is a better man than the Kinge', and a Heighington tavern-keeper was charged with selling ale at 12d a gallon. Litigation was expensive. Durham court documents of 12 sheets each containing from ten to 12 words cost 12d, an indictment for felony 1s and one for burglary 1s 6d. A document for withdrawing an indictment or other record cost 6s 8d, as did a request to be tried by jury, with 2s for any additional names. A licence for a badger or drover cost 2s and an ale-house licence 1s 4d. In 1615 hundreds of people in the county were charged with illegally absenting themselves from church for three months, including two pedlars and their wives.<sup>126</sup>

In Northumberland Alnwick citizens had founded a school in 1614,<sup>127</sup> and around 89 gentry families lived in the county.<sup>128</sup> In 1619 a Berwick widow left 'a trunk with olde books' valued at £1 13s 4d.<sup>129</sup> The master of Morpeth Grammar School charged some men with withholding his wages, and the church's Court of High Commission ordered them to enter a bond of £330 and accept an adjudicator's decision.<sup>130</sup>

The region's economy was increasingly based on coal, and soon after 1603 the Newcastle Hostmen had persuaded the king to impose a 1s tax on each chaldron shipped from the Wear.<sup>131</sup> In 1606 the king gave Newcastle's Trinity House jurisdiction from Blyth to Whitby,<sup>132</sup> and in the year to spring 1609 the Wear shipped 14,700 tons,<sup>133</sup> and the Tyne 239,000 tons, though the Wear tax was removed in 1610.<sup>134</sup> The London chaldron was probably around 1.3 tons.<sup>135</sup> In 1612 Ipswich colliers carried 363 of the 2,500 or so cargoes of coal from the north-east to London, while those from King's Lynn carried 299, Yarmouth 258 and Newcastle 206;<sup>136</sup> yet coal cost pitmen's lives.

'Firedamp' (carburetted hydrogen gas and methane), could occur 50 feet down. 'Chokedamp' was carbon dioxide, nitrogen and water vapour, and could occur 35 feet down and settle on the floor, where it could smother pitmen and boys,<sup>137</sup> and there were other hazards. In 1621 St. Mary's Church in Gateshead recorded the burial of 'Richard Backus, burn'd in a pit'.<sup>138</sup> The Grand Lessees had sunk pits in Whickham in County Durham and enclosed the town fields, and by 1621 Wear exports were around ten percent of the Tyne's.<sup>139</sup> In 1625 Robert Rutter was 'hurt in a groove' (mine) in Stanhope in the Wear valley and died a week later.<sup>140</sup> In 1627 the annual exports of one Newcastle Hostman were valued at over £3,400 and another's at £4,000.<sup>141</sup> In 1624 a County Durham gentleman and yeomen stole coal from a Lumley pit and endangered the lives of the men working underground.<sup>142</sup> In 1600 most coastal vessels had been owned by shippers at Ipswich and King's Lynn, while most foreign trade was carried in Dutch or French ships. More and British-owned ships entered the trade and by 1625 there were between 300 and 400.<sup>143</sup> In March the king died, aged 68,<sup>144</sup> and was succeeded by his 24-year-old son.

#### **(v) All kinde of bookes are profitable, except printed Bawdery**

In May 1625 the new king married a Catholic French princess.<sup>145</sup> He granted patents on soap, salt, wine, glass and playing-cards to raise money,<sup>146</sup> and an earl left the management of the Leeward Islands and Barbados to a group of London merchants. By 1626 there were about 100 peers, compared to 59 in 1603, since the king and his father has sold them to wealthy merchants.<sup>147</sup>

John Trundle had registered ten ballads in 1625.<sup>148</sup> Thomas Pavier died, and Francis Coles had succeeded him by 1626. Trundle died,<sup>149</sup> and his widow Mary transferred her copyrights to others, though Henry Gosson, John Grismond and Cuthbert Wright had married Pavier's daughters.<sup>150</sup> In 1627 the Stuttgart-born diplomat, linguist and cryptographer Georg Weckherlin licensed foreign newssheets,<sup>151</sup> and ballads.<sup>152</sup> A critic complained that there were

‘thousands of vain songs and profane ballads’ in the Stationers’ warehouse and printers had ‘many muses perpetually employed for the composing of new strains’.<sup>153</sup> The Ballad Partners raised the wholesale price of a ream from 10s to 13s 4d, or three for a penny.<sup>154</sup> Thomas Symcocke’s patent was renewed in 1628,<sup>155</sup> and he disregarded copyrights.<sup>156</sup>

John Earle was born in York around 1601, and in 1628, when he was a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, he described a ‘Pot-Poet’.

In the dregs of wit; yet mingled with good drink may have some relish. His inspirations are more real than others; for they do but feign a God, but he has his by him. His verses run like the tap, and his invention as the barrel ebbs and flows at the mercy of the spigot. In thin drink he aspires not above a ballad, but a cup of sack inflames him and sets his muse and nose afire together. The Press is his Mint, and stamps him now and then a sixpence or two in reward of the baser coin his pamphlet. His works would scarce sell for three half-pence, though they are given oft for three shillings, but for the pretty title that allures the country Gentleman: and for which the printer maintains him in ale a fortnight. His verses are like his clothes, miserable cantos and patches, yet their pace is not altogether so hobbling as an Almanac’s. The death of a great man or the burning of a house furnish him with an argument, and the Nine Muses are out straight in mourning gown, and Melpomene cries ‘Fire, Fire’. His other poems are but briefs in rhyme, and like the poor Greeks’ collection to redeem from captivity. He is a man now much employed in commendations of our Navy, and a bitter inveigher against the Spaniard. His frequentest works go out in single sheets, and are chanted from market to market, to a vile tune and a worse throat: whilst the poor country wench melts like her butter to hear them. And these are the stories of some men at Tyburne, or a strange monster out of Germany; or sitting in a bawdy house, he writes God’s judgements. He ends at last in some obscure painted cloth, to which himself made the verses, and his life like a can too full spills upon the bench. He leaves twenty shillings on the score, which my Hostess loses.<sup>157</sup>

In 1629 London Corporation enquired about the waits’ ‘sufficiencie or insufficiencie’, though their conclusions have not been traced.<sup>158</sup> The Stationers raised the price of almanacs from 2d to 3d. Chapmen with no pack-horse travelled on waggons for up to 24 miles a day, and they and the new weekly post reached the provinces.<sup>159</sup> Symcocke’s patent was voided.<sup>160</sup> The Partners had a near monopoly on small books,<sup>161</sup> and stock ballads, and in 1630 John Wright sold 17 ballads whose copyrights belonged to other printers.<sup>162</sup>

England’s population may have reached five million,<sup>163</sup> yet a century of inflation had seen a redistribution of wealth. Some of the rich and many of the middling sort had grown richer, while the poor, improvident or unlucky had grown poorer, since the great rise in prices had been accompanied by a wage freeze enforced by the state.<sup>164</sup> Most market towns had a grammar school to prepare boys for university, though parents had to pay fees and buy books, writing equipment and candles.<sup>165</sup> The king prorogued parliament since it refused to do his bidding.

Richard Brathwaite was born into a gentleman’s family near Kendal in Westmoreland. In 1604, aged 16, he entered Oriel College, Oxford, and stayed on after graduating BA. He later moved to Cambridge and then to an Inn of Court in London. In 1610 his father died, and Richard married in 1617.<sup>166</sup> In 1631 his *Whimzies or, A new cast of characters*, noted that a ‘ballad-monger would set up in front of a bay window and another man would cry out “A proper new Ballad, to the tune of Bragaderry round”’ with ‘a variete of ayres’.<sup>167</sup>

His straine (in my opinion) would sort best with a [f]unerall Elegie, for hee writes most pittifully. Hee ha's a singular gift of imagination, for hee can descant on a mans exec[ution] long before his confession. Nor comes his Invention farre short of his Imagination; for want of truer r[e]lations, for a neede he can finde you out a Sussex Dragon, some Sea or Inland monster, drawne out by some Shoelane man in a Go[?]-like feature, to enforce more horror in the beholder. Hee ha's an excellent facultie in this; Hee ha's one tune in store that will indifferently serve for any ditty. H[e is] your onely man in request [f]or Christmas Carols. His workes are lasting-pasted monuments u[p]on the insides of Country Ale[h]ouses, w[hich] they may ... [read?] without expence of a fa[rth]ing: which makes their thirstie Author crie out in this manner, if he have so much Latin:

Quò licuit chartis, nō licet ire mihi. [Where my papers, you are not allowed to go].

He stands much upon Stanza's, which halt and hobble as l[a]mely as th[at] one legg'd Ca[n]tor that sings them: It would doe a mans heart good to see how twinne-like hee and his songman couple. Wits of equal size, though more holding vailles befall the voyce. Now you shall see them (if both their stockes aspire to that strength) droppe into some blinde Alehouse, where these two naked Uirginians will call for a great potte, a toast, and a pipe. Where you may imagine the first and last to be only called for out of an humour; but the midst out of meere necessitie, to allay hunger. Yet to see how they will hug, hooke, and shrugge over these materials in a Chimney corner (O Polyhymnia) it would make the Muses wonder! But now they are parted: and Ste[n]tor ha's fitted his Batillus with a Subject: wheron hee vowes to bestow better Lines than ever stucke in the Garland of good will. By this time with botches and old ends, this Ballad Bard ha's expressed the Quintessence of his Genius, extracted from the muddie spirit of Bottle-Ale and froth. But all is one for that; his 'rinkilo must have it, if he wil ... come to his price, yet before hee have it, it must suffer the Presse. By this, N[e]ck Ballad ha's got him a Quarterne of this new Impression; with which hee mounts Holborne as merry as a Carter; and takes his stand against some eminent Bay-win[d]ow; where he ven[d]s his stuffe. Hee needs not dance attendance; for in a trice you shall see him guarded with a

lanizarie of Cost[er]mongers [street sellers], and Countr[e]y Gooselings: while his Nipps, I[...],s, Bungs and Prina[?]o's, of whom he hol[d]s in fee, oft-times prevent the Lan yer, by diving too deepe into his Clients pocket; while h[e]e gives too deepe attention to this wo[n]derfull Bal[la]d. B[u]t stale Balla[d]-newes, like s[t]ale fish, when it beginnes to smell of the Pa[...],yer, are not for queas[i]e stomachs. You must therefore imagine, that by this time they are cashier'd the Cite and mu[st] now ride poast for the Countrey: where they are no lesse admir'd than a Gyant in a pageant: till at last they grow so common there too, as every poore Milk maid can chant and chirpe it under h[e]r Cow; which she useth as an harmelesse charme to make her let downe her milke. Now therefore you must suppose our facetious Ballad-monger, as one nectar-infused with some poetical Liquor, re-ascending the horsehoof'd mount, and with a cuppe of sixe (for his token-pledge will bee taken for no more) hee presume[e]'s to represent unto the world a new conceite, intituled; A proper new Ball[a]d, to the tune of Bragadeery round. Which his Chant[ic]leere [cock] sings with varietie of ayres (having as you may suppose, an ins[t]rumētall Polyphon in the cra[ck]e of his nose.) Now he [is] a n[at]urall Base, then a perpet[u]all Treble, and ends with a Countert[e]nure. You shall heare him feigne an artfull straine through the Nose, purposely to [insin]uate into the attention of the purer brother-hood: But all in vaine; They blush at ... this knave, and demurely passing by him, call him the lost childe. Now, for his Author, you must not take him for one of those pregnant criticke Suburbane wits, who make worke for the fidlers of the Cite. For those are more knaves, than fooles, but these quite contrary. In those you shall finde salt, sense, and verse; but in these none of all three. What then is [t]o bee expected from so sterile a Pernassian, where impudence is his best conductor, Ignorance his best Instructor, and Indigence his best Proctor? Shall we then close with him thus? Hee is constant in nothing but in his Clothes. He [?] casts his slough but against B[ar]tholomew Faire: where hee may [c]asually e[n]danger the purchase of a cast suite: Else, trust me, hee is no shifter. In a word, [g]et his poo[r]e corpes a sheete to s[h]rowd them in at his dying, they ... more than his [m]use could ever make him worth while hee was living.<sup>168</sup>

One knight was less than enthusiastic about small books.

All kinde of bookes are profitable, except printed Bawdery; they abuse youth; but Pamphlets, and lying Stories, and News, and two penny Poets I would know them, but beware of being familiar with them; my custome is to read these, and presently to make use of them, for they lie in my privy, and when I come thither, and have occasion to imploy it, I read them, halfe a side at once is my ordinary, which when I have read, I use in that kind, that waste paper is most subject too, but to a cleaner profit.<sup>169</sup>

In 1632 the Privy Council banned news books for slandering a Spanish duke,<sup>170</sup> and 'Henry Goskin' (probably Gosson) protested that one of his ballads had been licensed before he was born, yet the bishop of London sent him to Bridewell Prison. A parish clerk had failed to spot the infringement and was ordered to do so in future.<sup>171</sup> Possibly around this time Francis Grove published an abridged version of *The King and a Poor Northern Man* in London,<sup>172</sup> and in 1634 Thomas Lambert registered *The praise of bonny Newcastle*,<sup>173</sup> yet printing could be hazardous.

Robert Barker was born in 1570, probably at Sudely in Buckinghamshire, into the family of the queen's printer. He became free of the London Stationers' Company in 1589 and worked with his father until he died in 1599.<sup>174</sup> In 1603 Robert became the king's printer and held patents for printing English Bibles, service books and state documents,<sup>175</sup> and he was master of the Company in 1605 and 1606.<sup>176</sup> In 1611 he paid £3,500 for the right to print the authorised Bible,<sup>177</sup> which reportedly brought him £30,000 a year. In 1615 he was embroiled in law suits with his partner. He was ejected from his office as the king's printer in 1620, but regained it in 1629.<sup>178</sup> The Ballad Partners sometimes loaned the Company money at six percent interest. When Barker's copyright was infringed in 1631 he obtained a warrant to seize foreign-printed Bibles and sent agents to York where they seized several.<sup>179</sup> He and his partner were arraigned at the Court of High Commission,<sup>180</sup> for 'false printing of the Bible in divers places', including 'Thou shalt commit adultery'. The bishop of London admonished them, since omitting 'not' was 'most dishonourable' and would 'undoe the trade'.<sup>181</sup> The pair were heavily fined,<sup>182</sup> yet copies sold for higher prices.<sup>183</sup> Barker mortgaged half of his office in 1634, and he was in a debtor's prison in 1635.<sup>184</sup>

In 1636 the Londoner Charles Butler noted 'the infinite multitude of ballads set to sundry pleasant and delightful tunes by cunning and witty composers, with country dances *fitted unto them*',<sup>185</sup> though the Partners faced competition from Grove, Edward Blackmore and the widow Anne Griffin.<sup>186</sup> Oxford University won the right to have three presses.<sup>187</sup> The cost of unbound books had been stable for 75 years, then prices rose by 40 percent, and by 1637 small books that had cost 1d cost 2d. The Star Chamber decreed that apprentices had to serve seven years before joining the Stationers' Company,<sup>188</sup> and books had to bear the printer's name and be registered.<sup>189</sup> No carpenter or joiner was to make a press, and no smith was to forge the iron for one, without first telling the Company who they were making it for, and restricted previous and current masters and wardens to two, The Court of High Commission filled any vacancies and limited the number of type-founders to four.<sup>190</sup> The Privy Council decreed that a printer producing 'schismatical' publications would have his type defaced and might lose his press, while a printer with an unlicensed press would be pilloried and whipped, and licensed printers had pay a surety of

£300. Master type-founders were limited to four and subject to the same rules as printers.<sup>191</sup> When some printers complained that children removed sheets from others' presses, the Company told pressmen to do it themselves.<sup>192</sup>

Around this time the London lawyer John Selden noted that 'Though some may slight of libells, yet you may see by them how the wind sits: as, take a straw, and throw it up into the air, you shall see by that which way the wind is, which you shall not doe by casting up a stone', since 'More solid things doe not shew the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libells'.<sup>193</sup> A 'libell' was not necessarily a false statement.

By the later 1630s carriers' carts left London inns for over 200 towns. Those from York arrived at the Bell Inn outside Ludgate on Fridays, and left on Saturday or Monday. Goods could be sent 'any waies north' of York.<sup>194</sup>

## **(vi) Times of danger**

Civic music continued in York. In 1625 the waits received £6 5s 6d for their liveries and evidently received their customary fees thereafter.<sup>195</sup> Richard Ward was a musician, as were John Pickering and Mark Straker in 1626,<sup>196</sup> when the wait Simon Holmes was sent to prison until he paid the 13s 4d he owed his former apprentice. The Bricklayers paid minstrels 20d nine times and 2s once, and 20d four times and 2s three times in 1627.<sup>197</sup> Thomas Laverock, Christopher's brother, was a musician, and Thomas Girdler, John's brother, was a wait.<sup>198</sup>

In summer 1630 the waits welcomed the lord president at Micklegate Bar. In October 1631 they were authorised to 'goe about at the accustomed time and recieue the charity & beneuolence of the Aldermen Sheriffes and foure and twentie and of all others which are disposed to do good vnto them', but 'in regard of the times of danger now being within this Cittie & suburbs', they 'shall not play as formerly'.<sup>199</sup> Mark Sparkes was a musician in 1632,<sup>200</sup> though the piper John Bartendale was hanged and his body was buried near the gallows. Soon after, someone riding past the grave fancied he saw the earth moving and uncovered Bartendale. He had somehow survived and was taken to the Castle, and pardoned at the next assizes.<sup>201</sup> In 1633 Robert Barker was a musician,<sup>202</sup> and the waits were ordered to stand on both Micklegate Bar and Bootham Bar when king arrived, and 'play with such lowd Musick' as on the previous king's visit. In October it was ordered that new articles be added to the Musicians' rules, including that 'noe free brother of the said Arte shall serve att any freeman or Citizens weddings without sufficient waiges vnder any pretence whatsoever'. Each musician was to get at least 12d, and any who accepted less would be fined 6s 8d. No brother was to take an apprentice before he had been a member of the company for three years, and his first apprentice had to be a freeman's son, or he faced a fine of £3 6s 8d. The waits were to take precedence over other musicians when anyone requested music, unless others had been asked the day before. No brother was to 'intrude themselves', directly or indirectly, and no visiting musician was to teach until he had the approval of the company's masters and searchers and the mayor.<sup>203</sup>

In 1638 Richard Brathwaite published *Barnabae itinerarium* (*Barnaby's itinerary*) in Latin and English verse, under a pseudonym, in London. He had seen a piper being taken to Knavesmire in York to be hanged, yet after he was cut down and buried he revived. 'And there he lives, and plays his Measure / Holding hanging but a pleasure'. Barnaby called for music at a Topcliff inn, and refused to pay the musicians or his bill.<sup>204</sup>

Carlisle chamberlains had paid Ripon waits 1s in the year to spring 1627, and 1s 6d the following year. In Lancashire Thomas Walmesley gave each of them 1s a year from 1627 to 1630, and again in 1636. In 1631 Coventry chamberlains paid them 2s, and they gave both Ripon and Halifax waits 2s 6d in 1632 Ripon waits 1s in 1634 and 2s 6d in 1636.<sup>205</sup>

In the later 1630s the York musicians Richard Thompson (Christopher's son), and Adam Girdler (John's son), were waits,<sup>206</sup> though in 1638 and 1639 the chamberlains gave 1s to the 'waites of Rippon'.<sup>207</sup> In March 1639 York waits were ordered to play on Micklegate Bar and Bootham Barr 'at his Maiesties Coming into the Cittie and passing through the Mannour', and 'if need bee' their cognizances should be 'new burnished'. They received £6 12s for their liveries, and the king's musicians were given 10s.<sup>208</sup> The city's economy had stagnated,<sup>209</sup> yet literacy had improved further north and professional musicians could still make a living.

## **(vii) Scurrilous libels and epigrams**

In 1625 a County Durham man had bequeathed his books to his son.<sup>210</sup> Shields Catholics who had a 'great store of books and many MSS' were arrested; yet the Newcastle mayor protected a Catholic couple from the bishop of Durham.<sup>211</sup> Richard Watson wrote from London to the 'Inhabitants of Witton Gilbert' in County Durham. They had given him 6s 8d when he went to Cambridge 34 years earlier, and he was 'desierous to make some returne of thankfullnesse'. 'I have restored unto you your lent noble (6s 8d), and thirty-two nobles more, being the increase



of it, - twelve pounds in all, as an addition to my brother William, his 10 pounds'. Watson lived in Colman Street,<sup>212</sup> where St. Stephen's Church's was one of the few that elected a minister,<sup>213</sup> and it was a Puritan stronghold.

In 1628 Peter Smart claimed that Durham Cathedral's services had been turned into 'theatricall Stage-plays where mens eares are filled with pleasant tunes of musically instruments and voyces of not communicating singers'.<sup>214</sup> New deans had to pay an entry fee of £13 6s 8d towards the library fund, and those who wished to be buried in the Cathedral outside the choir had to pay £2.<sup>215</sup> In 1629 the Court of High Commission found William Hixon of Morde, a Catholic recusant guilty of entering the Cathedral drunk and 'roaring and singing' in the choir, and sentenced him to 'make open submission at the market cross' in a linen coat.<sup>216</sup>

Around 1630 the curate of St. Giles's in Durham, known as 'Sir John Lack-Latin', was succeeded by one who knew the language.<sup>217</sup> Richard Curteis was a well-to-do Durham stationer,<sup>218</sup> bookseller and binder,<sup>219</sup> and a house of correction was opened on Elvet Bridge.<sup>220</sup> In 1634 the bishop granted a charter empowering the freemen to elect a mayor to serve for one year, 12 aldermen who would hold office for life, and 24 councillors, yet the bishop chose the first office holders himself, including two men who lived elsewhere.<sup>221</sup> The bishop had bought books in Frankfurt.<sup>222</sup>

In 1626 Gateshead Four and Twenty had paid for a coat for their wait,<sup>223</sup> and in 1628 St. Mary's Church paid 8d to 'the Wayte for goeing a day with the scaylers' (muck-spreaders) in the 'Towne ffeilds', and 1s to the piper who accompanied him.<sup>224</sup> A 'Scole-maister' died in 1632,<sup>225</sup> though in 1633 a Gateshead piper received 3s 4d for playing for five days' for workers levelling the streets.<sup>226</sup>

In the early 1630s the clerk of St. Helen's Auckland appeared before the Court of High Commission in Durham. Witnesses testified that he had sold almanacs for 2d from the communion table for years and had composed 'scurrilous libels and epigrams' against two knights and others. He was suspended for three years, jailed 'during the pleasure of the commissioners' and had to pay costs. (He was later absolved on account of his poverty, though the curate who stood in for him was granted half his stipend.) Witnesses at another trial testified that a recusant had told a woman preparing to go to church that she 'might tell the minister a tale of 'Robin Hoode, worth foure and twentie' times as much as the catechism. (She later conformed and was forgiven.) In 1635 witnesses at another trial testified that a Catholic yeoman from Wolviston had 'teached schollars' 'without anie licence' and used 'bookes not allowed by law'. He was ordered to pay the king £40, and jailed during the commissioners' pleasure. (A year later he and his 'bondsmen' were freed from paying on account of their poverty.) In another case witnesses testified that over two years earlier a Bishop Auckland man had considered a book by Chaucer to be as true as the Bible. The commissioners required him to acknowledge his blasphemy on three days at the market cross, pay costs, give the king £100, and sent him to prison for a year. (Three years later the commission reduced the fine to £10.)<sup>227</sup>

Toby Brookinge, a counter-tenor, had been in trouble for drinking in Bristol, and arrived at Durham Cathedral around 1623. From 1625 he and John Todd were paid 3d to 4d a page for copying music. Brookinge was injured in a tavern brawl in 1628, but from 1632 to 1634 he received £14 6s 8d for copying between 900 and 1200 pages, on top of his £20 a year, and his wife got £6 6s 8d for 'pricke Anthemes'.<sup>228</sup> By 1635 almost £300 had been spent for over 200 printed books for the library, and though 87 percent were in Latin, the rest were in English.<sup>229</sup>

In 70 years or so the proportion of illiterate husbandmen and tradesmen in the diocese had fallen from 84 to 50 percent, while the proportion of illiterate yeomen had risen from 63 to 79 percent.<sup>230</sup> A County Durham gentleman's books and other things were valued at £10 in 1636,<sup>231</sup> and 'Darneton' (Darlington) had waits.<sup>232</sup> The master of Durham Grammar School was a royalist,<sup>233</sup> and the under usher was paid £20 a year in 1637.<sup>234</sup> Around 45 percent of Whickham villagers' bequeathed goods worth under £40, and one man's was worth £17. Around 40 percent of villagers owned books, usually a Bible, and sometimes a service book;<sup>235</sup> but a curate, two men and three women were charged with teaching children to read without a licence,<sup>236</sup> and not everyone in Durham was literate.

The Durham Grassmen had paid 12d to the 'Cunstable' for making their answers to the articles to them in Charge givine' in 1625, and paid the writer of their accounts 1s in 1627, plus 2s 2d for writing 'a warrant touching our high waies', and 2s 6d for writing 'a writ called scure-facias' in 1629. (Scire facias, 'make known', was an attempt to justify ignoring the law.) They paid 2d for paper for their account book in 1631, and gave their writer 12d, and 1s 6d in 1633, plus 1s for a 'quairt of Ale', 12d for writing the accounts in 1634 and 1s 6d in 1635. In 1638 they paid 4d for paper, and gave their writer 1s 6d in 1639;<sup>237</sup> yet Newcastle was the centre of the region's book trade.

### **(viii) The commons have no redress or reformation of their grievances**

In 1625 the plague had broken out in Newcastle.<sup>238</sup> It is unclear when William Corbett began being a printer, stationer and bookseller. In 1626 he bequeathed most of his printing equipment to Robert Wolfe, who was probably his apprentice, and the rest to his wife, including a cutting press and sewing press, which Wolfe was to receive if

she died before him. Corbett listed his stock of Latin works, religious books, stationery and small books,<sup>239</sup> and died soon after.<sup>240</sup>

In 1630 the books for All Saints' parishioners were chained in the choir,<sup>241</sup> and the vestry,<sup>242</sup> though two wealthy merchants sent their sons to Giggleswick School in Yorkshire.<sup>243</sup> (It had been founded in 1499 on land leased from the prior of Durham.<sup>244</sup>) There were three booksellers in St. John's parish, and in 1632 the mayor arrested a ship's master who had brought three people with 'Popish books'.<sup>245</sup> Almost every townsman was likely to become a freeman,<sup>246</sup> and on Shrove Tuesday in 1633 apprentices rioted about a non-freeman who had constructed a lime-kiln on the clothes-drying ground near the Ouseburn. In June 700 or so lesser freemen petitioned the king.<sup>247</sup> They protested that the mayor and aldermen had manipulated the common council elections so that three-quarters were their relatives or friends, and only a quarter represented all the others. They demanded the abolition of the mayor and aldermen's veto over common council decisions, which meant that 'the commons have no redress or reformation of their grievances';<sup>248</sup> yet the king's advisors noted that the town's growing population of mariners, colliers, keelmen and watermen and others were 'apt to turn everye pretence and colour of greivance into unproare and seditious mutinye'.<sup>249</sup> Two cloth merchants' annual profits were between £3,000 and £4,000, and another's was over £6,800.<sup>250</sup> Wolfe had become a stationer in All Saints' parish, while Thomas Gibson was a schoolmaster and 'Preacher of Gods word' in St. John's parish.

By 1635 Newcastle was probably the eighth largest provincial town in England, though it was socially divided. A third of the population of around 12,000, including most of the well-to-do, lived in the upper town, and two thirds, including the poorest, lived near the river, including a quarter in Sandgate. A Cheshire gentleman thought it was 'beyond all compare the fairest and richest towne in England' and 'inferior for wealth and building to noe cittie save London'. It had revenues of 'att least 5,000l or 6,000l per annum',<sup>251</sup> 'besides great colearies imployed for the use and supply of the commons and poore'. On Tuesdays and Saturdays 'much provision comes out of Northumberland, including 'infinite store of poultrye' to a 'mightye markett'. The Quay was the 'fairest' in England, and there were the 'fairest built inns' he had ever seen. He noted the different spelling and pronunciation of Scots migrants, who had many words and 'innumerable proverbs and bywords' that the English 'understand not'. He found there were six copper Scottish 'turners' to a penny, 12 of which were equivalent to one English penny, and visitors had to know the value of coins from Sweden, Denmark, Germany and France.<sup>252</sup>

Several musicians found work. Trinity House paid 10s for 'musycke vppon the Election daye' in 1625, 4s in 1626 and 5s in 1627. The Barber Surgeons paid 5s for music when an apprentice was made 'fre' of the company, plus 3s for the 'Mussicks Dynner', and 5s for music on another occasion,<sup>253</sup> though the musician Edward Haines died.<sup>254</sup> An Assize judge claimed £1 for music in 1628.<sup>255</sup> In 1629, John Hume was a piper,<sup>256</sup> and William Haines was a musician in All Saints' parish, as was John Robson in St. Andrew's parish, while the Saddlers paid 1s for music 'with the Consent of the most parte of the Company'.<sup>257</sup> (The minority may have been Puritans.) The music teacher William Smith lived in St. John's parish in 1630, and the musician Robert Mawpous in All Saints' parish in 1631. John Cocke received 5s, including 1s from Trinity House, for repairing the organ at All Saints' Church,<sup>258</sup> and the chamberlains gave Thomas Tonstall his 13s quarterly fee for playing St. Nicholas' organ and £3 to the six waits as 'parte of their ½ yeares stipend'. In 1632 they paid £3 6s 8d for repairing St. Nicholas' organ and Trinity House contributed £1. The waits received '10s per man' due the previous September, and the £1 due in March in June, plus £1 14s for their liveries, and in July, when Mawpous was ill, he received £1.<sup>259</sup> In 1633 George Hume was a piper,<sup>260</sup> as were William Clennell and Ralph Read in St. John's parish. A new pair of bellows for All Saints' Church organ cost £2, while John Pattison received 4s for 'blowing organs',<sup>261</sup> and the House Carpenters paid 2s for 'musick'. In November 1634 the chamberlains paid the waits £6 between them, plus £5 for playing in St. Nicholas' Church in September, and £3 3s to John Nicholas the organist. In July 1635 the waits each received £1, and Trinity House paid 10s for 'mewsicke att the Election diner', 7s 6d for music on the 'great reckoning day' and 10s when the brothers entertained Captain Pet.<sup>262</sup> The town was an attractive destination for bright young people from County Durham.

Ralph Tayler had been baptised in Durham in 1611, though his mother died in 1619 and his father in 1627. Ralph later attended Newcastle Grammar School's writing school, and was apprenticed to a relation, a public notary. In October 1635 the plague broke out in North Shields. It reached Newcastle in spring 1636 and spread 'like wildfire', so the 'best sort' left, and no magistrate is known to have died. Tayler, who had recently become a freeman, wrote the will of a plague victim. The chapman William Robson feared that if he died 'the clensers should deceive him or his', and he worried whether friends would clear his debts if his wife died too, so he 'gott his goods invent[t]ared'. They were valued at just over £19, including £11 for 'his pack and all his merchandise'. He was owed £13, but two-thirds of the debts were 'desperate'. He owned the his house, yet real estate was not included in inventories.

From July to September the chamberlains' receipts fell by around 40 percent, and from late May to mid-October between 180 and 400 died of plague each week; yet while almost 1,400 vessels entered the Tyne, the Scottish Privy Council barred colliers from entering Scottish ports. The Newcastle chamberlains gave £250 'in charity towards the

reliefe of the poore and infected people', yet poor women, often single or widowed, risked their lives cleansing the homes of plague victims for 6d or so a day, at a time when a male labourer earned from 8d to 10d, and the cheapest burial cost 13s. St. Andrew's parish register had 56 entries with no name, or terms like 'a power child', '2 powre ones' and 'a salore', and St. Nicholas' register noted the burial of '7 poore things'. At the height of the plague, 40 or more died in Allhallows' parish, though the registers have not survived, so there may well have been many more.<sup>263</sup> By December 515 had reportedly died in Gateshead, and 5,027 in Newcastle,<sup>264</sup> or almost half of the pre-plague population, and this was the highest proportion of any town in England.<sup>265</sup>

The Barber-Surgeons had previously met two or three times a month, often with music, before the plague broke out, but while only two or three turned up in summer in 1636,<sup>266</sup> they paid 4s for music at their annual 'head meeting day'.<sup>267</sup> A tanner in the maltmarket in St. John's parish owned 'a paire of virginalls', and when he died early in October he left £104. The widower George Robson, known as 'Georges the fiddler', lived in St. Andrew's parish. He had buried three of his children and dictated his will to two women, 'acordeing to some notes of his owne writeing formerly sett downe'. His goods were valued at just over £7 and included 'tow treble violes' and 'tow ould lutes'. He bequeathed his best viol to William Rawe,<sup>268</sup> and a recorder and flute to others, and he died later that day.<sup>269</sup> In 1638 Owen Haines was a musician,<sup>270</sup> and Trinity House paid 10s to the 'Towens Mizsitiens' for playing at their election dinner, while the Bakers and Brewers paid 10s for music at theirs, and 10s in 1639. That year the Butchers' paid 3s for music at their 'ffree supper',<sup>271</sup> and the 'fydler' Ralph Wright lived in St. Andrew's parish.

In Northumberland the Alnwick wait had received 9s, plus 10s for a 'pypers coat' in 1623, and again in 1629,<sup>272</sup> and Hexham Four and Twenty employed a wait and bought 'a drume for the town' in 1637.<sup>273</sup> In May, following tradition, after Berwick's town clerk opened the fair at 10.00, and the mayor, magistrates and other officials walked around it. Members of the Guild were 'commanded under a penalty of 20d to walk with them, or pay 8s without 'Redemyson', and the waits walked 'before them in all Dignity and Decorum' in 'their Gownes and other Apparell'.<sup>274</sup> In 1635 an Alnwick man charged with publishing 'disgracefull and unreverent' words against the clergy was sentenced to publicly acknowledge his blasphemy at the market cross, and 'many times in the parish church', and he also had to pay the king £100 and spend a year in prison. (The fine was later reduced to £10.)<sup>275</sup> The master and usher of Morpeth School left for Newcastle Grammar School.<sup>276</sup> The vicar of St. Nicholas' Church, who supervised curates at the other three churches, sought to justify his flight in a book he had printed in London in 1637.<sup>277</sup>

Control of coal and political power went hand in hand, especially in Newcastle. The king had reimposed the tax on Wear coal in 1628, though in 1633-1634 the Wear shipped 69,000 tons,<sup>278</sup> while the Tyne shipped 452,600 tons, and around a dozen Tyneside coal-owners had estates in County Durham.<sup>279</sup> The term 'fitter' was used to describe a Hostman's middleman, who hired keelmen to get the coal to sea-going colliers.<sup>280</sup> In 1637 a group of Hostmen secured a patent for selling coal, and raised the price by 1s a chaldron.<sup>281</sup> In 1638 a survey of 5,800 Tyne pitmen found the majority were from Tynedale, Redesdale or Scotland.<sup>282</sup> Plague broke out in Newcastle in 1639.<sup>283</sup> In spite of the king's warning to the freemen not to elect a Puritan mayor, they elected a Puritan Hostman and Mercer.<sup>284</sup> In September 20 members of the common council disenfranchised 35 others, and in December two of the 33 members signed the minutes with a mark,<sup>285</sup> yet the Tyne exported 87 percent of the region's coal that year.<sup>286</sup> In the 40 years eight Newcastle MPs had been Mercers and Hostmen and the other was a Hostman, 18 of the 28 mayors had been Mercers and Hostmen, eight were Merchant Adventurers and Hostmen, and two were Merchant Adventurers;<sup>287</sup> and Protestants had become increasingly powerful in Scotland since the turn of the century.

### **(ix) The National League and Covenant**

Edinburgh had been the only Scottish town with waits in 1603, and there were never more than five. They played in the streets at night and in the early morning, and on civic occasions, and the Englishman John Orley led them in 1607. The Privy Council compelled 'dryvers of sheape' and 'nolt' (cattle to be fattened) to buy only from law-abiding citizens, on pain of confiscation in 1606; and in 1611 drovers going to England through the East March were ordered to go by way of Duns, or face the same penalty. In 1615, owing to the scarcity of meat, exports were banned and eating it was forbidden in Lent. In 1618, because of cattle rustling, the Privy Council ruled that no carcase could be brought to market without its skin. The droving season began in May, and trysts (markets) took place in August, September and October, and over 50,000 cattle might be sold at Falkirk tryst.<sup>288</sup> That year a Protestant was beheaded for writing a bitter pasquill against Scotland.

Scotland's schools were generally better than England's.<sup>289</sup> In 1620 Edward Raban was a printer in St. Andrews, though the bishop of Aberdeen encouraged him to move there. The lord provost gained the king's assent, and Raban became the first printer for the town and Marischal College in 1622 at £40 a year. Pupils at the Grammar

School, the English School and Music School paid 8d a quarter for schoolbooks, and in 1623 Raban printed the successful *Aberdeen Almanack*.<sup>290</sup>

Alexander Leighton was born in Scotland around 1570. He later became a doctor and a Puritan preacher and pamphleteer. His appeal to parliament appeared in Holland in 1628 and condemned bishops as 'antiChristian and satanic'. The Court of High Commission in London issued a warrant for his arrest, and the bishop of London sent him to Newgate Prison. He was kept in irons in solitary confinement in an unheated and uncovered cell for 15 weeks, and was vulnerable to rain and snow, and neither his wife nor his friends were allowed to visit. Doctors testified that he was too ill to attend court, but he was banned from practicing as a doctor, stripped naked, tied to a stake and received 36 stripes with a heavy cord on his back, then placed in the pillory for two hours in frost and snow, branded in the face, had his nose split and ears cut off and was condemned to life in prison.<sup>291</sup>

By 1630 some Scottish towns had replaced pipers with drummers, and Aberdeen magistrates sacked their piper because his playing was too 'incivill' for 'sic a famous burgh', and he was 'often fund fault with, als weill be sundrie nichtbouris of the toune as be strangers'.<sup>292</sup> In 1632 the Englishman Robert Young became the king's printer, and in the later 1630s Glasgow magistrates allowed 'four Inglish scooles an ane writing school'.<sup>293</sup> In 1637 the English king tried to impose the *Book of Common Prayer* on Scottish churches,<sup>294</sup> and in 1638 many Scots signed the National League and Covenant, which demanded a Scottish parliament and the abolition of bishops.<sup>295</sup> Early in 1639 Presbyterians criss-crossed Northumberland and Durham, seeking to make 'common cause' with migrant Scots workers, and threw propaganda in the houses and about the streets of Newcastle under cover of darkness.<sup>296</sup>

In spring a letter written for the king in York required the secretary of state to 'send a printer with a press, to set out his majesty's daily commands for his court and army', with 'more than ordinary diligence the want daily being found so great'. A waggon would be the safest means of transport and the drivers could 'change horses as often as they will'.<sup>297</sup> Robert Barker was in prison in London, so his son-in-law John Leggatt brought his press to Newcastle. A tract bore Barker's colophon,<sup>298</sup> as did the bishop of Durham's sermon on obedience to 'higher powers' before the king. By May the king was in Newcastle, and a Scottish gentleman disguised as a fiddler brought him a message. The Scottish army near Berwick included almost 1,000 highlanders and some had 'bagg-pipes',<sup>299</sup> and when the king arrived with his army he appeared to make concessions about religion.<sup>300</sup> The army cost more than the king's normal revenue, so he mortgaged crown lands,<sup>301</sup> the value of the currency had begun to stabilise.<sup>302</sup>

By 1640 England's population was around five million.<sup>303</sup> Prices had risen by 500 percent in ten years, and rents in some areas by 800 percent. Real wages in the building industry were half those of 30 years earlier, and most of the population ate black bread. Landless labourers were at the mercy of employers, and a pool of unemployed and mass pauper apprenticeship in the towns helped to drive wages down, yet while London trade, especially in cloth, had trebled in value in 40 years.<sup>304</sup> In August, after a Scottish army crossed the border, the king had to reconvene parliament to ask for £850 a day to pay them.<sup>305</sup>

The English parliament released the pamphleteer Alexander Leighton, cancelled his fine and gave him £6,000,<sup>306</sup> when building craftsmen earn 16d a day.<sup>307</sup> In July 1641 parliament abolished the Court of High Commission. All church courts ceased to function, church lands were sold, and ecclesiastical censorship and control of education ended, as did its control of parishes.<sup>308</sup> In 1641 and 1642 sailors joined the rioting in London and helped to destroy the king's control of the capital. In 1642 the captain of sixth-rate warship got £7 a month, that of a third-rate £14, and a rear-admiral or vice-admiral £1 or £1 10s a day. 'A large warship with a crew of 200 to 300 was the same size as many villages, and the over 20,000 men at sea were more than all except the greatest cities.'<sup>309</sup> Sailors ashore declared for parliament, and chased away the few royalist captains,<sup>310</sup> while parliament legislated about printing and other cultural matters.

### **(x) Will you have any musicke, gentlemen?**

By 1639 the London Ballad Partners Cuthbert Wright and John Grismond had died, and so, probably, had Henry Gosson.<sup>311</sup> In 1639-1640 around 100 of the 355 entries in the Stationers' Company's register were ballads.<sup>312</sup> Edward Brewster and Robert Bird assigned their copyrights to John Wright.<sup>313</sup> Around 78 percent of men in the city were literate,<sup>314</sup> and though the numbers of printers and chapmen were rising,<sup>315</sup> publishers did not advertise their wares to 'country chapmen',<sup>316</sup> and the Stationers supported an Act to suppress hawkers.<sup>317</sup>

Around 300,000 books had probably appeared since 1576. There were 577 new ones in 1640,<sup>318</sup> with around 18,000 copies,<sup>319</sup> and there were four printed or imported for every five English people.<sup>320</sup> London booksellers dominated printers.<sup>321</sup> Parliament abolished the Star Chamber,<sup>322</sup> and most monopolies, except the Stationers' monopoly of Psalm books,<sup>323</sup> and decreed that none of its English Stock could be published without its consent. No limit was set to the number of master printers, and though 36 had to enter bonds for good behaviour, the presses

at Finsbury and York were allowed to print Bibles and Psalms.<sup>324</sup> Sunday had to be 'duly observed and sanctified' and 'dancing or other sports either before or after divine service be forborne'.<sup>325</sup> Puritans objected to secular music, and while parliament mainly disapproved of church organs,<sup>326</sup> and favoured congregational Psalm-singing,<sup>327</sup> it banned cathedral choirs,<sup>328</sup> but used their revenues to support former choristers.<sup>329</sup>

The king had 25 waits in his band of 58 performers.<sup>330</sup> Other waits than London's were banned from performing on Sundays in the capital.<sup>331</sup> A printer might give a writer of a popular ballad ale or wine for a week or two,<sup>332</sup> yet musicians who had earned up to £1 for playing for two hours in a tavern had to 'wander with their instruments under their cloaks' to 'houses of good fellowship, saluting every room where there is company with, "Will you have any musicke, gentlemen?"<sup>333</sup> There were more female ballad singers, and a woman often worked with a man,<sup>334</sup> though Inigo Jones sketched a solo male singer relying on a printed ballad for the lyrics.



By 1641 there were 277 ballad singers in London.<sup>336</sup> *The heads of several proceedings in this present Parliament*, appeared late that year, and by January 1642 there were 17 other newsbooks, and two were reprinted in Edinburgh. Parliament tried to suppress them,<sup>337</sup> though they were reportedly read aloud in every London tavern.<sup>338</sup>

The minstrels' court at Tutbury was known as 'his Majesty's Court',<sup>339</sup> and at least one Shropshire pedlar sold ballads and 'good books' door to door.<sup>340</sup> The minstrels' court at Chester met annually, and in 1642 they were required to play before they could receive a licence for 12 months, which cost 2s 2d.<sup>341</sup> Around a third of men and ten percent of women in the countryside could sign their names, and most could probably read.<sup>342</sup> That year 1,966 pamphlets were published nationally, and the numbers of almanacs, newspapers and ballads had increased.<sup>343</sup>

Nationally, grain imports to London from the north-east had risen by 14 times in the 60 years to 1640, and by 1641 the bulk of the landed class was producing for the market and there was usually enough to feed the towns.<sup>344</sup> In March 1642 'great numbers' of people assembled in a 'warlike manner' in several places in County Durham. Groups of up to 400 began to pull down enclosures made by the bishop and others, and beat off the sheriff and magistrates.<sup>345</sup> The king and his retinue had been refused entry to Beverley, and settled in York.<sup>346</sup> Stephen Bulkley, the son of a Canterbury bookseller, had become free of the London Stationers' Company by 1639, but in 1642 he was accused of printing royalist pamphlets and summoned to the House of Commons as a delinquent, so he fled to York,<sup>347</sup> where the king had a press in his lodgings. Bulkley printed a pamphlet in July, and the king left in August.<sup>348</sup> He raised his standard in Nottingham to attract an army, and civil war seemed inevitable.

## 7. *Englands grievance*

### (i) Ready to tear the Mayor in Pieces

In October 1642 the king ordered that Sir John Marley, whose income was reportedly £4,500, had to be elected as mayor of Newcastle. The royalist military commander attempted to garrison and fortify the town, and though some workers resisted,<sup>1</sup> he sent 300 troops to Tynemouth castle to put it on a war footing.<sup>2</sup> Newcastle's royalists had suspects' houses searched, caused 'cubbets and chestes to be broken open' and confiscated 'bookes, letters and manuscripts'.<sup>3</sup>

Parliament clamped down on royalist literature. In January 1643 the London ballad-seller John Wright was briefly imprisoned for publishing a book against parliament, yet he soon became one of its printers. In March London common council ordered the arrest of those who hawked pamphlets, and while parliament empowered 12 stationers to search for those deemed scandalous and untrue, there were 'private presses in Corners'.<sup>4</sup> In spring parliament established the Committee for Sequestrations, to take over royalist estates, and by April there were regional committees. Royalists held Newcastle, Sunderland and Blyth, but in June parliament ordered the capture of Newcastle, and in September parliament published the Solemn League and Covenant with Scottish Protestants and called on 'our brethren' to intervene.<sup>5</sup> Around 3,000 vessels usually arrived in Newcastle each year.<sup>6</sup> After royalist ships blockaded the river, Wear collieries supplied London with much of its coal,<sup>7</sup> and the price rocketed.<sup>8</sup> To attract volunteers to its Navy parliament increased pay from 15s to 19s a lunar month.<sup>9</sup>

In January 1644 18,000 Scottish infantry and over 3,000 cavalry failed to take Newcastle, so they went to Sunderland. The garrison withdrew, and they took the town. (Its population was around 1,500,<sup>10</sup> though no corporation record survives for 18 years.<sup>11</sup>) In February the Scots besieged Newcastle, and while Marley refused to surrender,<sup>12</sup> the royalist forces were in full retreat to Durham and York.<sup>13</sup> In March the occupiers of Tynemouth castle drove off the Scots,<sup>14</sup> one of whom wrote that Tyneside was 'altogether unable to supplie the Inhabitants, being so wasted & spoyled by the force which have lyen & lived upon it'.<sup>15</sup> From April to May plague spread to 15 Newcastle wards, including those inhabited by the wealthy,<sup>16</sup> and a fire at the town clerk's office probably destroyed the council's remaining pre-reformation documents.<sup>17</sup> When the Scots took the town and the 'proud and insolent Mayor, and the rest of his Fellows came forth of the Castle', the people 'were ready to tear the Mayor in Pieces', having 'discovered how much he had deluded them, and what Miseries he had brought them to'.<sup>18</sup>

In May parliament demanded that 'all Organs, and the Frames or Cases wherein they stand in all Churches or Chappels', including Cathedrals, 'shall be taken away, and utterly defaced, and none other hereafter set up in their places'. It demanded the removal and destruction of vestments, 'Holy Water Fonts', altars, communion tables and religious statues, though those of laymen were to be spared.<sup>19</sup> Early in July the battle at Marston Moor near York turned the civil war in parliament's favour.<sup>20</sup> Parliament set the price of coal in London at no more than 12s a chaldron for the worst and no more than 14s for the best;<sup>21</sup> so a poor Londoner would have to spend about 10 percent of their wages to light a fire once a day to cook. (The price would later rise to £4 and £5 a ton.)<sup>22</sup> The plague continued at Tynemouth castle, and its garrison put up no resistance to the Scots in October.<sup>23</sup>

Sequestrations of County Durham royalists began in August,<sup>24</sup> yet the plague returned to Newcastle,<sup>25</sup> and by October there were 'many hundreds of almost naked people, wanting all things but misery'.<sup>26</sup> By the end of November 50 or so vessels had left the Tyne that year,<sup>27</sup> but 151 did so in December.<sup>28</sup>

In April 1645 parliament required those swearing its 'National Oath' to refuse to support the king or the Catholic Church,<sup>29</sup> and the royalists' defeat at Naseby in June was decisive.<sup>30</sup> In January 1646 Robert Barker, the king's printer, died in prison in London,<sup>31</sup> and in May the king put himself under the protection of the Scottish army and officers escorted him to Newcastle,<sup>32</sup> where he lived with the Scots' commander in Francis Anderson's house.<sup>33</sup> The king summoned the printer Stephen Bulkley from York,<sup>34</sup> though he spent some time in prison.<sup>35</sup> In July taking a letter from the king to parliament cost £20.<sup>36</sup> Stage-coaches were running on some routes out of London.<sup>37</sup> The Scots asked the English parliament for £200,000 for the king,<sup>38</sup> and after they paid it in January 1647,<sup>39</sup> the Scots handed the king to the commissioners and began to leave.<sup>40</sup> In February parliament authorised 'Presbyteriall' government in Newcastle, and abolished the bishopric of Durham in October.<sup>41</sup> The legal obligation to observe Friday and Lenten fasts had lapsed,<sup>42</sup> and the plague ended in Newcastle.<sup>43</sup>

Parliament restricted printers to London, Finsbury, Oxford, Cambridge and York, and threatened unlicensed printers with large fines.<sup>44</sup> Taverns were the only public places where music could be heard,<sup>45</sup> and parliament decided to 'suppress the Publishing in the Streets, by Ballad-singers, Pamphlets and Ballads scandalous to Parliament'. In autumn the provost marshal was ordered to 'apprehend and surprise all such person or persons as



sold, sang, or published' such material in London. Pedlars and hawkers with unlicensed books were to be 'wipt as common rogues',<sup>46</sup> and magistrates had to have ballad singers flogged and confiscate their ware.<sup>47</sup> The London Stationers' Company stopped registering ballads.<sup>48</sup> Some political ballads were all in white-letter,<sup>49</sup> while others had black-letter titles.<sup>50</sup> In spring 1648 the king restarted the civil war,<sup>51</sup> though his army was defeated in August and parliament refused to negotiate. The king was convicted of treason and executed in January 1649, and a young Durham gentleman had a torrid time in London.

John Lilburne's father was a gentleman with an estate of 500 acres,<sup>52</sup> and John was born in Thickleigh, near Bishop Auckland, in 1615. The family were Puritans, and John later learned 'a little Latin and less Greek' at Newcastle Grammar School. In 1629 the 14-year-old was apprenticed to a Puritan wholesale clothier in London. His provincial speech, 'rough-hewen' manners and an inability to 'make a legge with grace' in dances made him conspicuous, and he got into trouble. In 1636, in Gatehouse Prison, he met the Presbyterian minister John Bastwick, who had published works in Latin against bishops, and he helped Lilburne refine his speech so it was 'fit for all Gentlemen and Noble-men's society'. Lilburne also met John Wharton, an 82-year-old bookseller who had been summoned by the Star Chamber for selling illegal books. Wharton's servant and Lilburne took one of Bastwick's books to Holland and had several thousand copies printed, yet many were seized at the port when they returned. Wharton's servant informed the Stationers' Company about the operation and its agents arrested Lilburne, and the archbishop of Canterbury's agent sent him to Gatehouse Prison and then Fleet Prison. Early in 1638 he refused to swear an oath that might incriminate him before the Star Chamber, and he and Wharton were fined £500 each and sentenced to be whipped and pilloried from prison to Westminster. They were belaboured with a three-thonged corded whip, every three or four paces, around 500 times. Lilburne was kept in chains in prison, yet he smuggled out propaganda. He was released in 1640 to make his case to parliament, which voided the Star Chamber sentence in 1641, and in 1642 he led apprentices who rioted against the king and joined the parliamentary army,<sup>53</sup> yet he was in prison again in 1645. He condemned the 'insufferable, unjust and tyrannical Monopoly of Printing',<sup>54</sup> and complained that Cornwall sent almost 50 MPs to parliament, though County Durham sent none.<sup>55</sup> In December 1648 he was freed and received £3,000 for his suffering.<sup>56</sup>

The cost of food had begun to fall,<sup>57</sup> and there was a shift away from buying goods at markets, fairs and from pedlars, and artisans in market towns.<sup>58</sup> In 150 years between 500,000 and 750,000 acres of cultivatable land had been enclosed,<sup>59</sup> yet in spring 1649 corn was very dear and the poor were 'almost ready to starve' in Northumberland and Newcastle. Reportedly the 'meaner sort' were 'no longer able to pay assessments, or quarter troops for nothing, and many had no bread. Troops could not live on their pay, and a sizeable number wanted parliament to be democratic, yet the mutineers were suppressed, and many were executed.<sup>60</sup> While leading royalists escaped abroad, those who remained were smarting from the experience of defeat.

## (ii) *Chorographia*

In 1649 Newcastle council's minutes did not mention the king's execution,<sup>61</sup> yet 'Monarchy and liberty are incompatible' appeared on a Tyne Bridge gate in Latin.<sup>62</sup> The merchant and coal-owner William Gray wrote *Chorographia, or A Survey of Newcastle upon Tine*,<sup>63</sup> and at some point that year Stephen Bulkley printed it as by 'W.G.', while more copies were printed in London. Gray dedicated it to 'fellow burgesses', and assumed that they agreed that 'we live in an age, that mechanicks will presume to step into Moses chaire', that of law-giver, and 'become politicians to contradict and controule whatever is acted and done according to the laws divine and humane'. He noted that the town walls had outer trenches 'rampered with earth', yet Newgate and Pilgrim Street had been 'obliterated'. Newgate was a 'prison for debtors and felons', and sometimes 20 to 30 'Highlanders' from Tynedale and Redesdale had been hanged in a year. In Westgate there was a 'famous' grammar-school, writing school, and houses within the Spittle for their masters'. St. Nicholas' Church clock still chimed at 4.00am, 9.00am and noon, though All Saints' Church was the largest of the town's four churches. On the Sandhill were 'many shops' with the 'great conveniences' of water, bridge, garners, lofts, cellars and houses' for merchants. The 'Key' had been 'heightned with ballist' from returning colliers, and there was a high stone wall inside the 'long and broad wharf' was capable of coping with 300 vessels (later amended in manuscript to 400) of up to 400 tons. Sandgate had largely escaped destruction, and contained 'many houses, and populous, all along the water side; where ship-wrights, seamen, and keel-men live', and further east women carried ballast on their heads to the 'Ballist Hill'. Gray acknowledged that many worked the pits: many took coal in 'waggons and waines to the river Tine'; and many were 'employed in conveying the coals in keels from the stathes aboard the ships' at the river mouth, which carried it 'into most parts of England southward, into Germany, and other transmarine countries'. (He later added that boy 'barrowmen' pushed corves of coal from the coal face to the bottom of the shaft, where they were drawn up by



ropes 'upon a hooke by horses'. Some seams were 60 feet deep, and others up to 240, though their thickness and the quality of coal varied considerably.) A gentleman from outside the district had invested £30,000 (later amended to £20,000), used iron rods to check the depth and thickness of the coal and brought in 'rare engines, not known in these parts', to draw out water; yet in a few years the speculation had 'consumed all his money' and 'rode home upon his light horse'. More recently London speculators had paid a high price to lease a colliery and found nothing, and more than one coal owner could 'scarce live of his trade'; yet one Hostman employed 500 men (later amended to '400 and above'). On Saturdays the Flesh Market attracted 'a concourse of people' from 12 (later amended to 10) miles around, who brought 'all sorts of corne and flesh'. Pitmen from nearby villages attended, so it was 'like a fair' for 'all sorts of wares' and 'manufactours'.<sup>64</sup>

By around 1650 fewer than six percent of Newcastle's population controlled civic life,<sup>65</sup> and the reconstituted common council organised the trial and execution of 17 women and one man as witches. Two were executed in Durham and one in Gateshead in 1651,<sup>66</sup> while 'country' dances were popular with the well-to-do in London.

### (iii) John Playford

By 1650 England's population was around 5.22 million,<sup>67</sup> and 400,000 or so lived in London.<sup>68</sup> The number of stationers' apprentices who came from in or near the city had risen sharply, and there were 36 printing houses.<sup>69</sup> They and the 24 or so at the universities and elsewhere had to promise a magistrate not to print seditious literature, though no penalty was specified.<sup>70</sup> The Stationers' Company's almanacs sometimes brought in over £3,000 a year and shareholders grumbled if the dividend fell below 12.5 percent.<sup>71</sup> Most wealthy people ignored medieval romances abridged as small books.<sup>72</sup> Francis Grove published *Cam'st thou not from Newcastle* to the tune of *Newcastle*,<sup>73</sup> which was at least 60 years old.<sup>74</sup> The poet John Milton was nominally responsible for censorship, and parliament was particularly concerned about newsletters. Books did not have to be registered with the Stationers, they had to bear the printer's or author's name.<sup>75</sup> Parliament ended compulsory church attendance, but banned 'dancing, profanely singing, drinking or tippling' on Sundays,<sup>76</sup> yet Oliver Cromwell enjoyed dancing, and employed ten of the best singers and musicians.<sup>77</sup> John Hingston, who had been in the king's service, taught his daughters to dance.<sup>78</sup> Few songbooks and ballads included music, but some named tunes.<sup>79</sup>

John Playford was born in Norwich around 1623. By 1640 he was apprenticed to a London publisher and he joined the Stationers' Company in 1647. He published music by English composers, but was briefly imprisoned for publishing a royalist tract in 1648. He later became the clerk of the Inner Temple's Puritan Church, and published and sold books on music theory, guides to playing instruments and psalters with tunes in a shop in the porch, and he was also a minor composer.<sup>80</sup> In 1650 he registered a 104-page book of rules for 'Country Dances', with tunes, and it appeared in 1651, with an illustration of fashionably-dressed dancers and a boy musician.

## The English Dancing Master :

O R,

Plaine and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the Tune to each Dance.



L O N D O N,

Printed by Thomas Harper, and are to be sold by John Playford, at his Shop in the Inner Temple neere the Church doore. 1 6 5 1.

Authors normally dedicated books to aristocrats, wealthy individuals, or leaders of powerful institutions, but Playford dedicated his to the gentlemen of the Inns of Court and the 'Ingenious Reader'.



THE Art of Dancing called by the Ancient Greeks *Orchestice*, and *Orchestia*, is a commendable and rare Quality fit for yong Gentlemen, if opportunely and civilly used. And *Plato*, that Famous Philosopher thought it meet, that yong Ingenious Children be taught to dance. It is a quality that has been formerly honoured in the Courts of Princes, when performed by the most Noble Heroes of the Times! The Gentlemen of the Innes of Court, whose sweet and airy Activity has crowned their Grand Solemnities with Admiration to all Spectators. This Art has been Anciently handled by *Athenens*, *Julius Pollux*, *Celins Rhodiginus*, and others, and much commend it to be Excellent for Recreation, after more serious Studies, making the body active and strong, gracefull in deportment, and a quality very much befeeming a Gentleman. Yet all this should not have been an Incitement to me for Publication of this Worke (knowing these Times and the Nature of it do not agree,) But that there was a false and surreptitious Copy at the Printing Presse, which if it had been published, would have been a disparagement to the quality and the Professors thereof, and a hinderance to the Learner: Therefore for prevention of all which, having an Excellent Copy by me, and the assistance of a knowing Friend; I have ventured to put forth this ensuing Worke to the view, and gentle censure of all ingenious Gentlemen lovers of this Quality; not doubting but their goodnes will pardon what may be amisse, and accept of the honest Intention of him that is a faithfull honourer of your Virtues, and

Your servant to command,

*J. P.*

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In 1653 Playford published a catalogue of all the music books printed in England.<sup>82</sup>

The ballad trade continued. Isaak Walton, the son of a Stafford innkeeper had moved to London as a young man and became a draper,<sup>83</sup> and in 1653 he described an 'honest ale-house, where we shall find a cleanly room, Lavender in the windowes, and twenty Ballads stuck about the wall', and he knew a dairymaid who sang 'the good old Song of the *Hunting in Chevy Chase*'.<sup>84</sup> There was a 'Musick-house' in Oxford, though the Puritan minister of Sandwich in Kent complained of 'locusts' who 'invent obscene, lascivious, scurrilous, and filthy Songs and Ballads' to 'pollute and poyson young virgins and maids'.<sup>85</sup> Further north William Sewell had been a York musician in 1640,<sup>86</sup> and the waits began to receive £6 4s for their liveries.<sup>87</sup> William Wood was a 'musicioner' in 1651, as were Ambrose, Christopher and Richard Girdler (the wait John's sons), and John Holmes (the musician Symon's son) in 1654.<sup>88</sup> In 1655 parliament closed most newspapers, and the rest did not criticise Cromwell,<sup>89</sup> so most of the country got their news from parliament's *London Gazette*.<sup>90</sup>

Martin Parker was born around 1600, probably in London. By 1625 he wrote ballads,<sup>91</sup> and later published a small book,<sup>92</sup> which may have been a summary of old ballads. By the later 1630s he may have been a tavern-keeper, and had written 65 ballads, including 15 of a royalist character. He wrote one damning the Scots in 1639, and was denounced in parliament for writing 'in disgrace of Religion'. In 1641 he was one of the 23 'poetical, papistical, atheistical ballad-mongers' accused of being ready to 'write against their fathers' for 2s 6d, and in 1643 *When the King Enjoys his Own Again* was extremely popular with royalists.<sup>93</sup> Parker's name had appeared on ballads he did not write, and continued to do so,<sup>94</sup> even after he died in 1656.<sup>95</sup> While there had been few ballad entries in the Stationers' register for some time, there were 165 in 1656,<sup>96</sup> since printers and publishers were legally required to do so.<sup>97</sup> In 1657 parliament decreed that 'fiddlers or minstrels' found 'playing, fiddling, and making music, in any inn, alehouse, or tavern', or 'proffering themselves, or desiring, or intreating any person or persons to hear them play', would be 'adjudged rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars' and punished accordingly.<sup>98</sup> Magistrates had to fine 'Every person Dauncing, or prophanely Singing or Playing upon Musical Instruments' on Sundays 10s.<sup>99</sup> John Wright, the senior member of the London Ballad Partners, died, and bequeathed his business to his brother Edward, and after he died to William Gilbertson. Thomas Vere joined the Partners, and they registered 28 ballads, though at least ten had been entered previously. The Partners published together, individually and with others, and they had a virtual monopoly of stock ballads.<sup>100</sup> There were now over 60 presses in London,<sup>101</sup> and stationers had come from Alnwick, Bamburgh, Berwick, Bishop Auckland, 'Conside', Darlington, Durham, Gateshead, Haydon Bridge, Lucker, Morpeth, Newcastle, Shildon and Tweedmouth;<sup>102</sup> and north-east coal was England's main fuel.<sup>103</sup>

#### (iv) Ralph Gardiner

Deveraux Gardiner had been unable to make a living as a lawyer in Newcastle,<sup>104</sup> and became the Grammar School's writing master.<sup>105</sup> In 1625 his son was baptised Ralph in St. John's Church, and in 1632 the common council gave his father £10 'to depart the school',<sup>106</sup> yet Ralph had a good education.<sup>107</sup> He married a coal-owner's widow, who also owned salt pans, in 1646,<sup>108</sup> and they lived in Chirton near North Shields.<sup>109</sup> By 1647 around 80 percent of Whickham pasture in County Durham was 'spoiled' by collieries. Two men held over 50 acres, two from 80 to 100 and one held 170. Most other villagers worked at the collieries, which had a waggon way to the Tyne.<sup>110</sup>

By 1648 Gardiner had a small brewery at Chirton, though the Newcastle Bakers and Brewers claimed the monopoly of supplying ships and took him to court, where he was heavily fined and ordered to pay costs.<sup>111</sup> Thomas

Cliffe, a South Shields shipwright, hailed from Ipswich. Two Newcastle sergeants arrived to arrest him and others for saving a ship from the rocks at the river mouth. They broke one woman's arm, beat Cliffe's wife so badly that she later died, imprisoned Cliffe's employees and fined him. In 1649 ships' masters, who wished to see the Newcastle guilds' monopoly broken, gave him money.<sup>112</sup> A government commission, which included Gardiner, tried him in Gateshead, and Cliffe was later forced to leave Tyneside.<sup>113</sup>

By 1650 virtually all Londoners used coal, and prices had shot up,<sup>114</sup> since there was a shortage.<sup>115</sup> Gardiner was a member of Tynemouth Four and Twenty, though his Chirton estate was sequestered on account of the delinquency of its former owner. By summer 1651 he cooperated with disgruntled ships' masters, and complained to the Council of Trade in London about the Newcastle Ship Carpenters' monopoly and the corporation's monopoly of loading and unloading coal at Newcastle, and condemned the corporation for exacting dues from ships' masters and members of the ships' carpenters' guild for debarring its own members from working at Shields, as 'very prejudicial to trade and navigation'. The Council ruled that ships should be able to load victuals at Shields, and asked parliament to 'impower proper Persons to take Care of the River', yet parliament did not act. Gardiner got most votes for North Shields' Four and Twenty, and was a Christ Church warden, yet in summer 1652 Newcastle officials arrested him, sued him for £900 and put him in prison. He offered bail, with the support of two freemen, yet the record was erased two days later. He could take exercise at first, though the mayor soon withdrew permission, while the sheriff ignored the writs of habeas corpus, which required him to put Gardiner on trial or let him go, but kept the fee. Gardiner was not allowed to consult a lawyer, and was rarely allowed visitors. There was a marked rise in coal exports,<sup>116</sup> and 3,000 vessels entered the Tyne that year.<sup>117</sup> A royalist poet wrote that 'England's a perfect world, hath Indies too; / Correct your maps, Newcastle is Peru!'<sup>118</sup>

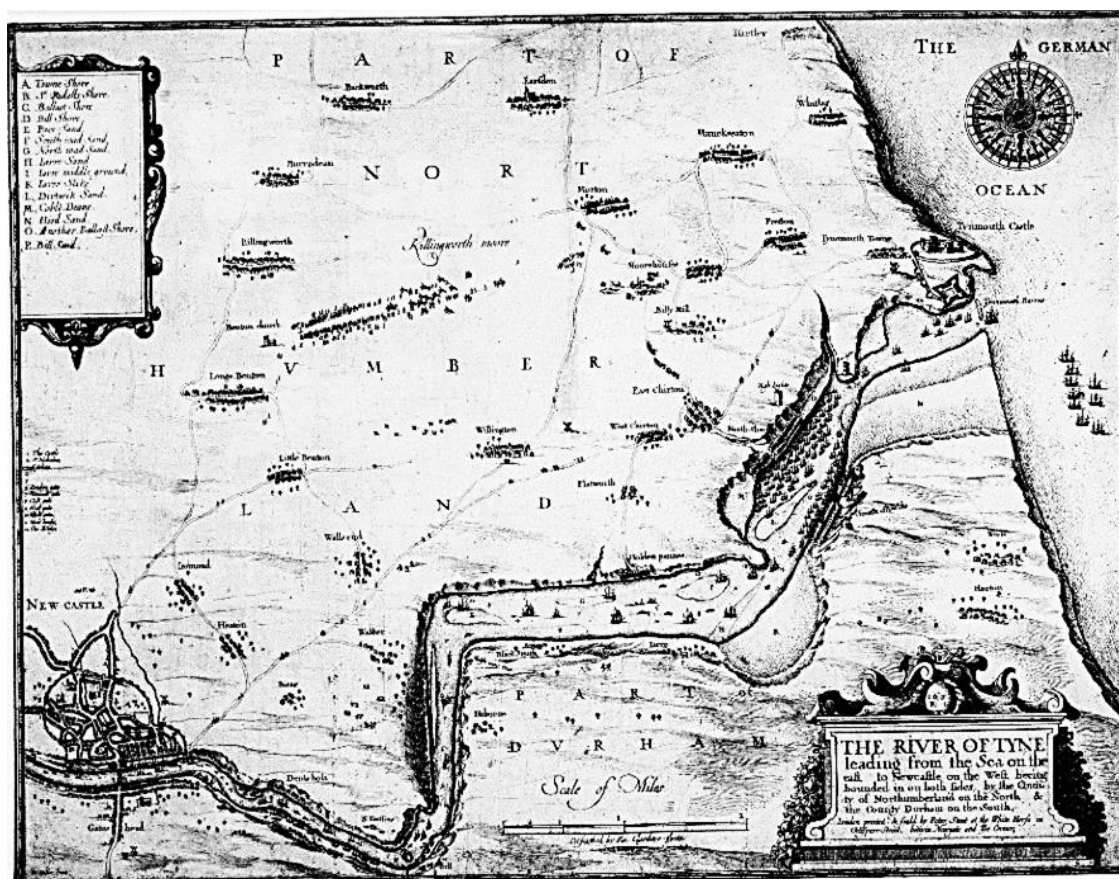
Early in 1653 Gardiner broke out of prison, escaped to Scotland, and returned to Chirton After several months.<sup>119</sup> Soon after men with pistols and drawn swords surrounded his house, shot his servants, beat his wife and produced a warrant for his arrest, though local sailors disarmed them. Gardiner was soon back in prison,<sup>120</sup> he soon escaped and went to London.<sup>121</sup> In spring Newcastle Corporation adopted measures to keep the Tyne free of ballast and the quays free of clutter.<sup>122</sup> In London the Council of Trade noted that preventing ships' masters from employing carpenters from wherever they pleased was 'very Incommodious and preiudiciall to trade & to Navigation', and the monopoly of loading and unloading ballast was 'in noe way sattisfactorie', yet parliament did not act.<sup>123</sup> In summer Newcastle's civic salaries and emoluments were cut, and the £10 for the auditors' feast was discontinued.<sup>124</sup> By September Gardiner was back in jail,<sup>125</sup> yet he petitioned parliament. He noted that the two-year-old Council of Trade report had not been acted on, requested that his petition be reconsidered, presented a list of measures which would take away Newcastle's monopoly, and the Council agreed to consider it.<sup>126</sup> Newcastle Corporation sent delegates to London to combat 'ye complainte of one Garner [sic] in the name of five Masters of shippes', which was 'of a very dangerous consequence to ye hazard of ye welfare, rights, and privileges of this towne',<sup>127</sup> and on 18 November they successfully pleaded for two weeks to prepare their case; but on 12 December, the day before the hearing was to resume, parliament handed its authority to Cromwell, and Gardiner's petition fell.<sup>128</sup> In January 1654 Newcastle Corporation worried about 'Gardiner and his Adherents', cut the town clerk's annual salary by £35 and called for a Presbyterian minister for St. Nicholas' Church 'without disaffection to the present Government'.<sup>129</sup> Tyne shipwrights went on strike. Troops forced them back to work,<sup>130</sup> yet they had won the highest pay in any port.<sup>131</sup>

In January 1655 Gardiner entered Gray's Inn in London,<sup>132</sup> and at some point that year 'Ralph Gardiner, Gent.' published *Englands grievance discovered in relation to the coal-trade: the tyrannical oppression of the magistrates of Newcastle; their charters and grants; the several tryals, depositions, and judgements obtained against them in London*.<sup>133</sup> He denounced the Newcastle oligarchy for

forcing people to lose their lives, others to swear against themselves; illegal and false arrests, and imprisonments; refusers of bail, and disobeyers of habeas corpus; great and usual impositions, and arbitrary fines; contemnors of your law; judges, jurors, and witnesses in their own causes; converting all fines, felons goods, and wrecks, to their own use; destroyers of that famous river of Tine; forcing ships and boats to sink, and imprisoning those that dare to succour them; ingrossers of all coals, and other commodities, into their own hands, from the inheritors, by patent; with other irresistible oppressions, like to the Spanish inquisition, and the practice of the High Commission, and star-chamber; being put in execution ... by command of the magistrates, and other their officers; and what they cannot do, by force of their charter, amongst themselves, against any private person opposing, then, by combination, ruin them at law, by their dilatory pleas, and out-pursing them; to the high dishonour of God, and your highness, and tending to the peoples undoing.

He dedicated the book to Cromwell, and wanted parliament to execute perjurers, forgers and bribe-takes, call in Newcastle's charters, punish sheriffs who ignored writs of habeas corpus, ban magistrates from arresting people for debts of under £2, permit markets at North and South Shields and free trade, protect prosecutors from violence, clarify the relations of Newcastle freemen to unfree men and appoint commissioners to improve the Tyne.<sup>134</sup> The

Prague-born artist Wenceslaus Hollar had recently mapped the Tyne and Gardiner included it in his book. It showed that most vessels were anchored near the river mouth, and far fewer at Newcastle.<sup>135</sup>



136

In 1656 the Newcastle Bakers and Brewers paid a man's wherry hire 'for the discovery of Mr. Gardiner's brewing'. He appealed to the Council of Trade, and several captains and ship owners petitioned against the Hostmen's raising of keel charges, and the Council ordered that coal be loaded at the previous rates. Keelmen could not afford fully-fitted keel which could carry just over 2.5 tons cost from £70 to £80, and fitters owned most of them.<sup>137</sup> In May 1657 50 Tyneside men were impressed into the Navy, and though they were released 'on account of the mighty clamour of their wives',<sup>138</sup> the attrition of pitmen and boys continued.

In 1658 James Archer and his son Stephen drowned in a pit in Gallaflat (Gallow Flat) near Tynemouth, by 'the breaking in of water from an old waste'. (Their bodies were found 'intire' almost 37 years later.)<sup>139</sup> Gardiner appeared before a parliamentary committee investigating abuses and monopolies, yet it accomplished little. He was a member of Tynemouth Four and Twenty at least until 1659, but then he disappeared. In the 12 months to June that year Tyneside collieries exported 529,000 tons.<sup>140</sup>

#### (v) *The most vendible books in England*

Newcastle Grammar School had had a new headmaster by 1648, and in 1649 his salary was raised from £40 to £50 a year. Boys attended from 7.00am to 6.00pm, with a break between 11.00am and 1.00pm to go home for a meal, and they learned Latin by reading and translating, not by rote.<sup>141</sup> The common council gave £5 a year for five years to former pupils at university, but gave the necessary £50 to Robert Marley,<sup>142</sup> since his father, the exiled former royalist mayor, had lost all his property.<sup>143</sup> Alnwick Grammar School reopened,<sup>144</sup> and in 1652 the chamberlains paid for 600 copies of the abridged Acts against swearing, sabbath-breaking, drunkenness and incest.<sup>145</sup>

William Hutchinson sold books in Durham,<sup>146</sup> and the Newcastle bookseller James Chantler had his daughter baptised in St. Nicholas' Church, though her mother's funeral took place there days later.<sup>147</sup> In 1654 a Newcastle doctor bequeathed 'books his Uncle left' to St. Nicholas' Church library, and in 1655 the common council agreed to reinstate the sacked Grammar School headmaster and pay him £40 as 'parte of his arrears'. In 1656 they appointed the freeman George Armstrong at £20 a year, plus 12d a quarter from every freeman's child, to teach them



‘writeinge & CIPHERING’;<sup>148</sup> and by 1657 the Anglican minister of Gateshead taught a school in the Anchorage, a room attached to St. Mary’s Church.<sup>149</sup>

William London was from a Quaker family,<sup>150</sup> and by 1649 he had become a bookseller on the west side of Tyne Bridge. By 1652 he was a stationer on the east side of the bridge,<sup>151</sup> and in 1653 his shop was at the ‘Bridge Foot’.<sup>152</sup> For a decade almost half the books published in Newcastle had been about controversies between Baptists and Quakers.<sup>153</sup> In 1657 London printed *A catalogue of the most vendible books in England ... to be sold by the author at his shop in NewCastle*, though he published it in London. He noted that books were ‘usually sold in most places of repute in the Countrey’, yet he dedicated the catalogue to ‘To the Wise, Learned and Studious’ in County Durham, Westmoreland and Cumberland, since education had been ‘too great a stranger to these parts’, and lamented ‘the present want of Studious Gentlemen’. He listed around 3,000 titles, including John Milton’s pamphlet against bishops,<sup>154</sup> and another dissenter found his way to Gateshead.

Thomas Weld was born into a wealthy mercer’s family in Sudbury, Suffolk, around 1590. In 1614 he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and proceeded to MA in 1618. He was ordained as a deacon of Peterborough Cathedral, and later became the vicar of Haverill in Suffolk. By 1625 he was vicar of Terling in Essex, but the archbishop of Canterbury noted that he was ‘Not Conformable’ to his near-Catholic policy and deprived him of his living in 1630. By 1632 Weld was in Boston, Massachusetts. He became a leading minister and in 1641 he joined a delegation to England to raise money for the colony. He supported parliament, and in 1650 he was elected as vicar of Gateshead. He campaigned against Quakers,<sup>155</sup> and his *False Jew* appeared in Newcastle and London in 1653,<sup>156</sup> The royalist printer Stephen Bulkley lived in Gateshead’s Hillgate, beyond the reach of the Newcastle magistrates,<sup>157</sup> and printed *The Perfect Pharisee Under Monkish Holiness*,<sup>158</sup> and *A Further Discovery of That Generation of Men Called Quakers* in 1654.<sup>159</sup> In 1658 over 1,000 parishioners asked Weld to permit a Presbyterian lecturer once a fortnight,<sup>160</sup> since he refused to administer the sacraments to dissenters. The parliamentary commissioners ignored their petition, removed the Four and Twenty and appointed Weld, London and 22 others in their places.<sup>161</sup> The Newcastle bookseller Chantler died, though there was a stationer in All Saints’ parish and a bookbinder in St. Nicholas’ parish.

Parliament had funded schools in 38 towns in Northumberland and 20 in County Durham. The Heighington schoolmaster received £10 a year, the Ferryhill master £15, the Barnard Castle master £19 10s, and the salary of the Bishop Auckland master was raised by £20, while the Sunderland master taught children to write and enough arithmetic ‘to fit them for the sea or other necessary callings’. All 15 of the Gateshead Currier’s Company signed their names,<sup>162</sup> though Durham Grassmen paid 1s for ‘rectyfying accoumpts and writing’.<sup>163</sup>

Musicians continued to earn a living. Newcastle’s Barber Surgeons had paid 3s, 10s and 3s for ‘Musicke’ in 1640,<sup>164</sup> but Henry Haines died.<sup>165</sup> The galleries of All Saints’ Church were taken down, including one which held the seats for charity school children,<sup>166</sup> and the wait Robert Mawpous lived in St. John’s parish. Alnwick had more than one wait who played fiddles,<sup>167</sup> and they received £1 10s for liveries in 1641.<sup>168</sup> In 1648 Morpeth Merchant Tailors gave Alnwick waits 2s, and 5s 6d to those of Morpeth.<sup>169</sup> In summer 1651 a Baptist minister from London established a church in the ‘dark corner’ of Hexham. Baptists argued amongst themselves about singing Psalms, hymns and ‘spiritual songs’.<sup>170</sup> In 1652 Morpeth Merchant Tailors ‘Payd on our craft day for wine 3s to the musitians on our feast day’.<sup>171</sup> In 1656 Gateshead waits received 4s for playing at the procession to the town fields with pipers, and while people worked there, and for playing at the riding of the town’s boundaries.<sup>172</sup> The Newcastle musician Joseph Ells and the trumpeter John Comyn lived in All Saints’ parish, but John Storey and John Atkinson died in St. John’s parish.<sup>173</sup> The common council gave the waits new instruments,<sup>174</sup> including a sackbut, and by 1657 the musician Thomas Wilson was also the clerk of All Saints’ parish, though the musician John Guidon died in St. Nicholas’ parish in 1658. The chamberlains paid ‘the Waites and trumpetters’ a total of £5 13s between them,<sup>175</sup> and Ells taught ‘musicke’ in All Saints’ parish, yet the campaign for a university in Durham failed.

John Hall was born in Durham. He later attended Durham School and Cambridge University, and in 1649 *An humble motion to the Parliament of England concerning the advancement of learning, and reformation of the universities* appeared under his initials in London.<sup>176</sup> It called for a wider curriculum than Oxford and Cambridge, more professors and fewer fellows.<sup>177</sup> Some Durham gentlemen petitioned Cromwell to allow a college in the former dean and chapter’s houses, and he agreed that it would promote ‘learning and piety in these poore, rude and ignorant parts’, but he did not issue the necessary patent until 1657. It stipulated that there was to be a provost or master, four professors, four tutors, four schoolmasters, 24 scholars and 12 exhibitioners, plus 18 scholars in the free school, and the college could set up a printing press to print Bibles and license books; yet Cromwell died in September 1658 and his son Richard was proclaimed lord protector in October. Oxford and Cambridge objected to a Durham college that conferred degrees.<sup>178</sup> A provost, fellows and scholars had been selected, and the university would have a guaranteed income based on land and rents, plus the stewardship of the Cathedral library.<sup>179</sup> Richard Cromwell blocked it,<sup>180</sup> resigned in spring 1659, and the monarchy was soon restored.

## 8. A reformation at the heads of the town

### (i) Hanged, drawn and quartered

In 1660 to 100,000 people lived inside London's walls,<sup>1</sup> and in May, when the son of the executed king entered the city, eight waits played at Crutched Friars, six at Aldgate and six in Leadenhall Street.<sup>2</sup> Parliament rendered all acts since 1642 null and void,<sup>3</sup> and confirmed the abolition of feudal land tenures, though copyholders still depended on landlords and were liable to arbitrary death duties and eviction. An Act virtually abandoned the Baltic trade to the Dutch, since England no longer depended on Baltic corn, and it aimed to cease to depend on it for naval stores.<sup>4</sup> It required colonists to sell their goods to England and buy goods from England.<sup>5</sup> Excise duty was restricted to beer, spirits, and cider, plus tea, coffee and chocolate.<sup>6</sup> The labouring poor relied on ale, bread and cheese, sometimes with cheaper sorts of meat and fish.<sup>7</sup>

The king appointed Sir Henry Herbert as Master of the Revels.<sup>8</sup> There were 60 master printers in the capital, including 35 who had worked there since 1640,<sup>9</sup> plus many journeymen and 160 apprentices. Copperplate engravings had largely replaced woodcuts.<sup>10</sup> William London's *A catalogue of new books, by way of supplement to the former: Being such as have been printed from that time, till Easter-Term, 1660*, was printed and sold in London.<sup>11</sup> Taxes on pedlars lapsed,<sup>12</sup> and six Clerks of the Roads in the new General Post Office could send printed matter post free to postmasters across England.<sup>13</sup> *Votes of both Houses* appeared in June, but was closed immediately.<sup>14</sup> Over 100 political ballads were published that year, yet none appeared in the Stationers' register.<sup>15</sup> In 1661 parliament limited the number of printing houses in London to 20 with no more than three presses and three apprentices.<sup>16</sup> It banned printing without the author's consent,<sup>17</sup> and importing printed books.<sup>18</sup> Printers used black-letter for ballads, hornbooks, ABCs, and small religious books, and white-letter for everything else.<sup>19</sup>

In 1662 Sir Roger L'Estrange became the Surveyor of the Imprimery (press) in London,<sup>20</sup> and was tasked with suppressing unlicensed publications.<sup>21</sup> In summer 'An Act for Preventing the frequent Abuses in Printing Seditious, Treasonable, and Unlicensed Books and Pamphlets' and 'Regulating of Printing and Printing Presses' required books to be licensed before they were printed, and they had to include the licence and the licenser's name. Printing was permitted at the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and at York, except for Bibles and works whose copyright belonged to the Stationers' Company or its members. They were all free to trade across the kingdom and import books in English if were over ten years old, though the bishop of London or the archbishop of Canterbury had to inspect them before they were released from customs. Freemen of other London companies could print or trade in books if their father or master had done so, or if licensed, yet carpenters and smiths who made presses had to inform the Company. The Act empowered the Company's master and wardens, and the king's messengers, to conduct searches if they 'shall knowe or upon some probable reason suspect any Books or Papers' were unlicensed in 'Printing Houses Booksellers Shops and Warehouses and Bookbinders Houses and Shops'. Failure to produce a printer's licence would result in seizure, and the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London would decide what to do with them. Law books had to be licensed by top legal officials, history books by a senior political official, heraldry books by the earl marshall or king of arms, and the chancellors or vice-chancellors of universities were to vet publications in Oxford and Cambridge. The Act restricted printing in London to 22 stationers, and reduced the number with two presses to 20. Former masters or senior wardens of the Company could have three, while the three king's printers, and John Streatter, who had opposed Oliver Cromwell's 'tyranny', could print whatever they liked.<sup>22</sup> The Londoner Nathaniel Elkins was to license pedlars and petty chapmen who were 'very useful in places remote from market towns'.<sup>23</sup>

The bishops were back, but without their former powers,<sup>24</sup> though the Act of Uniformity resulted in the ejection of 2,000 dissenting ministers,<sup>25</sup> and the Act of Settlement ended a period of exceptionally free mobility for the lower classes. It empowered two magistrates to eject any newcomer to a parish who had no means of their own, and to return them to the parish where they were last legally settled.<sup>26</sup>

In the year to spring 1663 116,074 reams of paper costing £38,691, or around 6s 7d each, were imported from France.<sup>27</sup> Two of the king's printers, Christopher Barker and John Bill, had a monopoly for printing Acts, statutes, proclamations and the English Bible, Roger Norton had a monopoly of printing the Latin Bible, Latin and Greek grammars and works in Hebrew, and Richard Atkyns had a monopoly for printing books about the common law and abridged parliamentary statutes. The Stationers had a monopoly for printing primers, psalters, Psalms in metre or prose, almanacs, prognostications and Latin schoolbooks. Its annual dividend varied between 10.5 and 12 percent, yet only around ten percent of the total went to poor or aged members or widows. L'Estrange warned that public

information 'makes the multitude too familiar with the actions, and counsels of their superiors', since it gave them 'not only an itch, but a colourable-right, and license, to be meddling with the government'.<sup>28</sup>

John Twyn, who had become free of the Stationers 23 years earlier, agreed to print a manuscript without reading it carefully. He told his apprentice to go ahead, and he found it was an old text which called for the execution of the former king. He and others told L'Estrange, and Twyn was condemned as a traitor early in 1664.<sup>29</sup> He was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, then his head was stuck on a pole at Ludgate and his quarters on other gates.<sup>30</sup>

The Printing Act was renewed,<sup>31</sup> and L'Estrange charged 1s to license a ballad.<sup>32</sup> Robert Codrington inveighed against young women 'reading vain pamphlets and singing vainer ballads', since they 'practice what they read and sing'.<sup>33</sup> When the printer Charles Tyus died he bequeathed almost 90,000 small books.<sup>34</sup> Virtually all were priced under 6d, and most under 4d, and his former apprentice, Thomas Passinger, married his widow.<sup>35</sup> The office of licensing pedlars was let for 31 years at £66 13s 4d a year, though in 1665 another person successfully offered ten times more.<sup>36</sup> Francis Grove died,<sup>37</sup> and William Gilbertson bequeathed his ballad copyrights to Robert White.<sup>38</sup>

In 1665-1666 100,000 Londoners reportedly died of plague.<sup>39</sup> In autumn 1666 the Ballad Warehouse at Pye Corner burned down,<sup>40</sup> as did the Ballad Partners' shops, and they moved to West Smithfield.<sup>41</sup> Many stationers lost houses, shops and stock, and the Stationers' Company lost much of its stock; yet Joanna Nye, the daughter of an Essex parson, was the first girl to be apprenticed to a Company member, the engraver Thomas Minshall.<sup>42</sup> There were 23 booksellers in St. Paul's churchyard,<sup>43</sup> and they used William London's catalogue.<sup>44</sup>

By 1667 there were between 44 and 55 printing houses in the capital.<sup>45</sup> L'Estrange noted that the Stationers' master and wardens were '*Parties and Judges*', and 'brought up Servants to the Mystery of Printing which they still retain in Dependence: Others again are both *Printers* and *Stationers*' who were 'Entrusted (effectually) to *search* for their *own Copies*; to *Destroy* their own *Interests*; to *Prosecute* their own *Agents*, and to *Punish Themselves*'. They could also forewarn printers and delay searches,<sup>46</sup> and the king purged the Company's officers. Wealthy stationers promised to subscribe £10 a year apiece to suppress 'such as wander up & down Citty and Cuntry Selling or dispersing Books contrary to Act of Parliament'.<sup>47</sup> Most pedlars and petty chapmen travelled on foot, though many hawkers had horses,<sup>48</sup> and L'Estrange noted that 'hawkers, mercury-women, pedlars, ballad-singers' and all 'sorts' of men and women from servants to gentry, frequented London's 'Musick-houses' and joined in the singing;<sup>49</sup> yet the king's musicians were reportedly 'ready to starve, they being five years behind with their wages',<sup>50</sup> while the Cordwainers' Company could not afford musicians at their feasts.<sup>51</sup> White-letter ballads with musical notation appeared, though the earliest survivor dates from seven years later.<sup>52</sup>

By 1668 there were 35 master printers in London.<sup>53</sup> There were frequent searches of printing houses and booksellers' shops for 'unlicensed and seditious Bookes and pamphletts', and their owners were forbidden to lend or dispose of 'anie Booke whatsoever' to hawkers;<sup>54</sup> yet in 1669 Francis Kirkham lent books 'on reasonable Considerations' at the capital's first circulating library. Domestic production of paper had begun.<sup>55</sup> Up to 36 different almanacs appeared, to add to almost 409,000 copies a year which had been published since 1664. During the 1660s the number of small books may have overtaken that of ballads,<sup>56</sup> and the Londoner Robert Cleaver corresponded with 'all booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland'.<sup>57</sup>

By 1670 around 13.5 percent of English people lived in 26 large towns and cities with over 5,000 inhabitants, and another 26 percent in smaller towns and industrial villages, while 60.5 percent were engaged in agriculture.<sup>58</sup> The king's chancery took over responsibility for scrutinising wills and intestacies from the church.<sup>59</sup> Thomas Killigrew, a theatre manager in London,<sup>60</sup> and Colonel Grey, were appointed to license pedlars and hawkers for 21 years in 1671,<sup>61</sup> and Killigrew became the Master of the Revels in 1673.<sup>62</sup>

An indulgence was granted to dissenting chapels in 1672, though dissenters were dealt with by JPs in secular courts, since their offence was political.<sup>63</sup> In 1673 an Act required everyone in civil or military office to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance and subscribe to a declaration against transubstantiation and receiving the sacrament.<sup>64</sup> This was the first Act which demanded an oath from peers.<sup>65</sup>

The London ballad-writer Laurence Price's name had appeared on ballads he did not write, and continued to do so after he died in 1675;<sup>66</sup> yet some had caught on in the countryside.<sup>67</sup> John Clark, Francis Coles, Thomas Vere and John Wright owned most of the 196 small histories and ballads registered with the Stationers that year,<sup>68</sup> including *A memorable song on the unhappy hunting in Chevy Chace*, yet few were registered thereafter.<sup>69</sup> The king failed to close London's coffee houses, where political publications were discussed, and the Master of the King's Music was still owed over £600 in 1677.<sup>70</sup> The London waits complained about 'foreign musicians, Swiss fiddlers, pipers, waits and others' who 'frequently play up and down in all parts of this City', and the common council ordered that nobody who was not a freeman could sing or play an instrument in 'any common Hall, Tavern, Inn, Alehouse', or anywhere else in the city or its liberties, and nobody except the waits could 'play upon any manner of instrument in any open Street or public passage' between 10.00pm and 5.00am.<sup>71</sup> The Stationers' English Stock included almost 124,725 primers and ABCs, and 523,730 schoolbooks. 'Old primers' formed 75 per cent of the total, and were valued at £641



13s 4d, or 14 percent of the total value,<sup>72</sup> and around 84,000 primers were printed that year.<sup>73</sup> Hawkers, pedlars and chapmen requested a new licensing procedure for their protection,<sup>74</sup> and Charles Killigrew, Thomas's son, who was now Master of the Revels, licensed ballad-singers.<sup>75</sup>

William Thackeray had specialised in ballads for a decade,<sup>76</sup> and after Coles died in 1678, he and Passinger joined the Ballad Partners. Wright, Clarke, Thackeray and Passinger published together, with and without Vere, but the widow Mary Coles was the senior partner.<sup>77</sup> While Stationers' Company members' sons could become their father's apprentices, others had to be bound to an authorised printer.<sup>78</sup> During the 1670s national book production peaked at around 18,000 copies a year, and the Master of the Revels licensed ballad sellers.<sup>79</sup> Early in 1679 the Printing Act lapsed,<sup>80</sup> and L'Estrange withdrew to Edinburgh.<sup>81</sup>

There were attempts to exclude the king's Catholic brother from the succession. 'Whigs' favoured a limited monarchy and tolerance for dissenters, while 'Tories' supported hereditary monarchy and one Protestant church.<sup>82</sup> In May Whig MPs blocked the renewal of the Printing Act, and days later the king dissolved parliament.<sup>83</sup> The requirement to register lapsed,<sup>84</sup> though the Stationers asked the London mayor to suppress 'Hawkers & Bawlers'.<sup>85</sup>

By 1680 England's population was still around five million.<sup>86</sup> In spring around 10,000 pedlars bought commodities amounting to several hundred thousand pounds on six or eight months' credit.<sup>87</sup> At Tutbury in Staffordshire two juries, one of 12 men from Staffordshire and 12 from Derbyshire, were chosen from the 'sufficientest' minstrels. They elected two stewards from each county, and chose the 'King' from among the four stewards from the previous year, alternating between men from the two counties.<sup>88</sup> In 1681 warrants were issued for the arrest of the singer John Squier from Newcastle, who had sung ballads against the London mayor and others, and for booksellers who offered his songs for sale.<sup>89</sup>

Every village across England with only ten houses reportedly had a shop,<sup>90</sup> and caused 'decay of trade' in nearby towns.<sup>91</sup> The Printing Act was reinstated,<sup>92</sup> and there were attempts to publish news sheets in London.<sup>93</sup> In autumn L'Estrange left for The Hague.<sup>94</sup> A royalist lawyer complained about political publications 'for the Rabble, and drunken sottish Clubs, in Ballad Doggerel, with witty Picture affixed',<sup>95</sup> yet ballads with music played a key part in Tory propaganda.<sup>96</sup> The king ordered the election of six senior members of the Stationers who were 'zealous in the discovery of unlicensed pamphlets'.

Vere died in 1682.<sup>97</sup> L'Estrange argued that 'the certain way of detecting and tracing' stationers' 'confederacies for dispersing libels' must 'begin from the country'. The 'first thing they do on the printing of any remarkable pamphlet is to furnish the Kingdom up and down with an impression or two', before they did so in London.<sup>98</sup> In 1683 Killigrew received a five-year monopoly for licensing sellers of ballads and small books,<sup>99</sup> but rented it out to the printer Clarke,<sup>100</sup> and Killigrew died in 1683.<sup>101</sup> Parliament banned the sale of books within four miles of London and Westminster, except those sold by Company members, though the House of Lords rejected the Company's request to act against Scottish pedlars and chapmen.<sup>102</sup> In 1684 booksellers complained to the Stationers that hawkers, 'Market Higlers', who sold goods from door to door, country pedlars and others sold books, so 'greate stocks' 'lye dead' on London booksellers' shelves,<sup>103</sup> and competition from Scotland had increased.

## **(ii) Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Crieff**

Edinburgh's population had been between 25,000 and 30,000 in 1660, and it was the second largest city in the British Isles.<sup>104</sup> Bishops were restored in 1661, and two printers were executed for publishing tracts in favour of the Covenanters, as was the suspected author of a book which denounced the 'ungodly king' for their defeat. In 1662 Edinburgh magistrates permitted French language schools and a school for girls to learn reading, writing, arithmetic, singing, dancing, French, sewing and embroidery. In 1663 another suspected author of the book blaming the king for the Covenanters' defeat was executed. John Forbes published a songbook with music in Aberdeen, and dedicated it to the burgh council, who gave him 100 merks, and in 1666 Forbes published a second edition. In 1667, when a chapman brought 10,000 copies of a rival almanac, the magistrates ruled that only Forbes' could be sold in the city, and around 50,000 were sold across Scotland every year. The king's printer became an Edinburgh freeman without paying for the privilege, as did a bookbinder who was 'useful to the town' in 1680. In the recent past, in addition to apprentices, 140 printers and over 210 bookbinders and booksellers had been active in Edinburgh, and though 89 had been freemen, many printers had paid 100 merks to become one. In 1682 the co-publisher of David Calderwood's history of the Kirk was banished, then rearrested in Newcastle. In 1683 Edinburgh's guild of stationers complained that 'cramers' who sold books from market stalls were neither freemen nor guild members and did not pay tax.<sup>105</sup> Andrew Anderson had become the king's printer in Edinburgh in 1671. After he died in 1676 his widow Agnes and her son John took John Reid as an apprentice. In the 1680s Reid printed ballads,<sup>106</sup> and civic music survived.

The Edinburgh piper John Johnston had been ordered 'to accompany the town's drummer throw the town morning and evening' in 1660, with the same salary and livery as before.<sup>107</sup> Lanark had lost its piper in the late 1500s, though in 1661 Andrew Weir was 'electit drumer till Michaelmas' to 'goe throw' the town between 'four in the morning and aught at night'. In 1675 the Edinburgh waits were the 'Inglishmen' Robert Wood, John Bell, John Smyth and Robert Mairteine. They were 'to goe throw the Citie in the morneing tymouslie be fore of fyve of the clock daylie', play their 'cornets and sackbotts' and give the inhabitants the time of day, and they received coats in the 'touns liverie' in 1679. By 1680 the Italian violin was probably in use, and while the Kirk had prohibited 'promiscuous dancing' in public in 1649, it was an elite recreation by 1680. Edinburgh's waits were disbanded around this time,<sup>108</sup> though three of them were probably Newcastle waits two years later.

Since around 1650 rural Scotland had been widely regarded as a grazing field for England. Most drovers travelled on foot for up to 12 miles a day, with a mid-day break so that the cattle could graze. Taxes on traders going to England were abolished in 1663, and in 1669 so were export and import duties. From 1672 Highland drovers converged at Crieff tryst, and the trade was subsequently made open to all. In 1680 a commission encouraged south-bound trade and it grew considerably.<sup>109</sup> During the 1680s many Scottish pedlars sold pamphlets and 'godly bukes' across England,<sup>110</sup> and many went to Newcastle.

### (iii) Instructing and educating the poore scholars and children

By 1660 Newcastle's population had been between 15,000 and 17,000,<sup>111</sup> and it was the fourth most important provincial town in England.<sup>112</sup> In March Tyne keelmen blocked the river, yet troops eventually forced them back to work.<sup>113</sup> In April the mayor began a 'reformation at the heads of the town, setting a good guard upon all balls, masquerades, shows and plays'. There were 1,259 freemen,<sup>114</sup> and five aldermen were purged, while former members of the inner ring were reinstated,<sup>115</sup> and around this time one had his portrait painted.



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In Gateshead Stephen Bulkley published tracts welcoming the restoration,<sup>117</sup> and John London was a member of the Four and Twenty,<sup>118</sup> yet his brother William was not.<sup>119</sup> In 1662 the master of Newcastle Grammar School resigned and the former royalist master was reappointed at £100 a year, plus 'perquisites'.<sup>120</sup> In Northumberland a free school was founded in Stamfordham,<sup>121</sup> and there was a school in Corbridge by 1664,<sup>122</sup> though the Newcastle bookseller Thomas Rowlandson died in St. Nicholas' parish.

In 1665 parliament exempted householders worth less than £1 a year from the Hearth Tax. In Newcastle 76 percent were poor, 17 percent fairly comfortable, five percent prosperous and one percent wealthy. Four Sandgate houses had between six and nine hearths, 32 had three to five, 40 had two, 562 had one and six had none. In total 510 of the town's 2,513 households were exempt, including 96 in Wall Knoll ward, 58 in Ever ward, 46 in Pilgrim ward,<sup>123</sup> and 60 percent between New Gate and St. John's Church. In other wards an average of 14 percent of houses had two hearths and 62 percent had one; yet houses in Pink Ward averaged almost seven, and there and elsewhere six percent averaged six. Most of those with three or more hearths were in the central market area, the Side, Sandhill and Close.<sup>124</sup> Most merchants' households that have been identified averaged 4.3 hearths, Hostmen's 5.7, former governors' and mayors' 8.4, and three had over ten.<sup>125</sup>

In Northumberland 40 percent of households in Hexham, Morpeth and Alnwick were exempt,<sup>126</sup> as were 80 percent in Whickham in County Durham with one hearth, while three baronets had ten or more.<sup>127</sup>

Since 1650 sailors' wages had risen 'sharply and permanently',<sup>128</sup> yet in 1665, during an outbreak of plague in Newcastle, the common council forbade ships from bringing passengers or goods into the harbour for 40 days, and ordered sailors ashore, and mortality was not as severe as in previous outbreaks.<sup>129</sup> By the end of the 1660s there were around 2,000 Newcastle freemen,<sup>130</sup> and the master of the Grammar School received £50 a year.<sup>131</sup> By 1670 Newcastle's population was probably around 12,000. It was the sixth most populous town in England,<sup>132</sup> and a London bookseller published a book by a Newcastle minister in 1672,<sup>133</sup> Newcastle remained the regional printing centre, and the Upholsterers, Tinplate-Workers and Stationers' company had been incorporated in 1675. The stationers were Thomas Clarke and Michael Durham,<sup>134</sup> and Richard Randall subsequently joined them.<sup>135</sup> He sold books in St. Nicholas' parish, yet the stationer Thomas Hutton died in All Saints' parish. In 1677 Randall and Peter Maplesden printed a book about Satan's temptations,<sup>136</sup> which they sold on the Sandhill along with books printed in London.<sup>137</sup> The Castle Garth was legally part of Northumberland, and outside the jurisdiction of the Newcastle magistrates.<sup>138</sup> Five chapmen based in the town in 1662,<sup>139</sup> and in 1677 the chapman Robert Carr died leaving goods valued at £247.<sup>140</sup> In 1679 some chapmen set up booths on the Sandhill, and they broke the magistrates' conditions, yet 14 were allowed to sell certain goods if they put down a bond of £10.<sup>141</sup> The common council granted the St. Nicholas' Church librarian £3 a year,<sup>142</sup> and Roger Garstell regularly received news-letters summarising the contents of London newspapers.<sup>143</sup>

In 1681 the mayor was governor of St. Ann's Chapel School and the governor of the Hostmen's Company was assistant governor. The curate, lecturer and four other gentlemen were trustees, and any three of them could make rules, subject to the mayor's approval. Parents had to pay for children to attend,<sup>144</sup> though the Hostmen paid the usher £10 a year for 'instructing and educating the poore scholars and children'.<sup>145</sup> John Brickland was a bookbinder in St. Nicholas' parish, Joseph Hall sold books, while William London sold sermons on Tyne Bridge.<sup>146</sup> No 'publick conventicle' of religious dissenters was active,<sup>147</sup> and after the vicar preached before the mayor, aldermen and sheriffs 'on the anniversary of the most execrable murder' of 'the First, Royal Martyr', Randall and Maplesden had it printed and Thomas Passinger sold copies in London.<sup>148</sup> That year Newcastle a merchant left books to his wife.<sup>149</sup>

Most people in the northeast depended on the work of pitmen and boys, directly or indirectly. In 1660 only 65 pitmen had lived in Newcastle,<sup>150</sup> and that year the Tyne's exports exceeded those of all other European coalfields put together,<sup>151</sup> though Wear exports were around 25 percent of the Tyne's.<sup>152</sup> In 1662 2,000 pitmen signed a petition asking the king to redress their grievances, particularly the lack of proper ventilation and explosions of firedamp, yet the petition was evidently not sent.<sup>153</sup> In 1667 the king granted his illegitimate son and his heirs 1s for each chaldron of coal shipped from Newcastle.<sup>154</sup> That year a storm destroyed 30 to 40 colliers,<sup>155</sup> yet during the 1660s the Tyne's annual exports averaged 414,600 tons.<sup>156</sup> In 1671 Robert Docket was 'killed in a pit, crowned' by the coroner and buried in Witton-le-Wear.<sup>157</sup> In 1673 100 colliers reached Yarmouth in a pitiable condition.<sup>158</sup> Horse-drawn wagons now took coal from Tyneside collieries to riverside staiths,<sup>159</sup> though the cost doubled every two miles from the pit-head.<sup>160</sup> In 1676 a government minister inspected the collieries.

Coal lies under the stone, and they are twelve months in sinking a pit. Damps or foul air kill insensibly; sinking another pit, that the air may not stagnate, is an infallible remedy. They are most in very hot weather. An infallible trial is by a dog; and the candles show it. They seem to be heavy sulphurous air not fit for breath; and I have heard some say that they would sometimes lie in the midst of the shaft, and the bottom be clear. The flame of the candle will not kindle them so soon as the snuff; but they have been kindled by the striking fire with a tool. The blast is mighty violent, but the men have been saved by lying flat on their bellies.

When they are by the side of a hill, they drain by a level carried a mile underground, and cut through rock to the value of 5 or 6,000l; and where there is not rock it is supported by timber.<sup>161</sup>

In 1678 the Newcastle chaldron was fixed by law at just under 2.63 tons.<sup>162</sup> A pit 'overman' in charge of a shift, might earn £50 a year, a skilled hewer 2s a day and a wagon driver 1s, while pitmen's wives and daughters got from 4d to 10d a day for washing coal at the surface.<sup>163</sup> In the 1670s the Tyne's annual coal exports averaged 487,000 tons. By the 1680s Wear exports were almost a third of that figure, and the Tyne's averaged 517,000 tons.<sup>164</sup>

Richard Gower, who was originally from Durham and had trained as a physician at King's College Aberdeen, became an usher at Newcastle Grammar School, though he had left by 1682. He published a translation of a Latin work on children's diseases as 'R.G.' in London and in 1684 a criticism of William Lily's *Short introduction of grammar*.<sup>165</sup> In Newcastle Thomas Davison, a Cambridge MA, had been appointed as a lecturer at All Saints' Church in 1656, at a £150 a year.<sup>166</sup> He became a presbyter at Bamburgh, and in 1684 a London printer published his 1683 sermon to the Newcastle mayor and aldermen as *The Fall of Angels Laid Open*, and John Hall sold it in Newcastle.<sup>167</sup>

The Durham Grassmen had paid 2s 6d for 'rectifying accoumpts and writing' in 1661, plus £1 9s 2d for writing it and expenses. In 1663 four of the 25 men in St. Giles's parish could sign, yet in 1664 the Grassmen paid 2s 6d for writing their accounts,<sup>168</sup> yet Hugh Hutchinson sold books.<sup>169</sup> In 1670 52 St. Giles's parishioners signed a document,

while 30 made a cross.<sup>170</sup> The bishop of Durham had returned from exile with hundreds of books, and retrieved those he left in Cambridge. He gave some to Peterhouse, friends, colleagues and Durham Cathedral library, and endowed a public library on Palace Green in 1668. By 1672 he had donated around 5,500 books,<sup>171</sup> reportedly worth £2,000.<sup>172</sup>

There were 704 grammar schools in England, and in 1674 John Ray's *A collection of English words not generally used, with their significations and original, in two alphabetical catalogues: the one of such as are proper to the northern, the other to the southern counties* appeared in London.<sup>173</sup> It noted that 'in many places, especially of the North, the language of the common people, is to strangers very difficult to be understood'. The book reportedly 'found favourable acceptance among the Ingenious', and the bookseller had a second edition printed.<sup>174</sup>

Joseph Hutchinson, the Durham bookseller, was baptized at the age of 21 in 1681,<sup>175</sup> and the archdeacon of Durham published book about religious conformity in London in 1684,<sup>176</sup> yet northern musicians found work.

#### **(iv) As long as he shall behave himself well**

York had been the second most important provincial city in England in 1660,<sup>177</sup> and the council ordered

that when the waites of this Citty make vpp their Compleat number of six according to a former Order of this Court that then their Sallary for liueries shall bee taken into Consideracion provided alsoe that John Girdler & ye rest of ye waites doe deliuer their Chaines and badges to their Sucessors in that Office as this Court shall order.<sup>178</sup>

Thomas Kade was a musician in 1661, as were George Tollett and William Webster in 1664.<sup>179</sup> In 1665 20 percent of households were too poor to pay the Hearth Tax.<sup>180</sup> Girdler died in 1666 and his tombstone acknowledged him as the 'chefe master' of the waits.<sup>181</sup> John Barehead and William Bridekirke were waits, as were John Sutton and John Edward in 1667. Three cognizances were sent to a goldsmith to be 'flourished' and trimmed. William Paget, Samuel Bateman and John English were musicians, and as the corporation and their guests watched a play they consumed several hundred apples, ten pounds of sugar, five pounds of 'marmalaid, plenty of fyne suckett [sweetmeat], carrawais, & biskyttes, maynebread', a spicy biscuit, and cakes, washed down with 14 gallons of ale, 7½ gallons of claret and other wine and a gallon of sack (fortified Spanish wine). In 1667 Ripon Corporation paid an alderman £1 12s for 'ye waites and bellman's coats' and £1 for '2 red coats for ye waits' in 1668. In 1670 York council paid £1 3s 8d for the waits' coats. Thomas Carey was a musician in 1672 and John Peirson was a dancing master, as was the wait John Storme.<sup>182</sup> In 1679 the wait Nathan Harrison was admitted as a freeman without paying a fee.<sup>183</sup>

The Durham wait Ralph Sherwood had testified in 1665 that the previous Christmas the mayor

did discharge and forbid Thomas Waide, one of the Waits of the said Citty, that he should play noe more publiquely in the said Citty nor suburbs thereof and thereupon did take the silver badge of the said citty from him for indecent expressions – he has played since as well by himself alone as some time in the company of this informant and his partner, saying he will soe doe, being a burges of the Citty of Durham, ag[ain]st all opposicion whatsoever.<sup>184</sup>

The Grassmen paid £1 5s 6d for dinner, drink and music on 'bounder day' in 1668. They gave George Pearson 6d for 'playinge to the Mouders when they mouded the moure' in 1675, and 6d to Nicholas Pearson for playing at the riding of the boundaries. In 1676 they paid him 1s 6d that day and 1s 4d in 1677. He and Thomas Wilson got 1s 10d in 1678, though Pearson alone got 1s 6d in 1681.<sup>185</sup> The Mercers paid the waits for playing at a dance on their annual meeting day.<sup>186</sup> The musicians Richard Cone and Thomas Wood died, yet Adam Macaffy was active.<sup>187</sup> The Grassmen paid Nicholas Pearson 1s 8d in 1682, 1683, and 1684, when they gave George Pearson 1s 6d.<sup>188</sup>

Since 1660 the bishop of Durham had allowed cornets and other wind instruments to be used during Cathedral services.<sup>189</sup> Ten of the choristers were from a small number local families.<sup>190</sup> John Nicholas, who had been the master of the Song School from 1661, resigned in 1667. John White had been a chorister from 1664 to around 1669, a lay clerk by around 1671 and a music copyist from 1674. Charles Husbands, a former Gentleman of the Chapel Royal at St. James's Palace in London, was paid for 'pricking 20 Tunes for ye Psalms'. After Nicholas died in 1677, White became master of the Song School. Alexander Shaw had been a chorister until 1664 and then a sackbut player until 1672. He may have been the organist at Ripon Cathedral in 1677, and later became the organist and a copyist at Durham Cathedral, but was sacked for 'contumacy' (refusing to obey the dean and chapter) in 1681.<sup>191</sup>

In 1660 the Newcastle waits had received £1 between them for playing at the announcement of the king's accession.<sup>192</sup> The musicians John Blaiklock and Thomas Wilson died that year,<sup>193</sup> yet Thomas Howey was active in St. Andrew's parish.<sup>194</sup> In 1661 Henry Welbery was a musician in St. Nicholas' parish and Thomas Sweeton was a

music teacher in St. John's parish. The musician William Atkinson died in All Saints' parish in 1662, and Richard Toward was a musician in St. Nicholas's parish in 1663, though the All Saints' parish musician Richard Walker died in 1664. On the king's birthday in October 1665 the mayor and aldermen left the Mansion House in the Close and

accompanied by a great number of the Gentry, both of the Town and Country, and preceded by the Town Musick, went in their formalities that Morning to Church, whence (after having heard Divine Service) they returned in like order to the Mayors House; where there was a very noble Entertainment, at which Their Majesties, and Royal Families Healths were drank, with several discharges of Cannon, planted for that purpose, and from Ships in the River.<sup>195</sup>

During the 1660s 15 Whickham families owned virginals.<sup>196</sup>

The Newcastle musician Henry Avery died in All Saints' parish in 1666, as did William Sherwood in 1668. David More was a musician in 1672,<sup>197</sup> as was Thomas Bridgewater in St. Nicholas parish. In 1673 the musician George Veetch lived in All Saints' parish, though John Walker died. The musician Thomas Hunter died in 1675, yet the piper William Johnson lived in St. Andrew's parish and Alce taught 'musicke' in All Saints' parish in 1676. Gateshead's population had reached around 3,500 by 1674,<sup>198</sup> and by 1677 St. Mary's Church had an organ.<sup>199</sup> The Newcastle freemen bought a new one for St. Nicholas' Church.<sup>200</sup>

The waits' meeting house was in a turret between Carliol Tower and Pilgrim Street Gate.<sup>201</sup> Around this time, when the magistrates took the lawyer Francis North to Tynemouth Castle in the town barge, 'a-head, there sat a four or five' musicians who 'drove bagpipe', with a trumpeter astern.<sup>202</sup> Edward Herbert and Thomas More were stewards of the waits' company, which included John Bell, Robert Wood and the music 'master' Thomas Sweeton.<sup>203</sup> The mayor acknowledged that there had been a 'ffellowshipp or Company of waites & Musecioners' 'time out of mind' and made 'orders acts and lawes' for 'quiet and orderly Government'. They could punish 'transgressors and offenders' with 'reasonable fines', while those who used 'vniciuill words' to 'reproach and reuile any brother' faced a fine of 2s 6d, one who 'beate any brother' would pay 6s 8d, and anyone who did not pay could be expelled. The Company could sue and be sued; and they had to be 'ready and attendant on all occasions to doe and performe their duty' for the mayor. Any who did not attend meetings would be fined 6d and latecomers 3d.<sup>204</sup> They were to meet on the feast of St. James the Apostle (25 July) each year to choose two stewards. Admission cost 10s, or 6s 8d by patrimony, though

none should teach musick without a licence from the mayor that no stranger should be suffered to play at weddings or feasts unless allowed by the mayor under a penalty of six shillings and eight pence ... [and] no fiddler piper dancer upon ropes or others that pretended to skill in musick or that went about with motions or shewes should practise in Newcastle without licence from the mayor on pain of forfeiting ten shillings [and] that at marriages where musick should be chosen the waits should be preferred and if any other musicians who had the mayor's licence were called their fee should not exceed three shillings and four pence under a penalty of ten shillings.<sup>205</sup>

A group of Yorkshire gentlemen hired 'the wind-music and the fiddles of the town' and sailed to Tynemouth. On their way back an 'abundance of rain' came through the canvass roof and the waits' fiddles were 'almost drowned', yet the Yorkshiremen 'made them play before us through the streets'.<sup>206</sup>

The piper David Oswald lived in All Saints' parish in 1678 and the wait Sweeton in St. Nicholas' parish in 1679. The musicians Wood and More died in All Saints' parish in 1680 and so did Richard Love in 1681. The musician Adam Moody and the organist Benjamin Hawkswell lived in St. Nicholas' parish.<sup>207</sup> In 1682 the wait Herbert died, and Robert Blenkinsop replaced him. In 1683 the organist Thomas Palmer lived in St. Nicholas' parish, though by 1684 he lived in All Saints' parish.

In Northumberland the Berwick chamberlains had paid the waits and given them cloaks and hats laced with gold in 1666,<sup>208</sup> and in 1667 they welcomed civic dignitaries on their return from riding the boundaries.<sup>209</sup> Hexham had around 1,600 inhabitants,<sup>210</sup> and the Four and Twenty agreed the rules for their wait.<sup>211</sup>

We the burrow jurie of Hexham for the tyme being, have been diuerse tymes, and especially at this tyme desired to consider the good and benefit of the whole towne in generall. And whereas seuerall addresses and motions haue beene propounded and moued unto us for the constituteing and appointing them a Waite, for the better stirring up of their servants and apprentices to their labour and imployment, urging the custome and practise of other good towns (as laudable in this particular) unto us. We therefore order & present Tho. Patteson to be Waite and servant to this towne, and soe to continue untill the next court, and untill another be appointed in his roome; and that he shall goe about the towne once euery night, between the houres of seaven & nyne a clocke at night, and euery morneing between three and fieve of the clocke, playing upon some audible musicall instrument, and shall often as he goeth alonge salute the people, acquainteing them with the tyme of the night and morneing, and what weather then blowes, and thus shall he continue betweene Michaelmasse & Kandlemasse, and in all other things shall carefully & honestly demeane himselfe in the said



service in as large and ample manner as others who have had the same office haue formerly done; and if any great complaint against him shall be, that the same be referred unto the lord of this mannor to be ordered by his discretion. In lieu & consideration of such his said seruice, all other pipers and musitions whatsoever shall be debarred from playing in this towne in any companie or at any meeting whatsoever unlesse they first compound with him for the same, and in case they will not take a discharge from him, that then the constable bringe them before the baliffe of this towne for such their contempt; and that the said Tho. Patteson shall haue the accustomed benevolence of euery neighbour in this towne at the Christmasse tyme as other Waits haue formerly had; and the ye constables shall out of the townes charge buy him a red coat, which he shall weare at meetings as the townes liuerie; and we hereby request the lord of this manner to bestow upon him the cognisanze that formerly John Blakelocke had bestowed upon him, that he may be knowne from others to be the lord of the mannors servant, and the townes servant, and thus shall he continue to be the townes Waite, quamdiu bene se gesserit [as long as he shall behave himself well].<sup>212</sup>

Patteson may have inspired an insult. 'You are like the Piper o' Hexham' who knew three tunes. The first was 'lang unkennd', the second 'Naebody kened', and the third 'He didna' ken hissel'.<sup>213</sup> He soon misbehaved and was sacked, and in 1669 he assaulted the new wait, Thomas Hill, with a cudgel.<sup>214</sup> In 1680 the Four and Twenty ordered Hill to play 'at the mending of the high-waies, ridding of fairs and commons', and at 'any publicke service that he shall be called unto by the constable, or other chief officer of the towne'.<sup>215</sup> In 1681 Thomas Anderson was excommunicated for 'playing on a bagpipe before a bridegroom on a Sunday' in Swinhoe,<sup>216</sup> and lord Derwentwater gave an old man called Howard 10s for tuning his virginals at Dilston Hall, £1 to the Newcastle organist Palmer, and 14s to the piper Jerry Kinsleyside.<sup>217</sup> Edward Jollie was a Morpeth musician, and Thomas Story was a wait in 1684.<sup>218</sup>

Berwick corporation had elected a schoolmaster to teach freemen's children to 'write, cypher and cast accounts, for £3 a quarter, in 1581, plus 3d from their parents, though he had to supply pens and ink and have his own house.<sup>219</sup> An aristocrat had previously guaranteed Hexham Grammar School £100, and by 1684 it had a new building.<sup>220</sup>

The king died, aged 54, in February 1685. He had been reportedly been a secret Catholic all his life, and openly 'converted' on his death bed. His 51-year-old old brother, who succeeded him, was suspected of being a Catholic.

## (v) Bringing-in of Gain & avoiding of Loss

In London Thomas James had printed *The city and countrey chapmans almanack for the year of our Lord 1685. Wherein all the marts or fairs in England and Wales, are disposed in an alphabetical order in every moneth, so that both the place where, and the day on which any of them are kept, is immediately found. Also the post roads, and their several branches through England and Wales, with their distances described in a new method. And the names of all the market towns in every county in England and Wales, and on what day of the week any of them are kept.*<sup>221</sup>

Provincial markets attracted people from up to 15 miles and fairs from up to 75. Some petty chapmen who worked for better-off chapmen could amass a 'little substance', 'extend credit and augment their wares' and 'bundle the pack on the back of a horse' so as to remain longer 'out' with a 'more imposing stock of goods'. If they thrived, they bought a waggon, and then took a shop in a country town and bought and sold on credit. The value of pedlars' stock reportedly averaged £12 7s 10d, horse-owners' £22 5s 4d and shopkeepers' £47 0s 6d. The London licensing office was reportedly worth £5,000 a year;<sup>222</sup> yet hawkers wanted more protection.<sup>223</sup> In 1685 the Printing Act was revived for seven years,<sup>224</sup> and Richard Pocock became Surveyor of the Imprimery.<sup>225</sup>

In 1686 the White Paper Makers' Company was incorporated.<sup>226</sup> London printers complained about the Oxford and York presses, and an illegal press at Chester, though its printer bound his apprentices as scribes.<sup>227</sup> That year 18 London booksellers promised to subscribe £10 apiece a year and the Stationers promised another £20 to employ a man to 'Suppress' those who 'wander up & down Citty & Cuntry Selling or dispersing Books contrary to Act of Parliament'.<sup>228</sup> Over 460,000 almanacs appeared at a wholesale price of 7d, and the Stationers made 39 percent profit,<sup>229</sup> while ballad print runs were around 1,000.<sup>230</sup>

John Story had served an apprenticeship to a Newcastle stationer and was admitted to the town's Stationers' Company in 1685.<sup>231</sup> In 1686 he and a Londoner published George Sturt's *A Joco-Serious Discourse in Two Dialogues between a Northumberland Gentleman and his Tenant a Scotchman, both Old Cavaliers*.<sup>232</sup> The Scotsman's 'speech' was 'phoneticised',<sup>233</sup> yet most of the Englishman's was not.

To Horse-race, Fair, or Hoppin go,  
There play our casts among the whipsters.  
Throw for the hammer, lowp for slippers,  
And see the maids dance for the ring,  
Or any other pleasant thing;



F\*\*\* for the Pigg, lye for the Whetstone,  
Or chuse what side to lay our betts on.

Stuart glossed *Hoppin* as an 'Annual Feast in country towns where a market is kept', and 'F[art] for the Pigg' as 'a common country phrase in the North to any that's gifted that way; *and probably there has been such a mad practice formerly*', since the 'ancient grossierete of our manners would almost exceed belief'.<sup>234</sup> Ten of the Four and Twenty in St. Giles's parish, Durham, had signed their names in 1685, but five out of ten in 1686.<sup>235</sup> There were 14 members of the north-east book trade,<sup>236</sup> though a Newcastle cleric published *Poetick Miscellanies* in London in 1687.<sup>237</sup>

In 1688 The Dutch-born Marcellus Laroon published *The cryes of the city of London drawne after the life*, including one of Mrs Parker selling a printed ballad to a well-heeled man.



*The Sorrowful Lamentation of the Pedlar, and Petty Chapmen, for the hardness of the Times, and the decay of Trade*, described a chapman's pack.

We have choice of Songs and merry books too,  
All pleasant, and witty, delightful, and new  
Which every young swain may whistle at the Plough,  
And every fair Milk-maid may sing to her Cow.<sup>239</sup>

Few ballads had music.<sup>240</sup>

It was estimated that 88% of the population was engaged in agriculture, and their average annual income was from £8 to £9, though labourers, cottagers and paupers averaged less than £3 3s. Most households spent more on beer and ale than on meat, butter, cheese and milk put together,<sup>241</sup> and the regime was increasingly unstable.

The Prince of Orange had married the eldest daughter of the executed English king, and she was second in the line of succession. A small group of Protestant aristocrats treasonably invited them to be king and queen of England, and late that year the prince landed with a large army at Torbay. He had a poetic supporter.

Richard Rigby was born into a Protestant family in Ireland around 1630. From 1645 he was a shoemaker, then left for London. His Fleet Bridge shop burned down in 1666, so he moved to Clerkenwell. In December 1688 John Wallis printed his *A New Song* with a woodcut of a prince striking down a friar and the pope.<sup>242</sup>

In January 1689 William Thackeray and the printers John Millet and Alexander Milbourn signed an 'indenture' for 'bringing-in of Gain & avoiding of Loss' in 'ye Antient Ballad Warehouse' in London. They each owned a third of the ballads and small books, except for three belonging to Thackeray, and they wanted their heirs to control the cartel.<sup>243</sup> Thomas Passinger bequeathed 'all the stocke and Copyes of books and ballads in a Warehouse in Pye Corner' which he had in partnership with Thackeray, to Thackeray's nephew Thomas.<sup>244</sup>

In February the White Paper Makers' charter was confirmed, yet they were limited to paper costing over 4s a ream.<sup>245</sup> J. Fraser had licensed ballads, but Edmund Bohun was appointed,<sup>246</sup> and a secretary of state controlled the distribution of news.<sup>247</sup> The king fled abroad, and parliament acknowledged the prince and princess as king and queen. They accepted the throne in May and parliament gave the king executive power.

# 9. A better company and a good concert of music

## (i) Thackeray's list

During 1689 William Thackeray published his stocklist.

### These small Books, Ballads and Histories undernamed, are all

Printed for and Sold by **WILLIAM THACKERAT** at the *Angel in Duck-Lane, London*; where any Chapman may be furnished with them or any other Books at Reasonable Rates.

#### Ballads.

**R**obin Hood's Golden Prize  
*Robin Hood and the Pilgrimage*  
*Robin Hood and the Curial Pryer*  
*Robin Hood and Little John*  
*Robin Hood and the Tanner*  
*Robin Hood's Delight*  
*Robin Hood and the Beggar*  
*Robin Hood's Chafe*  
*Robin Hood & the Pinder of Wakefield*  
*Robin Hood and the Shepherd*  
*Robin Hood and the fifteen Forrefters*  
*Robin Hood and Queen Katherine*  
*Robin Hood and Will. Swale*  
*Robin Hood and the Tinker*  
*Robin Hood, Little John and the four Beggars*  
*Robin Hood newly Revived*  
*Robin Hood and the Bishop*  
*Robin Hood's Birth*  
*Robin Hood and the Burcher*  
*Robin Hood and the Prince of Aragon*  
*King and the Bishop.*  
*Ungracious Son*  
*Northampton Lovers*  
*George Sander's*  
*Dead man's song*  
*Mercer's Son*  
*Noble Marquess*  
*Rafaeland*  
*Talper Cunningham*  
*Lord of Lora*  
*Troy-Towa*  
*Safarua*  
*Titus Andronicus*  
*Andrew Barton*  
*Dutchess of Suffolk*  
*Page's Wife of Plymouth.*  
*Rich Merchant-man*  
*King and the Shepherd*  
*Baroness*  
*Virginia A. B. C.*  
*Young man's A, B, C*  
*Old Jody*  
*Ladies Fall*  
*Maudlin*  
*Jane Shore*  
*Children in the Wood*  
*Woman's*  
*You see Father*  
*Barnard's Villans*  
*St. George*  
*King and the Northern Man*  
*King and the Miller.*  
*Ille amore and the Lady*  
*Bonny Aubrey*  
*Skillful Doctor of Gloster*  
*Justice of Newfo*  
*Blind Beggar*  
*In the Days of Old*  
*A Hundred Godly Lessons*  
*Guy of Warwick*  
*M. d. Tom of Bodlam*  
*Wandering Jew*  
*The King's Tryal*  
*Wandering Jew's Chronicle*  
*Cripple of Cornwall*  
*Love in a Maze*  
*Diana*  
*Dr. Emphas*  
*A Gallant Youth at Gravesend*  
*Tom Reynolds*  
*John Tron.*  
*Dear Love regard my Grief*  
*London Prentice*  
*My Bleeding Heart*  
*Godly Maid at Leicester*  
*Gerrard's Mithrid.*  
*Brides Burial*  
*Cherry-Chafe*  
*A Week before Easter*  
*Shackley Hey*  
*Relucation of Christ*  
*Confession of Cleveland*  
*East of Effe*  
*Woman poor and Blind*  
*England's fair dainty Dames*  
*Salamons's Sentences*  
*Believers*  
*When Jesus Christ was 12 years old*  
*Wanton Wife*  
*A Lesson for all true Christians*  
*Capitain Ward*  
*Lord Willoughby*  
*Amble Green*

Shepherds Daughter  
 Farewell my Hearts Delight  
 Hunting the Hare  
*Thomas Stately*  
 Stogmy Winds  
 Spanish Lady  
 Alack for my Love  
*Johnny Armstrong*  
 Cupid's Courtship  
 Lady turned Serving-man  
 Lord Thomas  
*Sammel and Sarah*  
 Mad man's morrice  
 Lady Arabella  
 Down by a Forreft  
 England's new Bell-man  
 King and the Tanner  
 Flora's farewell  
 Halley Bridegroom  
 Daxen of Points.  
 Angel Gabriel  
 Fair Angel of England  
 Poor Mans Comfort  
 Poor Mans Counsellour  
 Jone's Ale's new  
 Michaelmas Term  
 Seaman's Compals  
 The Tyrant  
 Voyage to Virginia  
 Looking-glass for Maids  
 Make use of time  
 A Cuckold by consent  
 Jemmy my Hand-maid  
 Peggy and the Souldier  
 Spanish Virgin  
 Clothworker caught in a Trap  
 Gabriel Harding  
 Fanny's Favourite  
 Fanny's Phoenix  
 Olt have I sworn I love no more  
 Faining for Maids  
 West-Country Wooing  
 Trappan'd Taylor  
 Hang forrow caft away care  
 Serious Discourfe between a Lovers  
 Young mans Joy & maidens inappinels  
 Comber's Whistle  
 Adieu to pleasures and follies of love.  
 Politick Beggar-Man  
 Fighting for the Breeches  
 Water-man's Delight  
 Hubert's Ghost  
 Mulgrave's Lamentation  
 Maids counsel to all her fellow-maids  
 Maids lament for want of a Husband  
 Have at all  
 The King's last speech  
 Frankill  
 Young-mans Ramble  
 Shaking of the Sheets  
 When first the Scottish Wars began  
 Cloak  
 Turn-Coat of the Times  
 True Love rewarded with Loyalty  
 Harry and Elizabeth  
 A Letter for a Christian Family  
 No money, no Friend  
 Wharrior and Stuart  
 Woody Querifiers  
 True Lovers Happinels  
 With a hah, hah, thou wilt undo me  
 Love without Measure  
 Clerk of Bodlam  
 Poor Robin's Dream  
 A Hundred years hence  
 English Traveller  
 Dying Tears  
 Knight and Beggar-Wench  
 Trap  
 Huntsman's Delight  
 I'd give a good thousand in the contrary  
 Sawney and Jockey  
 Dick the Miller's Son  
 King and the Abbot  
 Pritty little Lad ye will do fo  
 In the month of February  
 Seaman's Wifes Resolution  
 Alafs poor thing  
 Poor Robin's Prophecie  
 Suffolk Miracle  
 Here and Leander  
 Money makes a Man  
 Bacon and Beans  
 Lancelotti Lovers  
 Will and Moll  
 Locks and Bolts do hipder

Sir Eglenore  
 Merry Milkmaids Delight  
 Loves wounds and Loves Cares  
 Come turn to me thou pritty little one  
 Diddle diddle  
 Give me the Willow Garland  
 Young-man put to his Shifts  
 In my freedom is all my Joy  
*Edmund and David*  
 Tryal of Skill  
 Come let us Drink the times invites  
 Scotch Corant  
 Nell and Harry  
 Cupid's Golden Dart  
 New Game at Cards  
 My mind to me a Kingdom is  
 To hold the buckle & thong together  
 Dubb'd Knight  
 What if a day, a month, or a year  
 I'll never Love thee more  
 Fall of Pride  
 Fair Lady of the West  
 Wade's Reformation  
 Jovial Tinker  
 Oh how high when I think of a Man  
 The Maid's the best that lyes alone  
 West-Country Cheat upon Cheat  
 Willow Green turned white  
 Gowlin  
 Lady lye near me  
 Life and Age of Mah  
*Benjamin, O*  
 Young man's torments  
 Valiant Trooper and Beggar  
 Joseph an Aged Man truly  
 Scaman's Frolick  
 True Lovers Holyday  
 My Wife will be my Master  
 The Love in Joy my Heart  
 King of Sess  
 An Excellent Medly  
 Bonny Laib of Briston  
 Sincerity for me  
 Glasing Torch  
 Tom Brown's Delight  
 Young Prisoner's Apology  
 Young men and maids  
 Poise of rare flower  
 Dick and Nancy  
 As at noon Dalcina rested  
*Luke Hutton*  
 Heavy heart and a light purse  
 Toll, toll gentle Bell for a Soul  
 On the Bank of a Brook  
 The Shepherd's Delight  
 Primrose-hill  
 William and Jane  
 Bonny Blacksmith  
 Merchant-man and the Fiddlers Wife  
 Abigail on a Summer  
 Bonny Cravat  
 John and Betty or the virtue of  
 Cherry-flores.  
 Deep in Love  
 The Answer to deep in love  
 Green-sickness  
 Gallant Scaman's return  
 Tom and Will  
 Times Darling  
 Plough-man and Serving-man  
 Bold Keeper  
 Dying Man's good Counsel  
 Nightingal  
 Tempt all Trades  
 Tender Citizen  
 A 1000 times my Love commended  
 David and Berisba  
 Mithridates  
 Hugh Mill and Sarah  
 Praise of Saylor  
 Jary came to Jerusalem  
 Fryer in the Well  
 Christ tears over Jerusalem  
 Little Mulgrove  
 London's Ordinary  
 Robin Goodfellow  
 Gelding the Devil  
 Old Man and his poor Wife  
 Willow Green  
 Fight at Malaga  
 Bugle Bow  
 Cupid trappanped  
 Virginian O  
 Woman to the Plough-man  
 To the Hen-roost  
 Sweet Margery

Honour of Briston  
 A looking-glass for all true Christians  
 Sweet open the door let me come in  
 First kiss and bid me welcome  
 Fair Maid of Hingston  
 Wounded Lovers  
 Break heart and dye  
 Lady bent to the bonny broom  
*Isabella*  
 Mars Ball to Cupid now submis  
 Mary Anne  
 Queen Elisor  
 William Grismond  
 Leather Bottle  
 Aim not too High  
 Great Booby  
 News from Hide-Parke

Gods terrible voice  
 Andrews's Golden Chain  
 Christians Race from the Cradle to the Grave  
 Christs coming to Judgment  
 Death-bed of Repentance  
 Sinners Sobs  
 Great Affize  
 Fathers Bleffing  
 Doubting Christian  
 Way to Heaven made plain  
 Every man's Duty  
 Poise of Prayers  
 Fever of Repentance  
 Charitable Christian  
 Andrews's Golden Trumpet  
 Pious Exhortation  
 Dooms-day at hand  
 Lord's-day  
 God's Eye from Heaven  
 Godly man's request

#### Double Books.

Christs first Sermon  
 Christs last Sermon  
 Christians bell Garnent  
 Heavens Glory and Hells horror  
 Katherine Stobs  
 School of Grace  
 Kenned the Rook  
 Golden Eagle  
 King Arthur  
 The Seven Champions  
 Reynard the Fox  
 Doctor Merryman  
 Christians Bleffed choice  
 Warning-piece  
 Patience Griffl  
 Fanny of Repentance  
 Dives and Lazarus  
 Arminius and Aurelia  
 Parifant  
 Country Farmer  
 Adam Bell

#### Small Merry Books.

St. George  
 Gentlewoman's Cabinet, or a  
 Book of Cookery.  
 Tryal of Wit, or a Book of Riddles  
 Simon and Cicely  
 Shepherds Gariand  
 King and the Tanner  
 Cupids Sport and pastimes  
 Green-Goose Fair  
 Rosamond  
 Lawrence Lacy  
 Womans Spleen  
 Royal Garland  
 Guy of Warwick  
 Robin Hood  
 Vinegar and Mustard  
 Horn Fair  
 Cupid's Master-piece  
 Robin the Sadler  
 Loves School  
 John and Kate  
 Tom Long  
 Unfortunate Son second part  
 Tom Tron first part  
 Tom Tron second part  
 Queens Clofet  
 Doctor Faustus  
 Five Wonders  
 Hen-pecked Frigate  
 Jug and Bess  
 Female Rambles  
 Croffing of Proverbs  
 Tom Hickathrift  
 Jack of Newbery  
 Unfortunate Daughter  
 Variety of Riddles  
 Book of Riddles  
 Fryer Bacon  
 Tom Thunk  
 Cupids Solicitor  
 Jane Shore  
 King and the Miller  
 Robin Confessioe  
 Old Woman  
 King and Northern Man  
 Conscience and Plain-dealing  
 Sack full of News  
 Distressed Wells-man  
 Carrols  
 Gentle Craft  
 Cupids Garland  
 Fumblers Hall  
 Tom Potts  
 Noble Marquess  
 Diogenes

#### Broad Sheets.

Wit and folly in a maze, or the Cloak  
 Welch-mans Inventory  
 Christs Nativity

#### Small Godly Books

Englands Golden Watchbell  
 Mothers Bleffing  
 Englands Alarm  
 Gabriel Harding  
 Touchstone of a Christian  
 Great Britains Warning-piece  
 Godly Mans Gain  
 Serious Call  
 Short and sure way  
 Rogers exhortation  
 Plain Book of Conscience  
 Plain Man's Path-way  
 Almanack for a Day  
 Death Triumphant  
 Ready way to everlasting Life  
 Character of a Drunkard  
 Englands faithfull Physician  
 Christs voice to England  
 Christ in the Clouds  
 Way to get Riches  
 Sin of Pride

#### Histories.

Deeds of Devil and Dives  
 Dutch Fortune-Teller  
 Sport and Pastime  
 Arcandam  
 Third Part of Seven Champions  
 Jack of Newbery  
 Stroggin's Jest  
 Royal Harbour  
 Markham's faithfull Farrier  
 Markham's Method  
 Garland of Delight  
 Crown Garland  
 Robin Hood's Garland  
 Macedoni, a Play  
 Speedy Post with a Packet of Letters  
 Tom a Lincoln, or the Red-Rose Ka.  
 Palmerin of England in three Parts  
 The Book of Knowledge of things  
 unknown  
 Ornatius and Artista  
 Six John Hankwood of the History  
 of the Merchant-Taylors  
 History of Mentelion  
 History of the Gentle-Craft  
 Albertus Magnus English

For around 80 years between 70 and 82 percent of the Stationers' Company members' apprentices had come from the provinces,<sup>2</sup> yet around 60 percent were now from London or nearby.<sup>3</sup> No political ballads appeared in the Stationers' register that year,<sup>4</sup> though a silk handkerchief with a road map of England was on sale.<sup>5</sup>

Parliament had decriminalised around 5,000 non-Anglican churches,<sup>6</sup> and while it excluded Christian dissenters from public office unless they took communion in an Anglican church once a year, it did not extend toleration to Unitarians, Catholics, Jews or atheists.<sup>7</sup>

Nearly all English people in occupations where literacy was advantageous could read and write, including at least 815,000 males and 452,000 females,<sup>8</sup> yet though 11 percent of women, 15 percent of labourers, 21 percent of husbandmen, 56 percent of tradesmen and craftsmen and 65 percent of yeomen could sign their names, 70 percent of adults could not. Across England pedlars and petty chapmen had become a threat to shopkeepers,<sup>9</sup> and an almanac aimed at itinerant sellers appeared in London in 1693.<sup>10</sup>

The Ballad Partner John Millet died in London and Thomas Thackeray succeeded his uncle.<sup>11</sup> A booksellers' 'conger' was named after the large eel which ate others, and its 16 members distributed each other's publications, though the Jacobite printer William Anderton was executed for treason. The Printing Act was renewed for a further year, plus one session,<sup>12</sup> and the censor Edmund Bohun retired in 1694.<sup>13</sup> The Stationers' English Stock was valued at £14,400, and 15 assistants or their widows owned a share of £320, 30 liverymen owned those worth £160 and 60 yeomen owned those worth £80. The annual dividend per share was £40, or just over 11 percent, and £200 was allocated for pensions.<sup>14</sup>

In April 1695 the Printing Act lapsed.<sup>15</sup> The government no longer protected intellectual property,<sup>16</sup> yet the press's freedom from censorship before publication was unique in Europe.<sup>17</sup> The Stationers' register had almost fallen into disuse and pirates flourished, including the ballad-publisher Daniel Midwinter,<sup>18</sup> and the Stationers were in financial difficulties,<sup>19</sup> and petitioned parliament unsuccessfully for the renewal of the Printing Act. A small group of large booksellers formed another conger, and when a copyright owner died or left the trade, the conger bought them. Members auctioned books wholesale, yet attendance by others was by invitation.<sup>20</sup> Booksellers employed 'trade publishers' to organise printing and distribution, and a bookseller's name on a newspaper often indicated that they were a wholesaler. Hawkers were banned from selling in boroughs and market and corporate towns. The level of literacy may have fallen,<sup>21</sup> as had the number of market towns, and the post left London on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays for the provinces and returned on intermediate days.<sup>22</sup> All traces of the Ballad Partner Alexander Milbourn had disappeared.<sup>23</sup> There were about 45 printing houses in London, and in spite of government attempts to control newspapers, six appeared,<sup>24</sup> and two weeklies reached the provinces.<sup>25</sup>

In 1697 an Act required hawkers and pedlars to buy a licence to help to pay for the army which was 'reduceing' Ireland,<sup>26</sup> though sellers of Acts, proclamations, gazettes, almanacs and other official publications were exempt. Applicants for a licence had to speak English and get their parish clergyman and two respectable householders to vouch for them. Foot pedlars had to pay £4 and hawkers with a pack animal £8, yet prompt payers got a ten percent discount. Those found without a licence would be fined £50, those who lent one £40, those who travelled without one £12, and those who failed to produce one when asked by a mayor, magistrate or constable had to give £5 to support the poor and be sent to a house of correction as a 'common vagrant', while a constable who obstructed the process would have to give the poor £2. Forgers faced a fine of £50, half of which would go to the informer, yet unreliable informers would have to pay treble the defendant's court costs.<sup>27</sup> In months over 2,500 petty chapmen, pedlars and hawkers had a licence. Around 20 percent were based in London, and over half were in market towns.<sup>28</sup> In 1698 2,559 had a licence, including over 500 in London and over 1,250 in provincial towns. Around 400 had a pack animal, while 89 with two or more owned 243 out of the total of 598, and many were Scotsmen who stayed at home from November to March.<sup>29</sup> Three commissioners at the Hawkers and Pedlars Office in London got £100 a year, the chief riding surveyor got £200 to supervise five others who got £100.<sup>30</sup> Parliament had intended the measure to be temporary, but renewed it annually.<sup>31</sup>

By 1700 England's population was 5.03 million.<sup>32</sup> London's may have been 575,000,<sup>33</sup> when no other town or city had over 30,000,<sup>34</sup> seven had over 10,000, 23 others had over 5,000, and over 350,000 people lived in smaller towns;<sup>35</sup> yet no newspaper was published outside London.<sup>36</sup> There had been at least 406 ballad publishers, printers and sellers during the 1600s, and 294 had been associated with at least one political ballad.<sup>37</sup> Around 10,000 ballad sheets have survived from the 50 years to 1690, implying an output of millions, and by 1700 production had trebled in 60 years,<sup>38</sup> and two million children's primers had been printed.<sup>39</sup> Black-letter ballads cost 1d, while those in white-letter cost ½d,<sup>40</sup> though few were signed,<sup>41</sup> or named tunes,<sup>42</sup> and printing music with moveable type had almost ceased.<sup>43</sup> The Navy official Samuel Pepys thought that '*black letter, with pictures, seems (for cheapness sake) wholly laid aside, for that of the white letters, without pictures*, and he stopped adding to the 1,700 he had.<sup>44</sup> London common council gave the Musicians jurisdiction over dancing masters who were freemen, and banned the rest.<sup>45</sup> In 60 years Londoners had printed over 75,000 books,<sup>46</sup> and the annual production of new

ones now averaged 93,<sup>47</sup> yet very few were exported,<sup>48</sup> and imports exceeded exports.<sup>49</sup> A duodecimo volume with 12 pages on a printer's sheet cost from 2s 6d to 3s, an octavo of eight pages per sheet between 5s and 6s, a quarto of four pages per sheet cost 10s and a folio of two pages per sheet cost 12s.<sup>50</sup> Domestic paper production was around 2,000 tons a year, so less was imported, yet type could account for two-thirds of a printer's capital investment. There were up to 70 printing houses in London, and at least nine were run by women.<sup>51</sup> There were 150 London booksellers, while carriers made 453 weekly journeys to towns and cities up to 20 miles away,<sup>52</sup> and many of the 300 provincial booksellers sold small books and almanacs, and some took orders for book-binding. Unauthorized 'free' markets were springing up spontaneously,<sup>53</sup> and the London conger had handled 170,000 books worth almost £37,000.<sup>54</sup>

The Stationers could not control the book trade across England, though they policed their monopolies,<sup>55</sup> and they used the term 'copyright' for the first time in 1701.<sup>56</sup> A new edition of the 1695 chapman's almanac appeared, and another in 1705.<sup>57</sup> From 1706 Henry Playford was based in London's Middle Temple Gate, but soon died.<sup>58</sup> Hawkers carried goods on heavily laden packhorses to sell wholesale to shopkeepers up and down the country.<sup>59</sup> Ballad singers were often crippled or blind old women, and some were illiterate,<sup>60</sup> and around this time, a couple 'stood in the middle of the tatter'd audience, with their hands under their ears, singing, *With a Rub, rub, rub, rub, rub, rub, in and out and out ho*'.<sup>61</sup> By 1707, nationally, 2,503 hawkers held licenses.<sup>62</sup> They and their pack horses cross-crossed England, and while pedlars were in decline, some sold books, as did some shops.<sup>63</sup>

Scotland and England became 'Great Britain' yet support for the deposed Catholic king continued.<sup>64</sup> In 1708 parliament made it treason to write or print that he had a right to the throne,<sup>65</sup> and overland communications had improved.

An Act had required local surveyors to 'make every cartway leading to a market town eight feet wide at least, and as near as may be even and level', in 1691, and 'no horse causey shall be less in breadth than three foot'. In 1692 many highways remained 'extremely bad', and some were impassable for wheeled vehicles for nine months of the year, and in 1697 an Act empowered magistrates to compulsorily purchase land to widen roads, and an Act had to confirm parishes' responsibility for them in 1698. In 1706 turnpike trusts began to be established, empowering individuals to construct and maintain roads, using paid labour where necessary, usually for 21 years in the first instance, but effectively in perpetuity.<sup>66</sup> By 1709 main roads had improved and milestones were set along the road to the north from London.<sup>67</sup>

In 150 years the London Stationers had registered over 3,000 ballads,<sup>68</sup> yet between 9,000 and 15,000 had reportedly gone unregistered.<sup>69</sup> By 1709 ballad print runs were between 2,000 and 4,000.<sup>70</sup> Three more newspapers appeared twice a week and 12 three times a week.<sup>71</sup> Most used 1½ printers' sheets, to qualify as pamphlets and pay a duty of 3s, rather than 1d per sheet.<sup>72</sup> Most cost 1d, and enough were printed for half the adults in England.<sup>73</sup>

Most authors sold their copyrights to a bookseller,<sup>74</sup> though an Act for the Encouragement of Learning by vesting the Copies of printed books in the Author or Purchaser affirmed that from April 1710 authors of manuscripts would have the sole right to print them for 14 years, if they entered them in the Stationers' register. If they assigned the copyright to others, it would revert to them after 14 years for another 14 years. Infringements would result in confiscation, and half of the fine of 1d per sheet would go to the author and half to the crown. Existing works would remain in copyright for 21 years, but not in Berwick.<sup>75</sup> The Act effectively broke the hegemony of London booksellers, and the Stationers ceased publishing their *Term Catalogues*. There were 191 members of the book trade in the city, including 24 printers and 143 booksellers, and at least seven were women. Ninety percent had produced fewer than ten works, and 137 fewer than five, while 20 dominated the trade, including Abigail Baldwin. Daniel Midwinter had produced 12, and nine in collaboration with others, and 12 were longer than 16 pages. That year 782 works had a known printer or publisher, yet 1,019 were unattributed.<sup>76</sup> Apprentices usually paid a fee of around £20 to their master, who now had to pay stamp duty on indentures,<sup>77</sup> and the ballad printer Edward Midwinter, who was almost certainly Daniel's younger brother,<sup>78</sup> moved from the Looking Glass on London Bridge to the Star at Pye Corner.<sup>79</sup> The London trade dominated the national market.

Jonathan Hutchinson, the Durham bookbinder, had died in 1690,<sup>80</sup> and Gateshead Four and Twenty sacked a man who opposed the rector in 1691. Newcastle Grammar School had a new head master.<sup>81</sup> The subdean of York Minster preached in Newcastle on 'the day of Thanksgiving for His Majesties safe Return and happy success in Ireland', where his army had finally defeated that of the deposed king, and his sermon was printed in London.<sup>82</sup> The bookbinder Patrick Akenhead died in St. Nicholas' parish in 1692, though the bookseller Joseph Hall published a catalogue of 'Excellent books', including schoolbooks, in London in 1693,<sup>83</sup> and a Newcastle vicar's sermons were reprinted there posthumously.<sup>84</sup> Hugh Hutchinson, a Durham bookbinder, died in 1695,<sup>85</sup> yet Mr Ashworth sold books there by 1696.<sup>86</sup> The Newcastle stationer Peter Maplesden died in 1697;<sup>87</sup> yet by 1698 54 licensed chapmen were based in the town.<sup>88</sup> By 1699 Tyne imports included 'Reames of Coppie paper' and 'Boxes of Bound Books'.<sup>89</sup> A gentlewoman visiting Newcastle noted that the shops were 'good and of distinct trades, not selling many things



in one shop as is the custom in most country towns and cities'.<sup>90</sup> Richard Randall had the sermon *The Magistrate's Obligation to punish Vice* printed in London.<sup>91</sup> In 1700 the sermon of a nonconformist 'Minister of the Gospel' in Newcastle, who had preached before an Assize judge in Carlisle 40 years earlier, appeared posthumously in London as *The Magistrates of the Nation for Reformation of Manners*.<sup>92</sup> Daniel Midwinter and Thomas Leigh had a Newcastle cleric's sermons printed in 1701. Joseph Button sold copies in Newcastle,<sup>93</sup> as did Sarah Button,<sup>94</sup> and Thomas Button also sold books.<sup>95</sup>

Hexham freemen had complained about Scots pedlars in 1691.

who carry on a trade not only in the said towne but they and their Agents Servants or runners do ride ... carrying Packs and selling most sortes of wares and Merchandises by crying them in the Streets and offering them from dore to dore to Sell up and downe the Country to the great ... damage of the burgesses and Shopkeepers ... Insomuch that several of the antient inhabitants there can Scarce maintaine and releive their families, And Some of the said Scots are growne Soe very insolent proud and ... Sawcy in their Carriag behaviour and language.

Townpeople who housed a Scottish pedlar were fined £2 a month and tradesmen were barred from taking an apprentice from outside England, though these by-laws proved so ineffective that they had to be re-enacted.<sup>96</sup> By 1698 chapmen worked from Berwick, Alnwick, Allandale and other Northumberland market towns.<sup>97</sup> By 1701 only two Hexham inventories had mentioned books in 14 years.<sup>98</sup>

A London bookseller had a sermon by the vicar of Newcastle printed,<sup>99</sup> and no books were published in the north-east in 1703.<sup>100</sup> William Mitley had been a stationer in Newcastle's St. Nicholas' parish by 1700, and was a bookbinder by 1703, and merchants who supported the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1689 were increasingly influential.

### (iii) The 'New Men'

William Blackett was born in 1621 into a family of fairly prosperous merchants in Hamsterley, County Durham. He later became a Newcastle Merchant Adventurer with a substantial investment in collieries. He was sheriff in 1660, then the mayor, an MP in 1673 and a baronet months later. In 1675 he bought Anderson Place in Newcastle.<sup>101</sup>



Its grounds stretched from High Friar Lane in the north to High Bridge in the south, and from Newgate Street in the west to Pilgrim Street in the east.<sup>103</sup>

Blackett died in 1680 and his 23-year-old son William inherited Anderson Place and other houses in Newcastle, Woodcroft Hall at Stanhope, collieries at Newburn and elsewhere, lead mines in Allendale, and leases of others at Alston, Kilhope and Wellhope in Weardale. He became a Newcastle alderman and was mayor in 1683. Early in 1685 the king's new charter required more Newcastle aldermen, and he reserved the right to replace them and the mayor, though it arrived after he died and was withdrawn. In Newcastle 'Bells rang, Minstrells play'd, and Cannon did Thunder' for the new king,<sup>104</sup> and that year the Tyne exported 616,000 tons of coal.<sup>105</sup>

In 1686 Newcastle Corporation paid £800 for a metal statue of the king, which was placed on the Sandhill.



In November 1688 Newcastle Corporation supported the Prince of Orange, and townspeople destroyed the statue of the king and threw it into the Tyne.<sup>106</sup>

Blackett been elected as the governor of the Hostmen's Company in 1687, a baronet days later and then an MP. In 1688 he bought the Catholic Sir John Fenwick's Wallington estate for £4,000 and agreed to pay his wife £2,000 a year after Fenwick died. In January 1689 Blackett was re-elected as an MP and voted to give the crown to the Protestant prince and princess.<sup>107</sup> The Hostmen accepted his proposal to end their 'Festivalls and treats', which cost 'vast sumes'.<sup>108</sup> He was mayor of Newcastle in 1690, and lost his parliamentary seat, but regained it in 1695,<sup>109</sup> and may have had his portrait painted around this time.



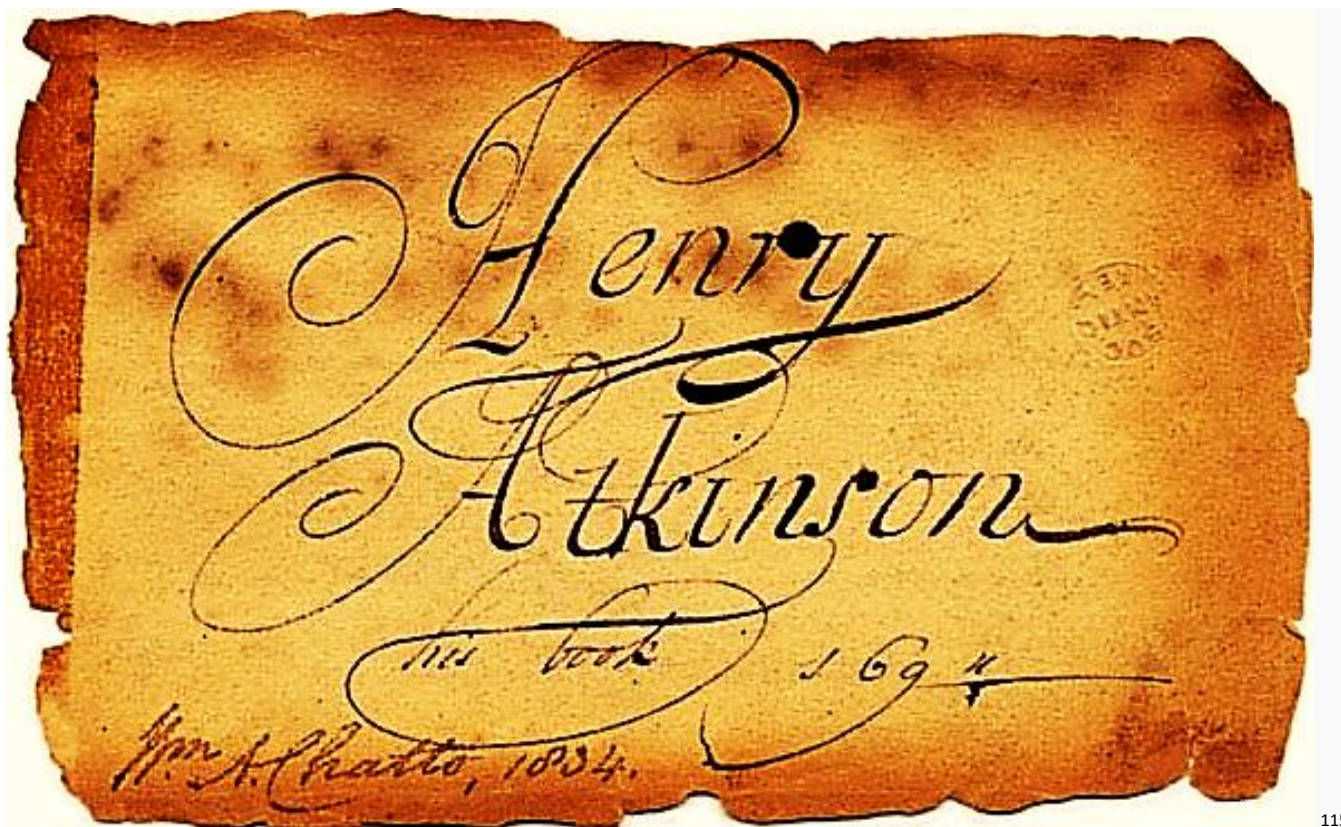
110

In the later 1690s the Merchant Adventurers decided that 'noe apprentice, untill he hath served seaven yeares, shall be permitted to 'frequent either taverns or alehouses', go to 'lotterys, or play houses' 'fenceing or danceings shooles', or 'musicke houses';<sup>111</sup> though a young Hostman had bought music books from London for some time.

### (iii) Henry Atkinson, his book

Henry Atkinson was born into a Gateshead yeoman's family in 1670.<sup>112</sup> He had some schooling before he was apprenticed to a Newcastle Hostman in 1686. His father became a 'gentleman', but died before his son completed his servitude.<sup>113</sup> Henry joined the Hostmen's Company in 1694, married,<sup>114</sup> and wrote down tunes by early 1695.





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Atkinson's two books of tunes measure around 7.8 by 3.5 inches, and he had them bound together. He numbered one with 154 pages from one end, and the other with 63 pages from the other, the other way up. He recorded note values, violin tunings and musical scales, and he seems to have been a fairly accomplished musician. He also played with others. One piece in two parts has the directions '1st treble Mr Condiff' and '2nd treble Mrs Condiff'. Atkinson made smudges and errors, yet his notation improved and he sometimes rewrote earlier efforts. Eventually he had 207 airs and country dance tunes for the violin and treble viol. He stayed very close to the tunes he took from *The Dancing Master*, the *Division Violin* of 1685 and other publications of John and Henry Playford, and a few from London theatres, though he described 17, including *Gingling Geordy*, as 'Scotch'.<sup>116</sup> What he knew as *Brave Wille Forster* was later associated with *Bobby Shaftoe*.



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In 1690 Henry Playford's *Apollo's Banquet for the Treble Violin* had included *Long Cold Nights*, though Atkinson knew it by another name.<sup>118</sup>





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In 1696 Sir John Fenwick had been convicted by a special Act of parliament on the doubtful testimony of one man, and he was beheaded at Tower Hill.<sup>120</sup> Atkinson condemned the 'horrid and detestable conspiracy formed and carried on by Papists and other wicked and traitorous persons' against the king and queen.<sup>121</sup> On 21 August 1701, when the Northumberland Grand Jury met in Newcastle, a relative of Fenwick's entered the Black Horse Inn near the White Cross (today's Newgate Street) singing *Sir John Fenwick's the Flower among them a'*, to the tune associated with *The Flower of Yarrow*. A Northumberland MP challenged him to a duel,<sup>122</sup> and the company calmed them down, but next day 'Mr John fenwick of Rock Stabd fferdinandoe foster Esq ... Be twixt the Whitt Cross & The Thorntree' (in today's Newgate Street). Foster died, and Fenwick was hanged on 25 September behind locked town wall gates, for fear his pitmen might try to rescue him.<sup>123</sup> Atkinson's books are the earliest survivors of their kind in England, and while he did not identify his sources, there were musicians in several north-east towns.

In Northumberland George Harker had been a singing master in Hexham in 1700 and Thomas Jesmond was a fiddler there in 1704.<sup>124</sup> David McGill was a Berwick wait. The two Alnwick waits wore a three-inch circular silver badge on their sleeves,<sup>125</sup> costing 27s, and 'Dyeing the Waitts Coats' cost 12s.<sup>126</sup> James Young was a Morpeth musician,<sup>127</sup> and at 10.00am on Michaelmas Monday,

Those whose duty it was to attend the court had for some time been assembling at the 'Queen's Head', where they prepared for the duties of the day by partaking of biscuits with wine and spirits. They took their places in the order - first, the town's waits, a piper and fiddler in green coats and drab knee breeches, each bearing on his right arm a silver badge of the corporation arms.<sup>128</sup>

The waits received 2s 6d in October and November, and in winter the piper and fiddler 'perambulated the town' from 2.00am to 3.00am, preceded by a man with a lantern. On Christmas day they began at 7.00am, and when they came to a bailiff's house their 'caller' called out 'A fine frosty morning! Good Morning Mr Bailiff'. The Bailiff Court ordered that Ralph, the former caller, was forbidden to 'call any person and that whoever for encouraging shall give him any new years gift' would be fined 13s 4d.<sup>129</sup>

In Newcastle Samuel Nichols had become the organist St. Nicholas' Church in 1688,<sup>130</sup> after Thomas Palmer died, as did the musician James Anderson. By 1690 the musicians Richard Creek and Thomas Bridgewater lived in St. Nicholas's parish, though George Johnson, one of the 'towens watts', died in St. Andrew's parish, as did the fiddler Thomas Stokoe in All Saints' parish. The musician Robert Martyn lived in St. Nicholas parish, yet the piper Michael Robson died 'porre' and was buried as a pauper.

By 1700 William Prior made lutes in St. Andrew's parish, and the chamberlains paid him for mending a Corporation drum.<sup>131</sup> The St. Nicholas' Church organist was paid £25 a year, plus an honorarium of £5, when the All

Saints' Church organist received £16 and the St. Mary's Church organist in Gateshead received less.<sup>132</sup> The Newcastle musician John Vaux died in St. John's parish: the wait and music teacher Thomas 'Sweeting' died in St. Nicholas' parish; and the fiddler Mark Henderson died in All Saints' parish. The fiddler James Spendeloe died in 1701, and the piper William Johnson died in Sidgatt in St. Andrew's parish in 1702, when the piper David Oswell lived in All Saints' parish and the piper James Macklaine in the Castle Garth.

Richard and Ann Avison had spent time in London in the 1690s, yet their third child was baptised Edward in Normanton in Yorkshire in summer 1702. Late that year his father accepted an invitation to be a Newcastle wait for £5 a year, when a labourer earned around 1s a day.<sup>133</sup> Avison could take paying pupils and play for money at social events,<sup>134</sup> and the chamberlains gave the house carpenter and wait Henry Kell money to buy new instruments. The Avisons lived near the White Cross in the Nolt Market, and so did the wait Martyn by 1703. William Harris was a dancing master in St. John's parish, where Thomas Bray was a musician by 1704. In 1705 James Johnson, a 'Piper in the Queens service', lived in St. Andrew's parish and the fiddler James Wilson in Pilgrim Street. The five waits all received a new cloak and £5, yet Robert Blenkinsop was too infirm to carry on and the others were told to give him a pension. They promised him £7 a year, which indicates how marginal their civic fees were to them, and the chamberlains added £2 10s. John Jubb was hired to 'make a better company and a good concert of music', and to reform 'abuses', and they were to get an extra £1 two years out of three.

In County Durham the Sunderland musician Edward Cutty died in 1700. R. Chatto was active in 1703 as was J. Yeales in 1704, though John Oates died in 1705. Durham had five waits,<sup>135</sup> and the fiddler Thomas Wade married a doctor's servant.<sup>136</sup> The Grassmen had paid a drummer 1s 6d in 1697 and the drummer David Sharp 1s 6d in 1698 and 1700, and they gave 1s to 'ye violine' and 6d to Sharp and Walter Hair and for playing on boulder day and another 5s 6d for 'ye drum & vialinns'. In 1701 they paid 'ye Drummer' 2s 6d and 'ye vyaline' 1s 6d, plus 1s 6d for their ale on boulder day, and the drummer received 3s on boulder day in 1704. In 1705 the Grassmen gave the drummer 2s 6d and paid 2s 7d for 'bread & Ale for ye boyes and Drummer', and in 1708 they paid a drummer 2s 6d and Hair and another fiddler 1s each.<sup>137</sup> Ultimately all these musicians depended on the coal trade.

#### **(iv) *The Compleat Collier***

In 1692 the register of St. Mary's Church in Gateshead had recorded the burial of Michael Laurin who had been 'slain in a pit',<sup>138</sup> though in 1693 the first systematic chart of the waters around Britain made voyages a little less hazardous for colliers.<sup>139</sup> In 1694 the legal weight of the Newcastle chaldron was raised to 2.65 tons,<sup>140</sup> and capital investment continued. For a decade 600 or more wains had taken coal to Derwent staiths on the south bank of the Tyne, and by 1699 the Whickham to Dunston waggon way, which was over 4.5 miles long, had cost £4,000 and looked set to cost another £3,000. The Tyne's exports averaged 469,000 tons a year,<sup>141</sup> and a Londoner called Newcastle the 'Black indies',<sup>142</sup> yet only 63 pitmen lived in the town. A Tyne keel skipper earned 5s 6d a 'tide' (a round trip to Shields), and his crew 4s each, sometimes with bonuses in cash or kind.<sup>143</sup> The keelmen decided to build a hospital for sick and aged men and their families, and each crew contributed 1d a tide. The Corporation made land available above Sandgate, and the hospital was completed in 1701 at a cost of £2,000. It had 50 chambers around a grass court,<sup>144</sup> and would house at least 160 people at a cost of £360 a year.<sup>145</sup> The keelmen asked the Hostmen to draw up the rules, and they took control of the men's funds.<sup>146</sup>

Most of over 1,000 coastal vessels were colliers in the north east coal trade,<sup>147</sup> and by 1702 Londoners owned 43.3 percent of the tonnage.<sup>148</sup> A 17-year-old boy on a collier earned £2 6s a month and a man from £7 to £8.<sup>149</sup> The trade was seasonal. In August shipments to London peaked at 430, then fell to 25 in December, while inward vessels peaked at 51 in April, ten in March and 9 in September.<sup>150</sup> North-east pitmen produced almost half of England's coal, and in 1701-1702 Gibside collieries alone produced 67,000 tons.<sup>151</sup> The attorney general ruled that the Hostmen had no monopoly on selling coal on the Tyne,<sup>152</sup> which exported an annual average of 486,000 tons, and around 600 colliers left the river that year. The earliest surviving annual 'bond' (contract) tied pitmen and boys to Benwell Colliery for a year,<sup>153</sup> though one pit 'took fire by a candle'. (It was to burn almost 30 years.)<sup>154</sup> In October 1705 an explosion at Stony Flatt pit in Gateshead killed or mortally wounded 30 men and boys. Five had the same surname, including Joseph and Abigail Jackson, and in November William Robson was 'slain in a coal pit in Quarry Close'.<sup>155</sup> In 1707 the Hostmen became aware of a 'writeing or obligation under a penalty', drawn up by the Newcastle scrivener William Storey in All Saints' parish, 'on the orders of Severall of the Skippers and Keelmen', who 'refuse to worke and obey' their masters. The Hostmen believed it 'Tends to create Tumults and disorders' and was 'in Contradicon to the peticon' for incorporation, so they told fitters to sack men who broke their bonds.<sup>156</sup>

In 1708 'J.C.' published *The Compleat Collier: Or, the Whole ART of Sinking, Getting, and Working Coal-Mines, &c. as Is now used in the Northern Parts, Especially about SUNDERLAND AND NEW-CASTLE* in London. He noted

that the trade was a 'Nursery for Saylor's' and the collieries employed 'many Thousands of the poor'. He wanted to ensure that colliery owners were not 'too much imposed on by their head Servants', and his book took the form of a dialogue between a 'Coal-Owner' and a 'Servant, or Undertaker'. It could cost £1,000 to reach good coal around 360 feet down by two men earning 12d to 14d a day, and the booklet stressed the need for a 'Viewer, or 'Head Under-over Man', who was 'experienced about the potential problems'. He could earn £1 or more a week, and would need a corver to make wicker baskets which now held about 4.5 hundredweight. Hewers would probably expect 10d or 12d for filling 20 corves a day, 'Barrow-Men' 20d to 22d for getting them to the bottom of the shaft and two 'Bancks-Man' on the surface would need 14d and 16d. J.C. acknowledged that pitwork could be fatal.

I think it was but in October 1705, that I was told by one who ... had been at the Pits after the Blast, that there was above thirty Persons Young and Old slain by a Blast, perhaps in less than a Minutes time. How it cam to pass he could not give me an exact Account, any further than what the Banck's-Men, and those who were about the Pit, and heard the blow, and see what it threw out of the Pit, and shatter'd about the Gins: There was one thing very Strange in it, as I was told, That a Youth of 15 or 16 years of Age, was blown up out of the Pit and Shaft, and carried by the Blast about 40 Yards from the Shaft, the Corps was found all intire, save the back part of his Head, which was cut off, though the Shaft is said to be odd of sixty Fathom [over 360 feet] deep, which is an Argument of the mighty Force this Blast is of; but those Over-men or such, who should have given an Account where and how it first took, were all Slain; yet this is known by woful Experience, and which I myself have seen and narrowly (by good Providence,) escaped that some Collieries are very subject to this fatal Surfeit, and therefore it behoves the Viewers and Over-Men to be experience'd in guiding the Air to good Purpose, as also to Order Prudently for Styth [chokedamp], which ... doth Destroy the Ignorant and Unwary.

And thus it is plain, that both the Officers and poor Miners, are in dayly Peril and Hazard of their Lives, for a poor Livelyhood, and that they may be easily Destroyed by Ignorant and Unskilful Managers, from which sudden and sad Misfortunes, I heartily pray, *Libera nos Domine* [Lord deliver us].

Owners might have to bribe fitters to get their coal into colliers, either by a giving a discount or over-measure. Coal sold at 3s a ton in London, yet collier sailors' work was dangerous, especially in winter, and above all in wartime,<sup>157</sup> and crews reportedly thought that a winter voyage to London was worse than one to the East Indies.<sup>158</sup>

At 3.00am on 18 August 1708 there was an explosion at Fatfield colliery near Chester-le-Street in County Durham. According to one account 'the sudden eruption of violent fire discharging itself at the mouths of three pits' was as 'great a noise as the firing of cannon, or the loudest claps of thunder'. It left 69 workers dead, including two men and a woman who were blown up the 342 feet shaft into the air and landed a considerable distance away. It was generally acknowledged that the greatest dangers to pitmen were chokedamp and firedamp, yet the master of University College, Oxford, exonerated viewers and other officials and blamed pitmen and boys.

To prevent both these inconveniences, as the only remedy known here, the viewer of the works takes the best care he can to preserve a free current of air through all the works, and as the air goes down one pit it should ascend another. But it happened in this colliery, there was a pit which stood in an eddy, where the air had not always a free passage, and which in hot and sultry weather was very much subject to sulphur; and it being then the middle of August, and some danger apprehended from the closeness and heat of the season, the men were with the greatest care and caution withdrawn from their work in that pit, and turned into another; but an overman, some days after this change, and upon some notion of his own, being induced, as is supposed, by a fresh, cool, frosty breeze of wind, which blew that unlucky morning, and which always clears the works of all sulphur, had gone too near this pit, and had met the sulphur just as it was purging and dispersing itself, upon which the sulphur immediately took fire by his candle, which proved the destruction of himself and so many men, and caused the greatest fire ever known in these parts.<sup>159</sup>

By 1709 coastal tonnage was 96,929, and many vessels were probably engaged in the coal trade. Scarborough headed the list with 21,700 tons, Whitby was home to 9,140 tons and Newcastle to 8,858 tons.<sup>160</sup> That year Robert Vardy 'drowned in a pit' near Gateshead,<sup>161</sup> and 17 men were killed at North Biddick colliery in 1710.<sup>162</sup>

An Act required owning land worth £600 a year to be a knight of the shire (an MP), and £300 a year for a freeman. Wealthy men acquired country estates,<sup>163</sup> and they required literate servants.

#### **(v) Going much abroad, particularly to Newcastle, which hath been the ruine of several**

Ambrose Crowley was born into a Quaker blacksmith's family in Stourbridge, Shropshire, in 1658. At 15 he was apprenticed to a member of the London Draper's Company,<sup>164</sup> though in 1682 he established a nail factory in Sunderland. By 1688 his Catholic workers from Liege in Belgium were unpopular with the locals, so in 1691 he moved his works to Winlaton in the Tyne valley. He bought a water-powered mill and a warehouse at Blaydon, and

his agent in Newcastle managed a small fleet of ships for coastal trade, especially to London, where he supplied ironware to the Navy. Crowley lived in London, but established managing committees on Tyneside. The workers put in 81 hours a week, and Crowley set piecework rates, but encouraged spies and listed fines from a few pence to £2 for poor work, 'whoreing', 'pride and high eating', gaming, trading independently, engaging in law suits and other 'Extravagances' and 'villainies' like going 'much abroad, particularly to Newcastle, which hath been the ruine of several'. He banned visits to 'races, cock-fightings, rope-dancers or stage players', yet ensured that workers were decently housed. The Clerk for the Poor ran the school and had to 'carry it with an even hand to all scholars', and not 'despise any for their poverty' and 'encourage ingenuity and virtue'. Crowley's *Law Book* was largely completed by 1700.<sup>165</sup> By then there was a school at in Belford in Northumberland,<sup>166</sup> and another in Allendale.<sup>167</sup>

Newcastle had a population of 18,000 and was the fourth most populous town in England.<sup>168</sup> Over half of workers were in industry, though 27 percent were in commerce, where literacy was essential, and the proportion of literate traders and craftsmen was equivalent to that in London.<sup>169</sup> The schoolteacher Cuthbert Bell had lived in Baileygate for eight years, and while one of the three teachers in All Saints' parish had died, four of the five in St. John's parish were at the 'Head School', as the Grammar School was sometimes called. The Corporation bought books for the pupils in 1705,<sup>170</sup> and a benefactress founded a Charity School for 40 boys and 20 girls in St. Nicholas' parish.<sup>171</sup> Sir William Blackett died that year and bequeathed the interest on £1,000 to be equally divided between teaching 30 boys, poor householders and apprentice fees for poor children in St. Andrew's parish,<sup>172</sup> and his heirs gave the school £40 a year.<sup>173</sup> It was in Back Lane, off High Friar Street, and the master got £30 a year and a rent-free house.<sup>174</sup> A gentleman left £21 a year to found St. John's Charity School to teach 44 poor boys, and to provide shoes and stockings at Easter and Christmas. The Corporation provided rooms and a house for the master in Cross Street. There was an annual subscription and a gentlewoman left the interest on £100 in 1707.<sup>175</sup> By 1708 the town's Quakers employed schoolmasters and mistresses.<sup>176</sup>

In County Durham Gateshead's population had reached around 6,000 by 1701,<sup>177</sup> and the rector bequeathed £300 a year to a school where boys learned English grammar, Latin, Greek, geography, mathematics, accounts and the 'art of navigation, or plain sailing'.<sup>178</sup> The Durham bookseller William Weardon died in 1703, and London booksellers supplied Durham School.<sup>179</sup> The Grassmen had paid 3s for a new account book in 1700, and 28 of the 46 men in St. Giles's parish signed a document. In 1701 22 out of 38 did so and two of the 14 in 1704. In 1705 29 of the 45 who audited the accounts signed their names, as did six of the eight in 1706 and 12 of the 13 in 1707.<sup>180</sup> In 1708 South Shields Quakers requested a teacher for their children.<sup>181</sup>

In 1709, thanks to a bequest by a wealthy woman, Newcastle's St. Nicholas' Charity School taught 40 boys and 20 girls from that parish and St. John's parish, and the parishioners undertook to raise an annual subscription to clothe them.<sup>182</sup> All Saints' Charity School was founded by subscriptions to teach 41 boys, reading, writing and accounts, and 17 girls to read, knit and sew, and the Corporation provided land in the Manors for the school-house.<sup>183</sup> The Corporation still gave £5 a year for five years so Grammar School boys could go to university, and they were usually the sons of freemen, but none applied that year, so two non-freemen's sons received the bursary. In 1710 the Grammar School headmaster sent his son to Hackney School in London.<sup>184</sup> Since 1700 six Newcastle schoolteachers had died, including one who drowned, though a printer had recently settled in the town.

## 10. Old and New Ballads and Garlands

### (i) John White

During the 1640s the York printer Thomas Broad had had a press opposite the Star Inn, off Stonegate,<sup>1</sup> where he printed for the parliamentarians.<sup>2</sup> He moved to Coney Street in 1647 and the Corporation made him a freeman without payment. He printed an unsuccessful petition to parliament for a university,<sup>3</sup> and he was still at work in 1656,<sup>4</sup> but died around 1660, when Richard Lambert was a bookseller.<sup>5</sup> In 1661 Alice Broad printed a sermon.<sup>6</sup>

Stephen Bulkley had stayed on in York after the king left in 1642, though he was later charged with publishing royalist verses.<sup>7</sup> In 1662, after the royalist parliament permitted a press under the archbishop's supervision, Bulkley had a press in Stonegate.<sup>8</sup> He reportedly printed books against Quakers for William London of Gateshead, and in 1666 he was charged with publishing *An Apology of the English Catholics*,<sup>9</sup> and allegedly libellous ballads, yet the jury freed him.<sup>10</sup> The London Stationers' Company fined Lambert £40 for printing almanacs without permission.<sup>11</sup> In 1669 Bulkley printed the biography of the last Catholic bishop of Durham, written by his former clerk,<sup>12</sup> and works defending the Anglican Church.<sup>13</sup> He was 'well beloved amongst the old cavaliers', and an 'object of charity', but had a 'poore livelyhood'.<sup>14</sup> In 1679 he bequeathed £10 each to his youngest daughter and his daughter-in-law, and 2s 6d to each of her three daughters. His eldest daughter, his executrix, was to receive what he was owed, pay his debts and keep the residue, and she and her youngest brother were to have the 'printing-press and letters' and 'all things thereto belonging'. Bulkley died early in 1680.<sup>15</sup>

George Meriton, the grandson of the queen's chaplain and dean of York in the 1610s, was born in 1634. He inherited an estate at Castle Levington, near Yarm in north Yorkshire, in 1652, studied law, and became a 'practiser of the common law' at Northallerton. He published six popular books, mainly about law, in London between 1668 and 1681.<sup>16</sup> In 1683 *A Yorkshire Dialogue In its pure Natural Dialect As it is now commonly spoken in the North parts of Yorkshire*, with *An Alphabetical Clavis* [key], *Unfolding the Meaning of all the York-shire Words made use of in the foregoing Dialogue*, appeared anonymously in London and York.<sup>17</sup> In 1684 Meriton left for Ireland.<sup>18</sup>

Literary antiquarianism was becoming popular among the well-to-do. In the early 1500s the Scottish king had encouraged Sir Andrew Barton to be a privateer, and he raided Portuguese ships. He was later taken prisoner by Dutchmen, and though the king secured his release, he was killed in a battle with the English fleet in the Channel in 1511.<sup>19</sup> *The Sonnge of Sir Andraye Barton, Knight* was written during the 1500s. By the later 1600s the archbishop of York's transcript of the manuscript was in the Minster library,<sup>20</sup> and a London printer moved north.

John White had had a press at The Three Bibles in the Minories, near the Tower of London, but in 1680 he went to York and married Hannah Broad, Alice's daughter. He took over 'At the sign of the Printing Press' in Coffee Yard, and later moved down Stonegate and employed Robert Ward as his manager.<sup>21</sup> White printed another edition of *A Yorkshire Dialogue* for Francis Hildyard, the bookseller at the sign of the Bible in Stonegate, in 1684,<sup>22</sup> and early in 1685 White published *A Yorkshire Dialogue, The Praise of York-Shire Ale, Wherein is enumerated several Sorts of Drinks, with a Discription of the Humours of most sorts of Drunkards*, by 'G.M', for Hildyard, together with a *Catalogue* of some of the books Hildyard sold, and a *Clavis* (key) which included words such as aboon, awd, awne, backon, bannocks, beck, bigg, blithe, bodles (six of which were equivalent to an English penny), burne, cawd, clathes, cud, daft, fettle, filly, gang, gobble, granny, greet, haud, houghs, ingle, keuke, kirke, kite, kye, lang, loft, meer, mence, mun, neet, ought, rive, rue, sark, sike, stane and strang, which were probably in use across north-east England and lowland Scotland, and dozens of others with 'phoneticised' spelling. It was evidently intended for people whose status cut them off from most people's everyday life, or for those who lived elsewhere in the north or in the south, while the *Catalogue* included Latin and English religious works, many law books and school books.<sup>23</sup>

In November 1688, after the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, London printers declined to print his manifesto, yet White agreed. The king had him imprisoned in Hull Castle, and threatened to punish anyone who read or circulated the manifesto, though after he escaped abroad White became 'Their majesties' printer for the city of York and the five Northern Counties'.<sup>24</sup> Around 1690 Hannah White bore a son they called John.<sup>25</sup> In 1691 John senior printed a Newcastle cleric's sermon welcoming the king's safe return from Ireland.<sup>26</sup> In 1692, rumours of unlicensed presses in York reached London, and the Stationers' wardens and a 'messenger of the press' arrived and seized schoolbooks.<sup>27</sup> In 1699 a Londoner looked through a keyhole in York and saw 'Book-keepers, Journey-men, and Apprentices and their Tawdry Margaretts kicking up their Heels to a Scotch Trump' as 'Wild as so many Tarpaulins [sailors] just landed from Barbadoes or China'.<sup>28</sup>

In 1705 Daniel Midwinter sold the sermon welcoming the king's safe return from Ireland in London,<sup>29</sup> and in 1706 a Londoner visited Tyneside. Daniel Foe was born around 1660 into the family of a wealthy tallow chandler



and member of the Butchers' company. Daniel's parents were Presbyterians, and attended an Anglican vicar's boarding school in Dorking, Surrey, he studied at a London dissenters' academy in the 1670s. He later became a general merchant,<sup>30</sup> but went bankrupt owing £17,000 in 1692.<sup>31</sup> In 1702 Defoe (as he now called himself) published *The shortest way with the Dissenters*, which satirised the Tory government's persecution of nonconformists,<sup>32</sup> and was pilloried and imprisoned for several months for seditious libel in 1703. On his release he wrote propaganda for the Whig speaker of the House of Commons, and in 1704, when the speaker was responsible for facilitating the union with Scotland, he appointed Defoe as his agent in Edinburgh.<sup>33</sup> In 1706 he reportedly visited Gateshead and lodged in Hillgate,<sup>34</sup> and in January 1710 he inspected the waggon way from Chester-le-Street to Sunderland in County Durham.<sup>35</sup> That May around 700 Tyne collier captains stayed in Harwich to raise the price of coal in London, and in June Tyne keelmen went on strike and blocked the river.<sup>36</sup> Defoe contacted the Newcastle bookseller Joseph Button on Tyne Bridge,<sup>37</sup> who had *The Keelmen's Lamentation* printed. The Hostmen believed it was meant to 'stirr up' 'riots and tumults' and 'refractoriness', and suspected Defoe was the author, yet after seven weeks the magistrates ordered troops to break the strike.<sup>38</sup> Defoe returned to Scotland, and after the *Edinburgh Courant's* editor died the council appointed him. The paper soon expired,<sup>39</sup> though several English provincial cities had weekly papers.

The *Norwich Post* had appeared late in 1701,<sup>40</sup> and Bristol probably had a paper by then. Exeter had one by 1704 and Shrewsbury by 1705, and by 1710 Stamford, Worcester and Nottingham had papers. London had had a daily paper since 1702, and by 1710 one London paper was aimed at 'Several Parts of England'.<sup>41</sup> Parliament required printers to buy stamped paper and much of it went to the provinces.<sup>42</sup> The Gateshead printer Joseph Saywell had a press in Pipewellgate,<sup>43</sup> and in October he printed *The Newcastle Gazette, or the Northern Courant: Being an Impartial Account of remarkable transactions Foreign and Domestic*, for Button.<sup>44</sup> Defoe received the issue dated 23-25 December in Edinburgh and a letter signed by William Button, 'your friend and servant'. He wanted Saywell and a boy 'out of the house as soon as possible', since he was 'bad and low, in pockets and in debt', though he would teach the boy the trade for money.<sup>45</sup>

John White junior may have settled in Newcastle by 1708, and he definitely had by 1709.<sup>46</sup> On 1 August 1711 the *Newcastle Courant, with News Foreign and Domestic*, was 'Printed and Sold' by him 'at the House over against the Javel-groop', an alley leading from the Close to the Tyne. Three days later White offered to print books.

*This is to give Notice to all Gentlemen and Lovers of Learning, who are willing to Publish any Book in the Northern Parts, that John White, Printer (Living in the Close) in Newcastle upon Tine, is furnished with great variety of Letters and Presses, and will be ready to Print the same upon reasonable Terms: And tho' many Treatises which have been excellently Composed, have bene too often rendered useless and imperfect by a faulty Printing Yet having all requisite help and Assistance, will undertake to perform it after a very Ex[act] and Correct manner.*

*Note, All Persons may be furnished with Warrants upon Writs, Subpoenas, Artic[les] to be diligently enquired of, and particularly Answered unto in Writing by the High Constable, &c, Warrants for Overseers of the Poor, Watch-Warrants, Certificates [for] Burying in Woolen, Declarations, Pennances, &c. All printed by John White.*<sup>47</sup>

Newspapers were usually printed on folded single sheets, or two half sheets, while White used a half-sheet folded to make four pages.<sup>48</sup> The *Courant* appeared after the London post arrived on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday. Its perspective was Tory,<sup>49</sup> and White published a Newcastle sermon for the Sons of the Clergy.<sup>50</sup>

Earlier that year, in London, Joseph Addison's new periodical, the *Spectator*, had aimed to 'enliven morality with wit', 'temper wit with morality' and bring 'philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools, and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and coffee-houses'. He had a 'particular Delight' in 'the Songs and Fables that are come from Father to Son, and are most in vogue among the common people', since it was 'impossible that any thing should be universally tasted and approved by the Multitude, tho' they are only the Rabble of a Nation, which hath not some particular aptness to please and gratify the Mind of Man'. In May he wrote that 'The old song of "Chevy-Chase" is the favourite ballad of the common people of England, and Ben Jonson used to say he had rather have been the Author of it than of all his Works', and when he visited a house in the country

I cannot for my Heart leave a Room before I have thoroughly studied the Walls of it, and examined the several printed Papers which are usually pasted upon them. The last Piece I met with upon this Occasion, gave me the most exquisite Pleasure. My Reader will think I am not serious, when I acquaint him that the Piece I am going to speak of was the old Ballad of the *Two Children in the Wood*, which is one of the Darling Songs of the Common People, and has been the Delight of most *Englishmen* in some Part of their Age.<sup>51</sup>

The *Spectator* soon had 3,000 subscribers and Addison believed that 20 people read each issue.<sup>52</sup>

In April Mr H. Lawrence, formerly of the Queen's Printing House in London, printed the *Newcastle Gazette* in Gateshead's Pipewellgate, and from June White printed the *Courant* in the Side, Newcastle.<sup>53</sup> In June it included a 'Notice to Booksellers, Travelling Chapmen and others' that White had 'a great Variety of Histories in Quarto and Twelves, also Sermon Books, and both Old and New Ballads and Garlands'.<sup>54</sup> They included *The Second Part of Jack and the Giants*,<sup>55</sup> which has not survived,<sup>56</sup> and possibly *The History of Two Children in the Wood*.<sup>57</sup> Robert Dicey, William's son, sent his small books and ballads from Northampton to provincial towns by coach each week, and White's name figured on some of his imprints. Dicey may well have sent White ballads without a colophon so he could overprint them with his own.<sup>58</sup>

The government needed 'large supplies of money to carry on the present war',<sup>59</sup> which was over the succession to the Spanish throne and had been going on since 1701.<sup>60</sup> In July 1712 White announced that the price of the *Courant* would rise since a new Act would come into force on 1 August, and he asked customers to subscribe on a quarterly basis.<sup>61</sup> The Act imposed a 1d stamp on each newspaper sheet, 1s per advertisement and 2s per sheet on pamphlets larger than eight pages and fewer than 48, with print on both sides,<sup>62</sup> and 1d on almanacs,<sup>63</sup> though newspapers with over six pages were exempt.<sup>64</sup> Most provincial newspapers cost 1½d, yet from November the *Courant* consisted of 12 pages measuring 5.5 inches by 7.5, and used a 1.5 sheets, a quantity which the Act did not mention, so White paid 3s for the entire print run. After the *Gazette* closed in December,<sup>65</sup> the *Courant* became the first paper firmly established north of the Trent.<sup>66</sup>

In London, in autumn 1712, Thomas Norris and Charles Brown had entered 174 titles in the Stationers' register, including 71 ballads and many small books which formerly belonged to the Ballad Partners.<sup>67</sup> Printing was becoming less costly. Wooden presses had been imported from Holland, but were now made in London.<sup>68</sup> Nationally, 120,000 reams of paper had been imported in 1711, though by 1712 there were 200 paper mills in England.<sup>69</sup> Domestically-made paper accounted for almost two-thirds of the 400,000 reams consumed by printers,<sup>70</sup> yet good paper was taxed at 3d per pound.<sup>71</sup> National newspaper sales were about 2.5 million,<sup>72</sup> and around 45 percent of men and 25 percent of women signed the marriage register, and seven books appeared in north-east England in 1713.<sup>73</sup>

Charity schools offered the only chance of an education that the poor were likely to get, though they were more effective in towns, where literate workers were needed, than in the countryside. In 1714 the Schism Act drove dissenters out of the educational movement, and high church elements, some of whom were suspected of Jacobinism, took over.<sup>74</sup> In Whickham over 80 percent of yeomen and farmers were literate by 1710, and in 1714 a benefactress founded a school under the aegis of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,<sup>75</sup> but the Anglican vicar raised rents to support it.<sup>76</sup> Newcastle's lesser freemen complained that the magistrates had 'made such affinity by marriage that they are linked in Interest', and had 'become formidable', so there was 'no balance' of power,<sup>77</sup> and two women writers had left Newcastle for London to try to get their works published.

## (ii) Mary Astell and Elizabeth Elstob

In 1660, in Gateshead, Stephen Bulkley had published the Cambridge graduate and St. Nicholas' Church curate Ralph Astell's anti-war poem, *Vota Non Bella. New Castle's Heartie Gratulation to Her Sacred Sovereign King Charles the Second on Hisnow [sic] Glorious Restauration to His Birth-right-power*.<sup>78</sup> Astell's niece Mary was born into an Anglican Hostman's family in 1668, and though her mother, a Hostman's daughter, was a Catholic, Mary was raised as an Anglican. Her uncle Ralph became a preacher at St. Nicholas's Church,<sup>79</sup> and taught her philosophy, natural philosophy and logic.<sup>80</sup> She read works by Edmund Spenser, John Milton, Abraham Cowley, 'Orinda' (Catherine Philips, the Anglo-Welsh royalist poet and translator), and the Cambridge Platonists, who felt that reason and religion should be in harmony. In 1678 Mary's father died and left goods worth around £500, including parts of four ships and books valued at £5, yet the Hostmen had to give his widow a loan to tide her over the funeral.<sup>81</sup> She had too little to maintain a separate household, let alone send her son to university or give a dowry to Mary.<sup>82</sup> Her uncle had been suspended for drinking sack in the pulpit,<sup>83</sup> and he died in 1679. Around 1688 Mary went to London,<sup>84</sup> hoping to earn a living as a writer. She depended on relatives and aristocratic friends for support, and was introduced to the archbishop of Canterbury, who introduced her to Richard Wilkin,<sup>85</sup> a royalist printer in St. Paul's churchyard.<sup>86</sup> In 1694 he printed Astell's anonymous *A Serious proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest*.<sup>87</sup> It urged women to reject suitors who looked like potential tyrants and to develop their own intellects,<sup>88</sup> and suggested a women-only college.<sup>89</sup> In 1696 *An Essay in Defence of the Female Sex* appeared anonymously,<sup>90</sup> and when *A Serious Proposal* was reprinted in 1697,<sup>91</sup> Robert Akenhead advertised it in Newcastle.<sup>92</sup> In 1700 *Some Reflections upon Marriage* appeared anonymously. It criticised wives' dependence on husbands,<sup>93</sup> and a young Newcastle woman asked her father to buy a copy in London.<sup>94</sup> In 1704 *A Fair Way with the Dissenters and their Patrons* appeared without an imprint.<sup>95</sup> It was a satire on the Whig Defoe's satire,<sup>96</sup> and supported the

émigré Catholic king. She wondered why, since women had the power of reason, they were not allowed to use it.<sup>97</sup> In 1709 wealthy women gave her money to open a school for the daughters of Chelsea Hospital outpensioners, and she earned £85 a year.<sup>98</sup>

Elizabeth Elstob, another Newcastle merchant's daughter, was born in 1683.<sup>99</sup> Her father was a sheriff in 1686, but died in 1688. He left his widow ill provided for, and she died in 1692,<sup>100</sup> so Elizabeth went to live with an uncle who was a Canterbury Cathedral prebendary, and they moved to Tillington in Sussex in 1697. He refused to teach her foreign languages,<sup>101</sup> yet she acquired some French and Latin.<sup>102</sup> There were 300 or so students at Cambridge,<sup>103</sup> and her brother Mark had gone from Eton College to Queen's College, then on to University College, Oxford. Elizabeth visited him, and in 1702, when he was appointed as the vicar of two London parishes, Elizabeth lived with him. He was a brilliant Anglo-Saxon scholar, and Elizabeth's knowledge of Tyneside speech reportedly helped her to learn Old English. In 1709, as 'G', she dedicated *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birth-Day of St. Gregory* to the queen, and she defended women's right to acquire learning and she also argued against slavery. Several wealthy Newcastle citizens were subscribers.<sup>104</sup>

By the early 1710s more Newcastle girls were being educated. A gentleman settled £20 a year for 44 poor children to be taught in St. John's parish, and £2 was for books, while the master, besides his salary, had a house granted by the Corporation 'for the use of the school for ever', and subscriptions raised £55. The Corporation founded a school in St. Andrew's parish for 87 girls and three boys, and private individuals funded more places. In All Saints' parish 72 children were taught and clothed and a gentleman paid for four more, to make the town's total 300.<sup>105</sup> In 1713 Trinity House converted a cellar below their chapel into a school and gave the master a free house and coal, and £16 a year,<sup>106</sup> to teach their children and apprentices writing, arithmetic and mathematics.<sup>107</sup> During the early 1710s four of the 11 teachers known to be active in All Saints' parish, two of the four in St. Nicholas' parish, and four in St. John's parish died, including one at the Charity School and two at the 'Free School'.

Richard Randall sold books and sermons, and subscribed to a book about the clergy who had been persecuted during the Commonwealth.<sup>108</sup> London printers, including those who produced ballads, had provincial agents, and the Stationers' Company sued the Newcastle booksellers Joseph and Sarah Button for breaching their privileges. The printer George Reed and the book-binder Ralph Emerson lived in All Saints' parish and T. Goolding ran a press near Henderson's coffee house, in the Side, though only one of his publications has survived.<sup>109</sup> *Honesto Willo, a Canto, Printed by the Buyers, and Sold by the Cryers* had previously appeared in London in 1628.<sup>110</sup>

Early in 1714 John White had been appointed as a York chamberlain, and in spring he published a York sermon as *The usefulness, and excellency of the use of the charity of charity-schools* for Hildyard.<sup>111</sup> In summer White made his will. His wife Grace and their grandson Charles Bourne were to have '10 ream of printed paper and ballads' valued at £2 10s, '30 ream of white paper' worth £9, '21 founts of printing letters of severall sorts, besides capitalls, at £5 per fount', '200 ream of printing paper, demy, lumber and pott' (watermarked paper), worth £60, '262 ream of printed small books and ballads at 5s per ream', '18 cases of wooden cuts, small and larger', worth £5, '3 printing presses' valued at £15, '2 iron vices' and an 'iron steddy, with iron cases and other materials belong to ye same', valued at £1 10s, 'Cases for letters with frames for bearers, a grinding stone in frame, with 3 composing stones, and other small matters', and 'all other implements and utensills whatsoever belonging to and used in the way and trade of printing' valued at £1 10s. If Grace died, Bourne was to inherit her half, and he was to have £60 or so's worth of household goods immediately,<sup>112</sup> which was enough to furnish a house in reasonable comfort,<sup>113</sup> and Alice Guy would receive £2 if she was still White's servant. He left his real estate to his son John in Newcastle, plus the right to pursue outstanding debts of £100, though Grace and Bourne would be joint executors for an estate valued at £381 18s.<sup>114</sup>

Meanwhile the region's most talented musicians were becoming more integrated into the commercial market, and their audiences were differentiating socially to an even greater extent.

### (iii) Neglecting ye Quire, and singing in ye Playhouse

Nathan Harrison had been a York wait in 1689 and Oswould Picke was probably a wait in 1690. In 1692 Joseph Shaw was a wait, and Thomas Cade (Thomas's son) was a musician,<sup>115</sup> though in 1693 the waits were sacked and ordered to 'bring their badges and liveries' to the lord mayor.<sup>116</sup> In 1697 George Haughton was a dancing master and composer, and John Haughton was a dancing master in 1699.<sup>117</sup> By 1700 the city's population was probably around 13,000,<sup>118</sup> and in the early 1700s the currier William Tireman was a wait and William Carey (Thomas's son) was a musician, as was William Picke (Oswould's son).<sup>119</sup> A freemason's lodge was founded,<sup>120</sup> and the city's first public concert took place in 1709.<sup>121</sup> Nathan Harrison (Nathan's son) was a musician in 1710 as were John Storm and William Haughton, both sons of dancing masters, in 1713,<sup>122</sup> and the waits played in the Minster at a service

celebrating the ended the 14 year European war over the succession to the Spanish throne,<sup>123</sup> and some singing men were tempted to go north.

Durham Cathedral's statutes stated that minor canons and singing-men

shall not be absent a whole day and night, without leave of the dean, sub-dean, or senior residentiary, under pain of an arbitrary fine. If any of them leave the church, without giving three months notice to the dean or sub-dean, he shall forfeit three months stipend: And if absent from the morning service shall forfeit a penny; if from the evening service, a half-penny; if he comes not in before the first psalm, a farthing.

William Greggs was born into a royalist family in York around 1652, and later became a singing man at the Minster; but in 1681 he left to be the organist and master of the choristers at Durham Cathedral. He was the first singing man in over 100 years not to have graduated from the choir, and enhanced his salary by repairing the organ, though a new organ was installed by 1686.<sup>124</sup> In 1687 Greggs was given three months' leave to go to London to improve his skill, and returned to Durham to copy music.<sup>125</sup> Robert Wilson, Nicholas Wilson, Thomas Parkinson, Henry Parkinson and Richard Hutchinson were singing men in 1689; yet in 1690 12 minor canons were ordered to perform 'as soon as they are qualified for singing in the Quire' and as 'often as Occasion offers'. In 1693 the dean wrote to John Blundevill, a York Minster singing man, to know his terms for coming to Durham, but he demurred. A singing man called Gryffin arrived from Lincoln Cathedral in 1694. The chorister Richard Cumin left to become a musician in Newcastle in 1696,<sup>126</sup> and the singing man James Smart senior died 1697,<sup>127</sup> Robert Softley, who had been a chorister, a lay clerk and copyist,<sup>128</sup> became a singing man at £12 a year, and the chorister John Fairlesse was a singing man by 1698.

Richard Elford was born around 1675.<sup>129</sup> He later became a chorister at Lincoln Cathedral, and then a singing man at Durham Cathedral in 1695, at a salary of £20, which was soon raised to £25 and then £30 in 1697, after he promised not to 'leave ye Service of the Church without ye Consent of Mr Dean & ye Chapter'.<sup>130</sup> He was allowed to go to London to study, and tried to become an actor, but failed;<sup>131</sup> and when he returned to Durham in 1699 he was 'admonisht for neglecting ye Quire, & Singing in ye Playhouse' and expelled for contumacy. He was reinstated two days later, after a 'Humble Submission', though he soon left Durham for good.<sup>132</sup> George Bullock, the organ 'bellows-blower', died,<sup>133</sup> yet Philip Falle arrived as a prebendary with a large collection of expensive printed music, mostly from London.<sup>134</sup> In the early 1700s George Stephenson was a singing man, evidently without pay. Softley was allowed to go to London for a year 'to improve his Skill in Singing and his Handwriting and art in Pricking Songbook'. The singing man Henry Parkinson was admonished for his irregular attendance and had part of his salary suspended, as had Thomas Parkinson, yet his was later reinstated. The tailor John Thompson became a singing man, though the dean and chapter paid a Cambridge man 'for his Care in supplying the Quire with good voyces'. Such singers usually got £30 a year, compared to £20 for locals.<sup>135</sup>

In summer 1705 Joseph Taylor and other lawyers from the Inner Temple in London arrived in Durham and 'sent for the Cathedral 'Singing Boys', who sang 'a catch upon the Queen, set by the Organist'. When the lawyers reached Newcastle Mr Bewicke invited them to his house in the Close, where they 'Danc'd with the Ladyes after Dinner' and 'learn'd the Northumberland Volunteer, to the Tune of Sike a Wife as Willy had'. (The music had been printed by the Irish-born Catholic Nathaniel Thompson in London in 1694.) 'Mrs Bewicke the young lady sung and plai'd a thorough Bass upon the Spinnet very well, and with these diversions, and Country dances, we spent the day very merrily.' That evening Taylor and his friends 'Proposed to send for the Musick, and serenade all the lady's of the Town: we had 2 hautboys, and 2 violins, when we march't round the town, from 3 in the morning till towards 6: we caus'd 3 serenading Tunes to be particularly plai'd at Sir William Blackett Enamorata's and Astrea's houses, which soon called the pretty creatures to their windows'. At 8.00, after not a wink of sleep, the lawyers left for Morpeth.<sup>136</sup>

In 1707 the Durham Cathedral singing man Fairlesse was suspended for neglecting his duties, and Mr White and George Atkinson were dismissed and given £5 to set up in trade. Blundeville arrived from York, though Henry Parkinson was expelled for adultery in 1708. In the early 1710s the organist Greggs died and the verger James Readshaw stood in.<sup>137</sup> The choir included four lay clerks and a prebendary, and when the dean and chapter sent Elford £10 15s to pay for his return from London, he stayed there.<sup>138</sup> Thomas Laye was master of the choristers and Abraham Taylor arrived in Durham as a singing man, and became a wait, but gave that up for an extra £5 a year.<sup>139</sup>

There were other musicians in Durham. The Grassmen had paid 1s 6d and 2s for 'musick' on bounder day in 1685; 3s for the 'Musick and drummer', 6s for 'ye Drummer and ye fiddlers' in 1687.<sup>140</sup> The fiddler Thomas Wade married a London widow.<sup>141</sup> In 1688 the Grassmen gave 6s to 'ye Drum & vyolin', and 3s 6d on bounder day in 1693, plus 1s 6d to 'ye drimmer' and Nicholas Pearson.<sup>142</sup>

The Newcastle drummer John France had been killed in 1690.<sup>143</sup> By 1706 Richard Avison and his family lived in the Bigg Market. A daughter died, and though a son was baptised in St. John's Church, he and another son soon

died. In 1709 Charles Avison was baptised in St. John's Church, where a daughter was baptised in 1711, and the register recorded her father as 'one of ye Waits'. Another son was baptised in St. John's Church in 1714. Avison moved his family to Westgate, outside the walls, and became the organist at St. Mary's Church in Gateshead for £8 a year, when the organist at St. Nicholas' Church in Newcastle got £40.<sup>144</sup>

The wait and ballad singer David Hall had lived in All Saints' parish in 1708, yet the piper James Johnson died in St. Andrew's parish in 1709. The fiddler Joshua Dixon lived in All Saints' parish. The wait Robert Martyn was accused of 'irregular practises', but kept his job. In 1710 the piper Nicholas Turnbull lived in All Saints' parish in 1710, and the fiddler Mark Chambers in St. Andrew's parish. In 1711 the wait John Jubb died in the Nolt market, Ralph Agutter, a 'Musical-Instrument-Maker of London', had a shop in the 'Great-Market', where he 'makes and mend Instruments, as fine as any Man in *Europe*', but he died in 1712,<sup>145</sup> the year the first public concert took place in the town. The wait William Cook died in 1713, though William Sanders, a musical instrument maker, lived in St. Nicholas' parish. The fiddler William Murray lived in St. John's parish, he had his daughter baptised in the more prestigious St. Nicholas' Church. William Greggs junior had been an organist at Durham Cathedral, and was appointed as All Saints' Church organist in Newcastle, but died in 1714. The French Catholic musician François de Prendcourt had been employed at the king's court in London until 1688, then travelled around England, and in 1714 he replaced Greggs for around £16 a year.<sup>146</sup>

In Northumberland Bernard Rumney had reportedly been born in Rothbury in the 1590s. He later became a poet and musician, and cut his initials 'B. R. 1660' in the ingle nook of the Black Bull Inn, where the county court met. He was a churchwarden in 1662,<sup>147</sup> and the piper Robert Trumble and his wife called their first-born son Bernard.<sup>148</sup> Rumney was credited with writing *An Excellent Ballad of the Sickness, Death, and Burial, of Ecky's Mare*, which described a 'horse-couper' (dealer) who let horses die and was reduced to selling his last mare's skin for 4d, while birds and dogs devoured her carcase.<sup>149</sup> Rumney died in 1690;<sup>150</sup> though in 1694 the chamberlains paid for 'the Waitts Coats Stay tape 3d., 8 yards Blue Cloth £2, Thread 9d., Canvis 9d. - £2 1s. 6d., 5 doz. La[ce] buttons 5s., 3 doz. Buttons 6d., 5s. 6d., 30 yds. Lace 8s., Lining 6d., 8s. 6d., 9 yds. Plauish 10s. 6d'. In 1691 John Busby and John and William Cuthbertson had been 'elected and chosen waites' for Alnwick, but Edward Hoodspath, a 'fiddler excellentissime', died in 1692. The chamberlains paid £3 1s 3d 'for Blew Coats triming and making to the waitts',<sup>151</sup> who played on St. Mark's Day (25 April) to summon the freemen and chamberlains to the Tolbooth.<sup>152</sup> In Morpeth the fiddler Robert Shotton and the musician Aaron Shaftoe were active in 1693.<sup>153</sup> In Hexham the wait Thomas Hill died.<sup>154</sup> John Watson was a drummer in 1710 and the fiddler Jasper Kell was a wait in 1711.<sup>155</sup>

The queen died in summer 1714, and was succeeded by her closest Protestant relative, a German prince, which did not go down well with supporters of the deposed Catholic king, either in Northumberland or Scotland.

#### **(iv) If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation**

In 1695 Scotland's population was just over one million, and around 88 percent lived in the countryside or in towns with fewer than 2,000 inhabitants, yet Aberdeen and Dundee both had about 10,000, Glasgow 15,000 and Edinburgh 30,000.<sup>156</sup> Professional musicians performed at the first public concert in Edinburgh in 1693, and in 1696 two offered to teach the waits to play the oboe and double curtlee,<sup>157</sup> which had a double reed and was folded into a 'U' to make it more compact.<sup>158</sup> James Watson, and then his son James, printed ballads in the city, and John Reid ran a press at various places in Scotland from 1699. He became a prolific producer of cheap literature, yet few Scottish ballads from the 1600s have survived.<sup>159</sup>

By 1700 Aberdeen and Glasgow presses, and the 12 or so in Edinburgh, employed 90 printers. There were booksellers in major towns, and the reading public was reportedly around 200,000.<sup>160</sup> Edinburgh council ordered that no printer should 'print any bookes pamphlets [*sic*] or other papers whatsoever unles duwly allowed by publick authority under the penalty of loosing the freedome of the burgh and otherwayes fyned and punished at the will of the Magistrates'. Printers were to 'affix their names' to publications and put down 'bonds of caution' to guarantee their compliance.<sup>161</sup> In 1703 Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun near Edinburgh observed that 'the poorer sort of both sexes' were 'daily tempted to all manner of lewdness by infamous ballads sung in every corner of the streets', and ballad-makers had 'most unspeakable and deplorable success'; yet 'I knew a very wise man' who 'believed if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation'.<sup>162</sup> Public dancing began in 1705, and though the Kirk repressed it,<sup>163</sup> the Chapman Court of Fife met at Killconquhar in 1706 and the Fife Chapman Society at Cupar in 1707.<sup>164</sup> In 1708 Edinburgh council had to repeat that no printer should 'presume to print papers or pamphlets without affixing their names'.

By 1710 John Reid sold 'all sorts of Story Books and Ballads' in Edinburgh, and the council ordered that paper cryers should be able to buy new papers or pamphlets at 16s and ballads at 7s a 'quair' and 'storie books of one

sheet' at 5s a dozen,<sup>165</sup> and they were to pay the official regulator 16s a quire, plus 6d for each new print.<sup>166</sup> The council dissolved the stationers' society and ruled that anyone could sell ballads, story books, pamphlets and other printed matter in the streets, and empowered James Wardlaw, a stationer and the burgh bookbinder, to demand the 6d from paper cryers and 2s for each new printed sheet. It was illegal to print without being a stationer, and in 1711 printers had to put down a bond of £100 Scots. English paper duties had been taxed at 30 percent, and 17.5 percent for domestically-produced stock. After the prices were equalised in 1712 Scottish printers bought paper in England, and James Watson's *A History of the Art of Printing*, the first such book in Britain, appeared in Edinburgh in 1713.<sup>167</sup> In 1714 the council incorporated 20 'cadees' and other 'errend-men', plus 'news-cryers, or pamphlet-sellers', and empowered the town's officers and soldiers to arrest anyone 'crying ballads or other papers' who did not belong to the Society of Paper Cryers,<sup>168</sup> and in 1715 John Reid junior advertised a 'choice of little books and ballads' and 'all sorts of Story Books'.<sup>169</sup>

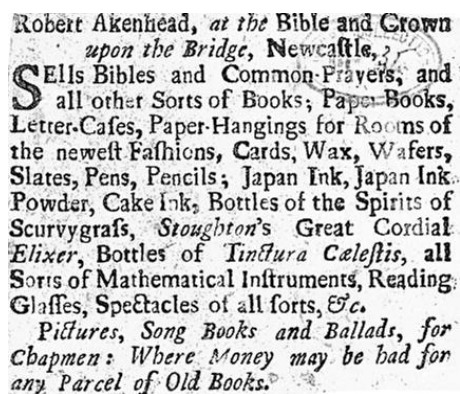
In September the deposed Catholic king sailed to Scotland and raised his standard at Braemar in the Highlands. Over half of the 77 Northumberland gentry who supported him were Catholics, and many of their followers were their servants.<sup>170</sup> In October the earl of Derwentwater and around 60 others mustered north of Cambo, then went to Warkworth, Alnwick and Morpeth, where others joined them. They went on to Felton Bridge, where 70 borderers raised their numbers to 300, and after the earl of Mar brought men from Scotland, there were 600 horsemen and 1,400 foot. They marched to Preston, where 1,200 joined them, though they all soon surrendered.

In February 1716 Derwentwater was beheaded at Tower Hill in London. The Northumberland MP Thomas Forster, a Jacobite general who spoke in the 'Northern Dialect', escaped from prison and managed to get to France.<sup>171</sup> In June a York knight wrote to his son at Tom's Coffee House in Covent Garden, London, about the celebrations planned on the suppression of the rebellion. It would be 'very loyall', and '40 pounds out of the public stock' would be spent on 'wine and bisket' to 'intertain the clergy and gentlemen at the Common Hall, from whence we are to proceed to the Minster in our formalitys, with drums, trumpets and the waits'.<sup>172</sup>

The Edinburgh printer Agnes Anderson had traded with booksellers in Berwick, Newcastle and Durham, and when she died her estate was valued at over £78,000.<sup>173</sup> Around this time the Scottish chapman John Kilpatrick stayed at a 'petty public house' between Barnard Castle and Richmond. He had loaned tavern keepers almost £20, but was murdered, and left 50 guineas and some silver as well as goods.<sup>174</sup>

#### (v) Pictures, Song Books, and Ballads, for Chapmen

The York printer John White senior died in January 1716, aged 80, and when John junior arrived he was reportedly 'unsatisfied with the share his father had left him'.<sup>175</sup> That year a Newcastle bookseller advertised in the *Courant*.



Robert Akenhead, at the Bible and Crown  
upon the Bridge, Newcastle,  
Sells Bibles and Common-Prayers, and  
all other Sorts of Books; Paper-Books,  
Letter-Cases, Paper-Hangings for Rooms of  
the newest Fashions, Cards, Wax, Wafers,  
Slates, Pens, Pencils; Japan Ink, Japan Ink-  
Powder, Cake Ink, Bottles of the Spirits of  
Scurvygrass, Stoughton's Great Cordial  
Elixer, Bottles of Tinctura Caelestis, all  
Sorts of Mathematical Instruments, Reading-  
Glasses, Spectacles of all sorts, &c.  
Pictures, Song Books and Ballads, for  
Chapmen: Where Money may be had for  
any Parcel of Old Books.

Akenhead also sold books published in London, fiddle strings,<sup>176</sup> and 'Musick Books', and 'any Chapman may be furnish'd with the newest Pictures, History Books, Ballads, and Song Books, at very reasonable Rates'.<sup>177</sup>

The potential market was increasing. Tyneside ironworkers had set aside a weekly sum for poor children to be taught to read,<sup>178</sup> and money was bequeathed for a school in Ponteland.<sup>179</sup> Yet Thomas Bowes had attended Durham Grammar School in 1712, and he and his brother George attended Newcastle Grammar School in 1716, went to Mr Hill's school in London in 1717, and George reported that 'tommy is entirely resolved never to look on a Book'.<sup>180</sup>

In spring 1717, after a battalion of troops left Newcastle, 'fellows went about the streets singing songs reflecting on the Gov[ernmen]t' and 'calling out James Stewart [sic]', the deposed Catholic king. The Jacobite master of Morpeth Grammar School, who was reportedly 'ignorant beyond belief',<sup>181</sup> had eight or nine pupils from the town



and 17 or 18 from the 'country', yet only three 'could make any exercise and these made it for all the rest for so much per week or quarter'. The freemen gave him £30 to resign, and the new master soon had almost 100 pupils.<sup>182</sup> The Rothbury rector left money to found a free school and pay a master £20 a year to teach 'all the children of the parish' to 'read, write, arithmetic and Latin',<sup>183</sup> which was still the language of scientific works.<sup>184</sup> The Durham Blue Coat School for boys opened in 1718,<sup>185</sup> and in 1719 seven of the eight Grassmen's auditors signed their names.<sup>186</sup>

In Newcastle White had married. The funeral of their baby daughter took place in St. Nicholas' Church in 1718, yet a son was baptised in All Saints' Church, as was another daughter in 1719, though her funeral soon took place there. One stationer, one bookbinder, White and another printer lived in All Saints' parish, and a bookbinder were mentioned in St. John's parish registers, while Samuel Mackartney was a stationer and printer in St. Nicholas parish, where William Mitley and his son William were two of the four bookbinders.

By 1720 the *Newcastle Courant* cost ¾d and claimed the largest circulation for a provincial paper. Martin Bryson sold it in Newcastle,<sup>187</sup> Alexander Dodds in Berwick,<sup>188</sup> Robert Mitford in Morpeth, Thomas Bunion in Alnwick, John Waghorn in Durham, Russel in Sunderland, Brian Thompson in Stockton, Robert Simpson in Darlington, Isabel Carr in Bishop Auckland, Michael Pudsey in Barnard Castle, John Thompson in Kirby Stephen, and Messrs Birkland in Kendal, Bradley in Appleby, Bramall in Penrith, Cook in Carlisle and Dixon in Hexham. White noted in the *Courant*. 'N.B. Whereas several Persons are now appointed to call the News at Shields, Sunderland, Durham, Bishop Auckland, Barnardcastle, &c.' 'Subscription will be taken in, and the Newspaper may be had at any of the above Places each Week'. By autumn the Carlisle postmaster Pattinson supplied Brampton, Wigton, Annan and Dumfries. The Penrith postmaster Birkett supplied Hesketh and Keswick. Robert Wharton supplied Kendal, Ambleside, Hawkshead, Ulverston, Cartmel, Millthorpe and Burton. Isaac Rawlinson supplied Lancaster, Hornby, Garstang and Preston. 'Newscarriers' took the *Courant* to Raby, Staindrop, Darlington, Richmond, Ripon, Thirsk, Northallerton, Stokesley, Guisborough, Yarm, Stockton, Norton and Sedgefield, and to settlements between Sunderland and South Shields. Mr Grieve was an agent between Berwick and Eyemouth and Robert Winterop from Jedburgh to Hawick. Mr Embleton supplied Warkworth, Joseph Blair Belford, George Handside Wooler, George Hunter Duns and Mr Mabon Kelso. Andrew Spottiswood was an agent in Durham, Messrs Snorey and Bunting in Hexham, Mr Parkin in Appleby, Mr Lamb in Brough, Richard Bayliff in Kirby-Lonsdale, John Inman in Sedburgh, Henry Dalton in Kirby Stephen, Mr Fisher in Cockermouth, Luke Gaire in Morpeth, George Shepherd in Alnwick and John Thomson in Felton. The paper became *The Newcastle Weekly Courant: Or, A General VIEW OF THE Most Material Occurrences. BOTH Foreign and Domestick: But more particularly of Great Britain: with Useful Observations on TRADE*.<sup>189</sup>

## **(vi) Thomas Gent**

In London John Cluer had become free of the Stationers' Company in 1702 and had a press 'at the sign of the Maidenhead' in Bow Lane.<sup>190</sup> He married Elizabeth Dicey, the daughter of a Fenland carrier, and Dicey was born in 1704.<sup>191</sup> William Dicey, Elizabeth's brother, had been apprenticed to a leather seller, and was 'turned over' to Cluer in 1711.<sup>192</sup> Dicey Cluer died in 1713,<sup>193</sup> though John Cluer sold engraved music sheets and ballads and sent batches to William Cluer in Fisher Street, St. Ives, Huntingdonshire.<sup>194</sup> He married Mary, John Cluer's sister, and John Cluer Dicey was born in 1715.<sup>195</sup> From 1717 69 percent of Stationers' Company members' apprentices were Londoners.<sup>196</sup> John Cluer informed 'Country chapmen' that his company were 'Cutters and Printers', and they would be 'better served than by those who put out the Cutting and Printing'. He advertised in a weekly journal produced by a Jacobite sympathiser,<sup>197</sup> and there were other sympathisers in the print trades.

Thomas Gent was born into a Presbyterian English family in Ireland in 1693, and later claimed that he educated himself. He was apprenticed to Stephen Powell, a Dublin printer, around 1707; but in 1710, after three years' of ill-usage, he stowed away on a ship bound for the Wirral and made his way to London.<sup>198</sup> Edward Midwinter, who printed and published ballads,<sup>199</sup> and sold them to hawkers, took Gent as an apprentice,<sup>200</sup> yet he later claimed that he had to work 'many times from five in the morning till twelve at night', 'frequently without food from breakfast time till five or six in the evening'.<sup>201</sup> His fellow apprentice, Robert Raikes, had been born into a well-to-do vicar's family in Hessle, near Hull, in 1690, and in 1705 he was apprenticed to the London printer, John Barber.<sup>202</sup> He transferred to Midwinter around 1710,<sup>203</sup> and became free of the Stationers' Company in 1712.<sup>204</sup>

In 1713 Edward Midwinter released Gent a year early, though another printer sacked him for not completing his apprenticeship and not being a freeman.<sup>205</sup> John White was still the only printer in northern England, and he asked Midwinter to recommend a 'young man'. In spring 1714 Gent went there mainly on foot, which took five days. He fell in love with Alice Guy, yet after a year he left for Dublin and worked for Thomas Hume. Gent later returned to London, and worked for a Mr Clifton, who was a Catholic, and when his landlady asked Gent if he knew that the portrait in his room was of the Chevalier (the deposed Catholic king), he prevaricated.<sup>206</sup>

It was probably the Whig Daniel Defoe who wrote anonymously that ‘medling with Hawkers and Ballad-Singers may be thought a “Trifle” but it ceases to be so, when we consider that the Crying and Singing such Stuff, as vile as it is, makes the Government familiar, and consequently contemptible to the People, warms the Minds of the Rabble, who are more capable of Action than Speculation, and are animated by Noise and Nonsense’. Ballads ‘nois’d about the Streets’, which were ‘the quickest and surest way Sedition has to take’.<sup>207</sup>

In 1717 Gent became free of the London Stationers Company, a freeman and a freemason,<sup>208</sup> and in 1718 he declined a partnership with a Norwich printer, and recommended Raikes, who was in Gloucester.<sup>209</sup> Gent printed ballads for ‘wide-mouthed stentorian hawkers’,<sup>210</sup> and was jailed for his Jacobite sympathies, yet he helped a cleric in prison to produce propaganda.<sup>211</sup> In 1719 John, the 19-year-old son and apprentice of the London printer Mary Matthews, published a pamphlet which argued that most people supported the deposed Catholic king.<sup>212</sup> He was found guilty of high treason and Gent saw him being taken to be hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn.<sup>213</sup> Adult female literacy in London had trebled to around 66 percent in 50 years.<sup>214</sup> The government had paid one woman in the print trade £50 to be an informer, and promised another £50 and a pension, but she may have received neither; yet two dozen or so women involved with Matthews’ pamphlet escaped punishment.<sup>215</sup>

Five ballad printers formed a new conger,<sup>216</sup> and seven booksellers formed another,<sup>217</sup> though they merged.<sup>218</sup> Charles Brown and Thomas Norris owned 71 ballads, many of which had been in William Thackeray’s list in 1689.<sup>219</sup> In 1719-1720 Thomas D’Urfey published *Wit and Mirth; or, Pills to Purge Melancholy*. In *The Northumberland Bagpipe* a man encouraged by a ‘Damsel from the Town’, ‘pull’d out his Pipe’ and ‘began to sound’ as long as he was able.<sup>220</sup> Midwinter had contacts with 40 or so chapmen.<sup>221</sup> In 1720 Norris retired, and Midwinter married his widowed daughter.<sup>222</sup> Gent declined £1 a week to return since he was already earning that elsewhere.<sup>223</sup>

#### **(vii) Any thing I cd gaine by**

‘New Men’ were increasingly influential in north-east England. William Cotesworth was born around 1668 into a Teesdale family who had been freeholders for 200 years. He was the second son, and would inherit no land, so in 1682 he was apprenticed to a prosperous Gateshead merchant and tallow chandler. Cotesworth later became his partner for £20, but he soon died,<sup>224</sup> and in 1699, Cotesworth married the daughter of a wealthy Newcastle alderman and goldsmith.<sup>225</sup> He dealt in ‘Any thing I cd gaine by’, and by 1708 he was involved in the coal trade. In 1709 the Liddell family secured his appointment as the main agent of other leading coal-owners, and by 1710 he was the agent of another coal-owner, for £10 a year, and was worth around £4,000. Henry Liddell told him that ‘We hang an arse yet as to the purchase’ of the lease of the coal-rich manors of Gateshead and Whickham, though he encouraged him to lease ten salt pans at North Shields. Much coal trade business took place in Newcastle’s coffee houses, and late that year Liddell received a ‘very orthodox’ ballad about a keelmen’s ‘combination’. In autumn 1711 he told Cotesworth that ‘Sunderland grows upon us while we lessen’. Cotesworth became the agent for a lord’s lead mines in Durham and Yorkshire. In spring 1712 Liddell complained that the ‘Ten’, the leading London coal traders, ‘can just doe as they please’; so Cotesworth persuaded his father-in-law to buy the manors of Gateshead and Whickham. In summer Liddell reported that the sailors were ‘reduced to such a low ebb that they can’t so much as feed their familys with bread and water’,<sup>226</sup> yet the Wear was becoming more competitive.

Sunderland’s population was reportedly 6,000 The Wear exported around 250,000 tons of coal that year, or over a third of that from the Tyne.<sup>227</sup> A Lamesley landowner ‘would gladly have a ballad’ written about the struggle for wayleave rights, since waggon ways could be three times as profitable as wains and horses. In 1715 a test bore at Whickham reached the High Main Seam, 60 feet down, where the coal was around four yards deep, and there were five other seams.<sup>228</sup> Cotesworth and five partners leased Gateshead Park Colliery from his father-in-law, and hoped to drain it with a ‘fire engine’, and he reported to the Whig government privately during the Jacobite rebellion.<sup>229</sup>

In 1716 a waggon man at Bucksnook colliery in County Durham was paid between 3d and 4d per mile for the 4½ mile downward journey to Derwent Haugh staiths on the Tyne. He made two return journeys a day, and he had to hire a horse, which took 60 percent of his earnings, and left between 2s 4d and 2s 10d to live on.<sup>230</sup>

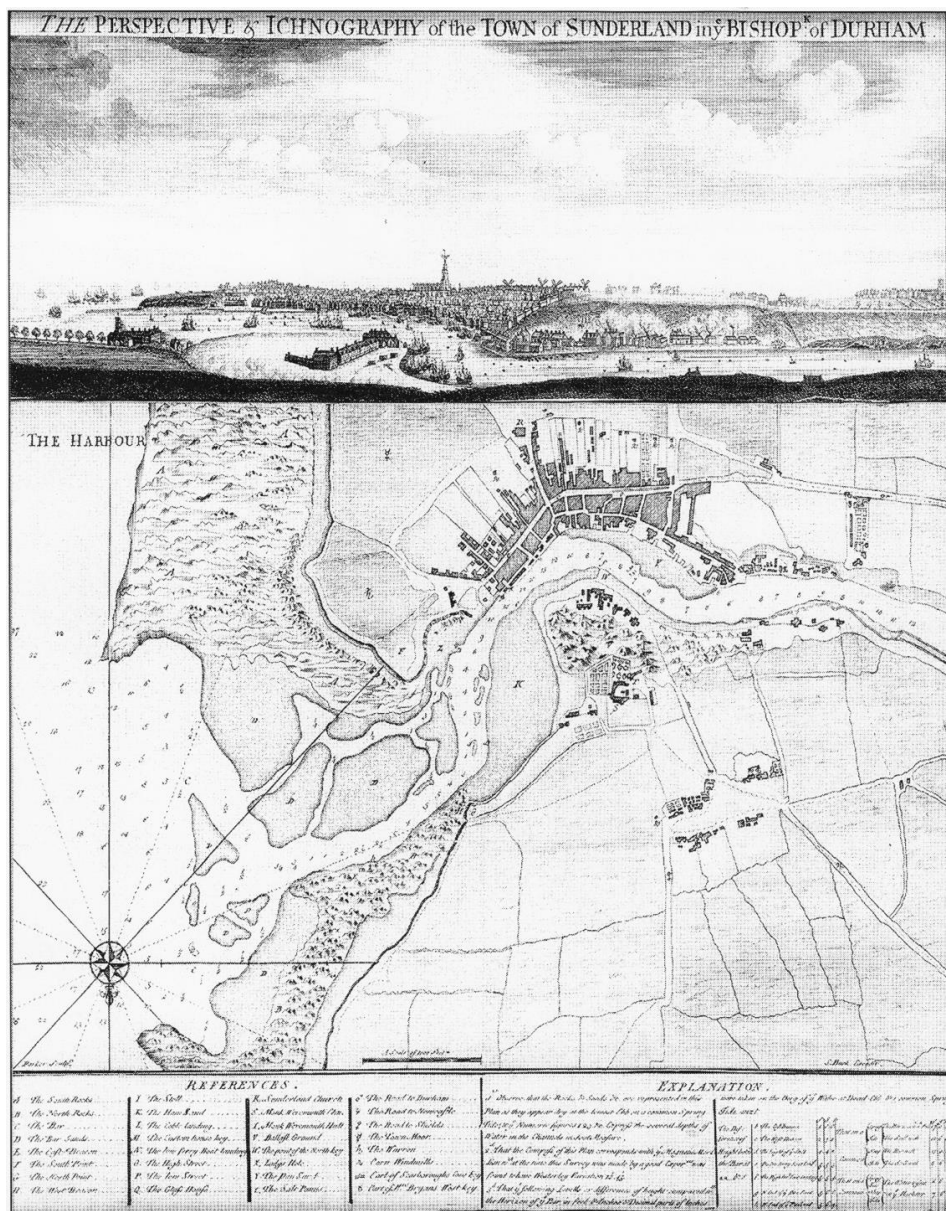
Cotesworth’s father-in-law died childless that year and left the bulk of his estate to his son-in-law,<sup>231</sup> so William Cotesworth Esquire of Gateshead Park became lord of the manors of Gateshead and Whickham and Bellister and Hartleyburn. He later became a magistrate and claimed that most coal from the Tyne valley was marketed ‘by my lycence or under my influence’, and his annual income had grown to £8,000.<sup>232</sup> Liddell told him he would be ‘glad from time to time to hear from you the cracks’ about a particular colliery, though when Cotesworth’s income fell under £5,500 he stopped trading. When he criticised Newcastle Corporation’s buying the Walker estate, his life was threatened. He bought the forfeited Stella and Widdrington estates,<sup>233</sup> yet he did not get a knighthood.<sup>234</sup>

In 1717 parliament empowered commissioners to make the Wear more navigable,<sup>235</sup> with a tax of 4d on each chaldron of coal.<sup>236</sup> Early in 1719 a Bishopwearmouth teacher drew up 'articles' for Wear keelmen, and wrote to the Tyne men to 'incourage them in their design of refusing to work'. A gentleman noted the Tyne men's solidarity.

These people have a particular manner of giving a pledge for their standing by one another upon any occasion, which is by spitting on a stone, as they lately did upon account of an affront given to one of them by the person who kept a public house on the north side of the Tyne. The keelman that was injured went and spit upon a stone near the house, and renounced any further communication with it, and the rest that were of his mind performed the same ceremony, and they have kept so religiously to their vow that the people are obliged to quite [*sic*] their house for want of business.<sup>237</sup>

A delegation of ten Tyne keelmen went Great Usworth near Washington in County Durham to meet the Wear men's representatives,<sup>238</sup> and in May 2,000 Tyne and 800 Wear men struck for a pay rise. Magistrates ordered arrests, and threatened mass impressment into the Navy, and the Tyne strike crumbled in June. The Wear men stayed out longer, and the case against the teacher subsequently collapsed through lack of evidence.<sup>239</sup>

In 1720 workers from a Northumberland colliery were ordered to throw heaps of earth between the rails of the Plessey waggon way and tie a rope across the track, though they were arrested.<sup>240</sup> Newcastle Corporation's annual income from the coal trade was around £250,000,<sup>241</sup> yet a 'Perspective' of the twin Wearside towns showed colliers along the river banks and more waiting at the river mouth.



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The rivalry between the Wear and the Tyne was set to continue.

# 11. *Antiquitates Vulgares*

## (i) *A Collection of Old Ballads*

Robert Raikes had left York for St. Ives in Huntingdonshire in 1718 and co-published the *St. Ives Post Boy*. His partner's business failed early in 1719, and Raikes went into partnership with William Dicey, though by spring Dicey's family lived in London's Cripplegate. By autumn Dicey and Raikes published the *St. Ives Mercury*, but soon moved to Northampton, where Dicey sold 'stitch'd Histories, Garlands and Ballads Old a new, for Pedlar and Ballad Singers, wholesale and Retale'. In May 1720 they published the *Northampton Mercury* and 'Men that carry the News' took it along 40-mile routes, found stories and took in advertisements.<sup>1</sup> In 1721 Dicey joined the London Leathersellers' Company,<sup>2</sup> and in 1722 he and Raikes founded the *Gloucester Journal*, and employed 13 chapmen, and after John Cluer Dicey completed his apprenticeship in 1725 he ran the St. Ives bookshop.<sup>3</sup>

In London 'Jeffery Sing-Song' the 'Whig *Ballad-Maker*' (Daniel Defoe) had lamented that the 'ancient Art and Mystery of *Ballad-Making* has suffer'd deeply in the Calamities of the Times'.<sup>4</sup> In 1723 an Irish ballad-singer, who sang 'while his companions were picking their pockets', was sent to Bridewell Prison,<sup>5</sup> and the ballad publisher Edward Midwinter languished in Southwark, a sanctuary for insolvent debtors.<sup>6</sup> By 1724 London had three daily papers, seven appeared three times a week and six weeklies.<sup>7</sup> There were 75 master printers, and a spy deemed 34 'well-affected' to the king, three were 'Nonjurors' (dissenters), four were Catholics, and 34 were 'High Flyers', whose sources of income were unclear,<sup>8</sup> and they included John Cluer.<sup>9</sup>

The national market for children's books was expanding. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge ran 1,329 schools with 23,421 pupils, though no more than four percent of school-age children went on to further education.<sup>10</sup> There were at least 40 provincial printers,<sup>11</sup> and one or more in every large market town,<sup>12</sup> and around 61 percent of people lived less than ten miles from one.<sup>13</sup> There were about 24 provincial newspapers,<sup>14</sup> and print-runs were around 1,000.<sup>15</sup> Most cost 1d, until tax rose from 1½p to 2p, including on those with over six pages.<sup>16</sup>

Scottish ballads were popular among the well-to-do. Allan Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, a *Collection of Choice song Scots & English*, had appeared in Edinburgh in 1723.<sup>17</sup> Ramsay dedicated it to 'ilka lovely BRITISH lass' and claimed it was free of 'all smut and ribaldry'.<sup>18</sup> In London James Roberts printed *A Collection of Old Ballads. Corrected from the best and most Ancient Copies Extant. With Introductions Historical, Critical or Humorous*. Most were from the late 1600s and many had been in William Thackeray's list in 1689. Roberts stressed that they helped to preserve the nation's history,<sup>19</sup> and he included several recent songs.<sup>20</sup> It sold out in two months, so a second edition and a second volume of 'Songs, more Antique, and upon far older Subjects', appeared later that year,<sup>21</sup> and a third volume in 1725.<sup>22</sup> The anonymous editor was probably the English Whig Ambrose Phillips.<sup>23</sup>

William Thomson was born into the family of the Scottish king's trumpeter in Edinburgh around 1683. In his youth he was 'distinguished for the sweetness of his voice' and the 'agreeable manner' in which he sang a 'Scots song', and in the early 1700s he moved to London and found favour at court. In 1722 he had a benefit concert, and in 1725 he published *Orpheus Caledonius, a collection of the best Scotch Songs* for voice, harpsichord and the German flute, which he dedicated to the heir to the throne,<sup>24</sup> and all 300 copies were spoken for before publication.<sup>25</sup> Other Scottish composers, mainly of concert music, paid to have their works engraved. The average print run was 200, and 60 subscriptions were usually enough to break even.<sup>26</sup> There were music publishers in Edinburgh,<sup>27</sup> where around 90 percent of tradesmen and craftsmen could sign their names.<sup>28</sup> Organs were being reintroduced into Scottish churches, public dancing began again,<sup>29</sup> and the Chapmen of Perthshire and the Fraternity of Chapmen of Stirlingshire were founded in 1726.<sup>30</sup>

John Walsh published music in London. He had become the irregularly-paid 'Musical Instrument Maker in Ordinary' to the king in 1692. From 1702, after the king died, the queen paid Walsh for mending and stringing instruments and supplying new ones for her 24-strong ensemble and the Chapel Royal choir. In 1718 he charged 3s a quire for ruled music paper, though in 1726 he was taken to court for not paying stamp duty.<sup>31</sup>

By 1727, nationally, around 27,854 children attended 1,389 charity schools.<sup>32</sup>

## (ii) *Ballads and other paper wares*

In the later 1710s Jane Broderick lived in Whickham in County Durham. She travelled to fairs and markets, selling 'Inkle lace threads' to trim garments and 'other such wares', along with a woman who had married her elder son/ In 1720, when Thomas sold 'pictures and ballads and other paper wares', he and his 14-year-old half-brother were



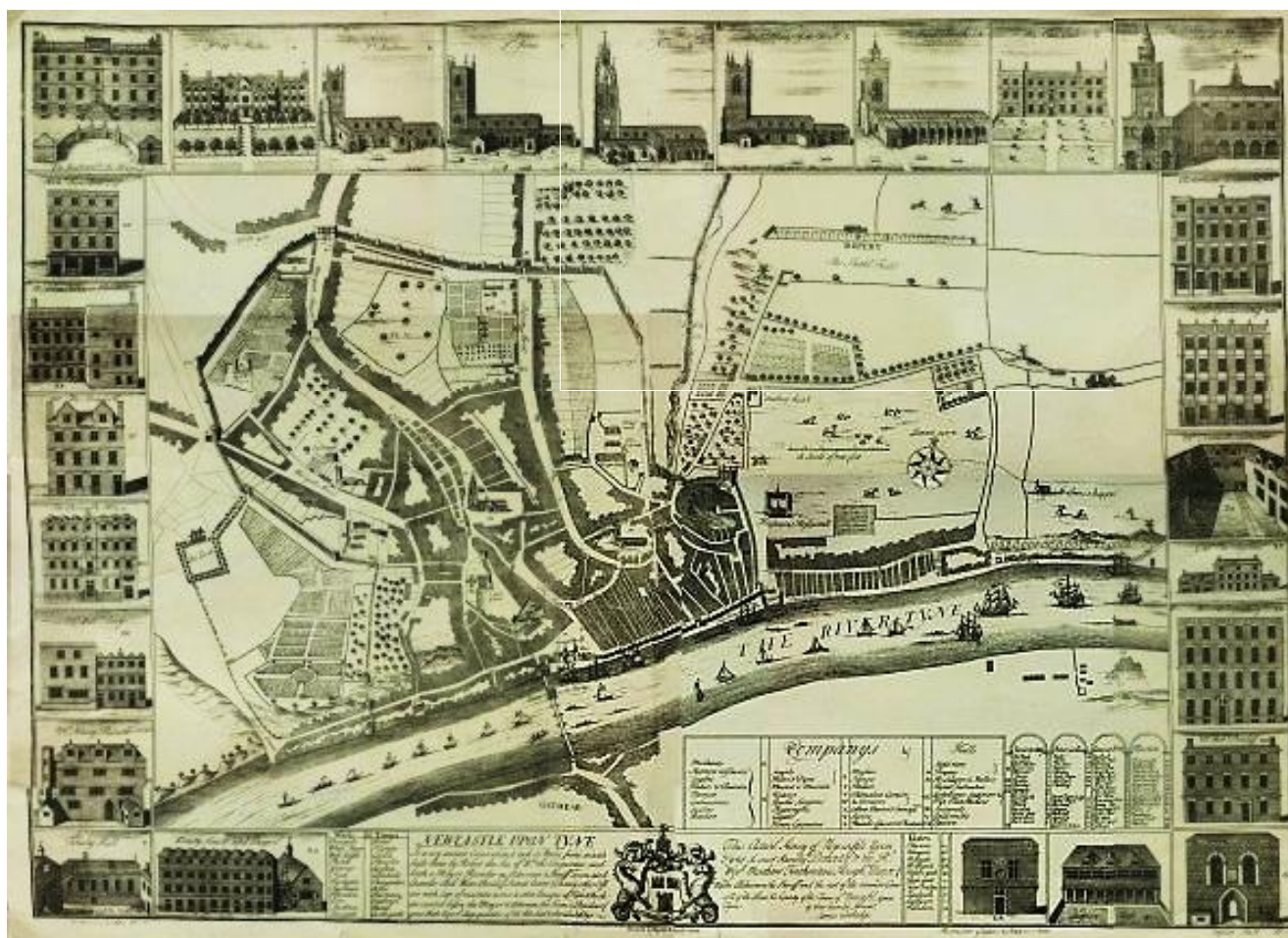
convicted of begging. The whereabouts of their different fathers were unknown, and it was impossible to identify their place of settlement, so a magistrate sent Thomas to jail and his half-brother to the House of Correction.<sup>33</sup>

Mr Burgess sold books in Durham,<sup>34</sup> yet only ten percent of the 325 surviving County Durham inventories for 50 years had mentioned books, including 15 percent in Durham and five percent in rural areas. In the region as a whole the inventories of 26 percent of gentry, 12 percent of tradespeople and two percent of farmers included books.<sup>35</sup>

Early in 1722 the Newcastle printer Joseph Walter died in All Saints' parish, and in spring John White announced that 'no Quarterly Customers for the *Courant* will be taken in'. He employed a man to 'call the News' at Durham, Bishop Auckland and Barnard Castle on Saturdays, a round trip of over 50 miles, while others visited Shields, Sunderland and elsewhere. By summer White's Northumberland agents included Mrs Dixon in Hexham, John Fenwick in Alnwick, Robert Alford in Belford and the Berwick postmaster,<sup>36</sup> though the *Courant* faced competition.

The *Newcastle Weekly Mercury* may have appeared that summer, and by spring 1723 it was called *The Newcastle Weekly Journal*. It was printed and sold by D. Jones at the Queen's Head in the Side and sold by Robert Akenhead on Tyne Bridge, the Carlisle bookseller Alderman Hall and the shopkeepers James Hamilton in Appleby, William Richardson in Penrith, John Laidler in Hexham, Thomas Bunyan in Alnwick, Thomas Rennison in Morpeth, William Pendleton in Darlington, Joseph Wilson in Staindrop, William Sands in Stockton and Guisborough, J. Smith in Bishop Auckland and W. Peters in West Auckland, and Edward Atkinson in Brampton. In May Akenhead retired and offered to sell his press, or take a partner.<sup>37</sup> After Akenhead became a *Courant* agent,<sup>38</sup> the *Mercury* collapsed.<sup>39</sup> The printer John Breden was in All Saints' parish,<sup>40</sup> and Ralph Shaw sold books at the Bridge Foot.<sup>41</sup>

Newcastle's population was probably around 20,000, and the well-to-do mostly lived in the Bigg Market, Castle Garth, Side and Close in St. Nicholas's parish.<sup>42</sup> James Corbridge's 'Actual Survey of Newcastle upon Tyne' was 'most humbly Dedicated' to the mayor, aldermen, sheriff and the rest of the 'Common Councill'.



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By October White was at the Head of Painter Heugh, a medieval lane from Pilgrim Street down to the Lort Burn (today's Dean Street), and he was the town's sole agent for Daffy's Elixir, a patent medicine.<sup>44</sup> *The downfall of William Grismond*, about a murder in 1650,<sup>45</sup> had been registered in London in 1656,<sup>46</sup> and had appeared several times before it was published in London, probably between 1688 and 1709.<sup>47</sup> In 1723, or possibly a year or so later, *William Grismond's Downfall* was 'Printed and sold by John White, at his House in the Head of the Painter-Heugh'.<sup>48</sup>

In County Durham Mr W. Patterson in West Auckland and John Laidler in Darlington sold the *Courant*. In Northumberland Robert Laidler sold books in Hexham,<sup>49</sup> though only one was published in the region that year.<sup>50</sup>

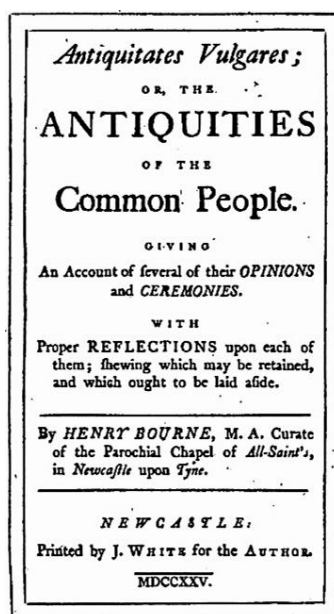
In York Grace White had published sermons and a Latin schoolbook, and in 1719 her *York Mercury* consisted mainly of news from London. Her 'newsmen' usually travelled on foot as far as Skipton to the west, Darlington to the north and Scarborough to the east.<sup>51</sup> Thomas Hammond, a Quaker bookseller in York, was a partner in the paper, which consisted mainly of four-day-old extracts from London papers.<sup>52</sup> White and Hammond offered to supply quarterly subscribers 'every Monday Morning, before they are Cry'd about the City by the Hawkers', and they soon had agents in 27 places.<sup>53</sup> After Grace White died in January 1721, Charles Bourne ran the press,<sup>54</sup> and he and Hammond published the *York Mercury* once a week at 1½d.<sup>55</sup>

In London Thomas Gent was a printer in Fleet Lane, and corresponded with Alice Guy in York.<sup>56</sup> She had married Bourne but he was dead by 1724. According to Gent, John White had 'heaped up riches in abundance' in Newcastle and offered his niece £50 a year to 'resign the materials and all her stock to his management'. Gent took four days to travel to York by coach, and he and Alice married in the Minster.<sup>57</sup> He bought the *York Mercury* and sacked Hammond.<sup>58</sup> White was a York freeman by patrimony,<sup>59</sup> and John Gilfillan, at his York press in Stonegate,<sup>60</sup> printed the four-page *York Courant* in 1725.<sup>61</sup> According to Gent, White 'cried up' his own paper, and 'ran down mine'. He went 'to the houses of my customers', 'substituting his newspapers in the name of what I sent', and cut his prices.<sup>62</sup> Gent renamed his paper the *Original Mercury, York Journal, or Weekly Courant*,<sup>63</sup> while Gilfillan printed a tract for a Scarborough vicar, which was available from several booksellers in London and one in Hull.<sup>64</sup> By 1725 Gilfillan had an agent in Beverley, and some of York's waits seem to have inherited the role.<sup>65</sup>

Stephen Bulkley (possibly the late printer's son) was a York wait in 1717, as was Charles Picke (the wait Oswald's son) in 1722, and John Sydal was a musician in 1723.<sup>66</sup> In December 1725, following a church service, the election of the freemason's Grand Master took place and was confirmed at their usual inn. A procession of members in full regalia, under their banner and led by the waits, marched to a banquet in the Merchant Adventurers' hall.<sup>67</sup> Gent's last *Original Mercury*, appeared late that year.<sup>68</sup> White's *York Courant* became the county's leading paper,<sup>69</sup> and he published three poems in Newcastle.

Henry Bourne, the son of a Newcastle tailor, had been christened at St. John's Church in 1694. Around 1708 he was apprenticed to a glazier at the Head of the Side, though friends later got him released from his indentures and sent him to the Grammar School. In 1717 he entered Christ's College, Cambridge,<sup>70</sup> as a sizar,<sup>71</sup> and the common council gave him £5 a year. He graduated, was ordained in 1720, preached at St. Nicholas' Church in Newcastle in 1721, became curate of All Saints' Church in 1722,<sup>72</sup> and lived in Silver Street.<sup>73</sup> In December 1723 John White announced that he would be 'speedily' printing a book by Bourne at 4s, with 2s 'to be paid down at Subscribing, and the remainder at the Delivery of the Book in Sheets'. Subscriptions would also be taken by the booksellers Akenhead, Martin Bryson, and Widow Shaw.

Bourne graduated MA in 1724,<sup>74</sup> and White printed his book in 1725.

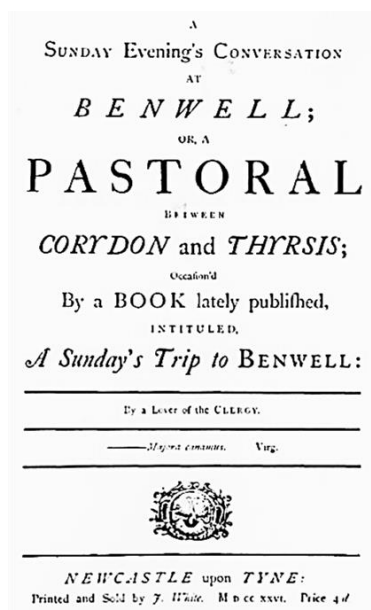


It was dedicated to the common council, the 'Promoters and Patrons of Learning', 'Rewarders of Merit' and supporters of 'an Orthodox and learned Clergy'. Bourne attacked 'Popish' superstition and 'heathen' 'Mumming', when cross-dressed men and women visited neighbours at Christmas to dance and sing, since this was 'the Occasion



of much Uncleaness and Debauchery' and should be 'laid aside'. On May Day 'the juvenile Part of both Sexes' used to 'rise a little after Mid-Night' and 'walk to some neighbouring Wood, accompany'd with Musick and the blowing of Horns', and around dawn they gathered 'Nose-gays, and Crowns of Flowers', then went home and danced around a maypole; yet 'so much Wickedness and Debauchery are committed that Night, to the Scandle of whole Families, and the Dishonour of Religion, there is all the Reason in the World, for laying it aside', along with 'Country Wakes', and every 'Hopping', where 'Feasting and Sporting' degenerated into 'Drunkenness and Luxury'.<sup>75</sup> Bourne reportedly 'corrupted and modernised' the ancient Newcastle Shipwrights' Corpus Christi play, 'Noah's Ark'.<sup>76</sup> Bryson joined the Newcastle Upholsterers', Tinplate Workers' and Stationers' Company.<sup>77</sup>

Taylor Thirkeld had been born into a merchant's family at Woolley-Burn-Foot near Hexham in 1705. He later went to William Salkeld's school in Newcastle, entered Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1723, and by 1724 he had an exhibition worth £20 a year.<sup>78</sup> Young men from the Durham diocese could apply for 12 exhibitions at Lincoln College.<sup>79</sup> In 1726 White published an anonymous poem dedicated to the rector of Whickham and the rector of Gateshead, who was also the morning lecturer at All Saints' Church in Newcastle.



The Latin motto on the title page translated as 'let us sing of higher things', and the poem took the form of a dialogue between two Greek shepherds lamenting those who 'talk of *Bullocks* and the lab'ring *Plough*' on Sundays, in a pit village a mile or so west of Newcastle. Thirkeld believed that people should 'not turn astray' from the Bible's teachings.<sup>80</sup> The poem cost 4d, when an agricultural labourer earned 8d to 12d a day, though his wife might earn 8d and a child 4d.<sup>81</sup> White published a third poem.

Cuthbert Ellison, the son of a Newcastle merchant, had graduated at Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1704. His uncle, the vicar of St. Nicholas' Church, appointed him as curate of All Saints' Church in 1708, and Ellison graduated MA in 1711. In 1722 the bishop of Durham appointed him as vicar of Stannington in Northumberland, and in 1726 White printed *A most Pleasant Description of Benwel Village in the County of Northumberland. Intermix'd with several diverting Incidents, both Serious and Comical by Q.Z., late Commoner of Oxon.* It cost 4d,<sup>82</sup> and was dedicated to a Benwell gentleman and a Northumberland MP. The 2,286 stanzas were to be sung to a tune associated with *Chevy Chase*, and the lyrics satirised those who owed their privileges to the fact that '*Their Dads were born before 'em*',<sup>83</sup> and he dismissed the Benwell Church congregation as a 'herd of Pitmen's race'.<sup>84</sup>

Sir William Blackett had been elected as a Tory MP for Newcastle in 1710, at the age of 21, and was re-elected in 1713. He was suspected of being a Jacobite in 1715, yet escaped prosecution.<sup>85</sup> In May 1716 Sir William's horse 'Bag-piper' competed for the County Plate on Killingworth Moor,<sup>86</sup> and Blackett was re-elected as a Newcastle MP in 1722.<sup>87</sup> In the 33 years to 1727 five families had provided 14 Newcastle mayors. In summer the king's death precipitated a general election,<sup>88</sup> and all the candidates were allegedly 'Non-Partisan'. Blackett won 1,202 votes, Nicholas Fenwick 1,189 and William Carr 620. Carr challenged the result unsuccessfully.<sup>89</sup> Nationally, the Whigs had an overwhelming majority of MPs, while the Tories were humiliated.<sup>90</sup> In October Newcastle common council, gentry and clergy walked from the Guildhall to St. Nicholas' Church, accompanied by musicians, to celebrate the new king's coronation in London.<sup>91</sup>

White had taken subscriptions for a manual of double-entry bookkeeping written by the master of All Saints' school, which could be also obtained from the teacher in Manor Chare, Bryson on Tyne Bridge and John Waghorn

in Durham. By autumn the *Newcastle Courant* had Mr Hudlan in Brampton and Mrs Atkinson in Appleby as agents. White also printed sermons, which were also sold in London.<sup>92</sup>

*General Instructions, Divine, Moral, Historical, Figurative, &c*,<sup>93</sup> by Theophilus de Garencières, the vicar of Scarborough, aimed to prove the truth of the Christian religion,<sup>94</sup> was the only known publication of White's York press in 1728,<sup>95</sup> yet Francis Hildyard sold it in York, T. Ryles in Hull, as did several booksellers in London.<sup>96</sup> A Londoner had noted that 'almost every county in England' had 'a distinct dialect' which was 'perfectly ridiculous to persons unaccustomed to hear such jargon',<sup>97</sup> yet in 1729 White published a poem by a Newcastle teacher.

### (iii) Edward Chicken

In 1725 over 700 wains carried Jesmond coal to the Ouseburn,<sup>98</sup> and by 1726 the Grand Allies controlled 16 of the 27 collieries many staiths and wayleaves, south of the Tyne.<sup>99</sup> The coal trade was seasonal, and early in 1729 the coal-owner George Liddell opposed delaying shipping because of the keelmen's poverty.

They give over work the beginning of November and many of them had not then a shilling before hand. They live upon Credit and a little labouring work till they get their binding money at Christmas. That money goes to their Creditors and they borrow of their fitters to buy provisions ... until trade begins. Now if they are not to begin until about Ladyday [25 March], half of them will be starved, for as their time of working will be much shorter trades people will not trust them.<sup>100</sup>

In the 1720s Tyne coal exports had averaged 716,000 tons a year.<sup>101</sup>

Robert, the son of Edward Chicken, was baptised in Newcastle's St. John's Church in 1696, and his brother Edward, 'son of Edward Chicken, weaver, White Cross', was baptised there in 1698, as was Elizabeth in 1700. Edward senior died in 1707 and left his widow in 'limited circumstances', though she sent the boys to St. John's Charity School, and around 1712 Edward was apprenticed to a weaver. He later married in St. John's Church, was admitted to the Weavers' Company in 1718 and was elected as its 'elector' for civic matters in 1720. His son Edward was baptised in St. John's Church in 1721, and his father became clerk of both the parish and the Weavers' Company. In 1723 another daughter was baptised in St. John's Church, her father was parish clerk and steward of the Weavers' Company.<sup>102</sup> By 1724 he was a civic clerk, and ran a school opposite the White Cross. Another son of Edward Chicken, 'Clerk of the Parish White Cross', was baptised in St. John's Church in 1726, but died in 1727. Reportedly a poor neighbour asked Chicken for financial advice, and one Saturday morning he and his friends sat at a table in the street, drank ale and smoked. He explained his neighbour's problem to people coming to the market and collected enough to pay off his debt.<sup>103</sup>

Around 100 pitmen lived in Newcastle.<sup>104</sup> In 1729 Edward Chicken senior 'humbly inscrib'd' *A Trip to Elswick* to Mr Anthony Meggison, and John White reportedly printed it on 36 pages of foolscap. (John Bell had a copy a century later, which has not been traced, though White printed a 'Second Edition' in 1764,<sup>105</sup> which is quoted here.) Chicken did not sing about 'great Caesar's Might', but 'in strains much lower, / OF COLLIER LADS, unsung before'.

In former Days, when trade was good,  
And Men get Money, Cloaths and food  
When landlords were not too severe,  
And tenants broke not ev'ry Year;  
But liv'd in Plenty, knew no Need,  
And had enough to do their Deed.  
Then Country Lads went neat and clean,  
And Lasses comely to be seen;  
Strove with each other ev'ry Day,  
Who shou'd excel at Work or Play;  
Were honest Servants, virtuous Wives,  
Led harmless, inoffensive Lives ...  
They made no Visits, see no Play,  
But spun their Vacant Hours away,  
And this the COLLIERS, and their WIVES,  
Liv'd drunken, honest, working Lives;  
Were very fond of one another,  
And always marry'd one thro' other.

'Jenny', a collier's daughter from 'Benwel Town', attended a 'Country Wake', a fair or feast.

Her pliant Limbs when Music plaid,  
Cou'd humour ev'ry Thing it said;  
For when she tript it on the Plain,  
To Jackey's lost his fellow Swain,  
Shew'd she had music in her Heels:  
She danc'd so well, so very long,  
She won the Smock, and pleas'd the throng.

'Jenny' and 'Tommy', a young collier, went to an inn, and he proposed marriage, though she insisted that he got her mother's approval. 'Old Bessy' was a beer-drinking, smoking and farting harridan, and when she agreed to the wedding and the neighbours came to celebrate, people ended lying on the floor in their own vomit.

On the wedding day young people who rarely went to church got ready to do so.

The Music makes the Village ring,  
The Children shout, the old Wives sing,  
Tom comes in triumph o'er the Plain,  
With Collier Lads, a jolly Train;  
They smoke along the dusty Way,  
Whips crack for joy, the Horses play.  
The Bridegroom rides in State before,  
'Midst Clouds of Dust the Bagpipes roar ...

After the ceremony some men tried to grab the bride's garters, a piper played *I'll make thee fain to follow Me* and four 'rustic Fellows' raced to 'win what Country call the Kail',<sup>106</sup> an oatmeal broth, sometimes with raisins or currants, which was the prize for the first to reach the wedding feast.<sup>107</sup> After the tables were withdrawn,

The Bridegroom first assumes the Floor,  
And dances all the Maidens o'er; ...  
In 'ev'ry Room, both high and low,  
The Fidlers play, the Bagpipes blow;  
Some shout the Bride, and some the Groom,  
They roar the very Music dumb;  
Hand over Head, and one thro' other,  
They dance with Sister and with Brother:  
Their common tune is *Get her Bo*,  
The weary Lass cries, Music so;  
Till tir'd in circling round they wheel,  
And beat the Ground with Toe and Heel.

A young collier got up

And swore he'd dance while he was able;  
He catch'd his Partner by the Hand,  
And kiss'd her for to make her stand;  
And said, now Lass, come dance away:  
He led her off; just when begun,  
She stopt, and cry'd, some other Tune;  
Then whisper'd in the Piper's ear,  
So loud, that ev'ry one might hear,  
I'd have you play me *Jumping John*,  
He tun'd his Reed, and try'd his Drone.  
The Pipes scream out her fav'rite Jig,  
Then knock'd her Thumbs and stood her Trig;  
Then cock'd her Belly up a little,  
Then wet her Fingers with her Spittle:  
So off she goes; the Collier Lad  
Sprung from the Floor, and danc'd like mad:  
They sweep each Corner of the Room,  
And all stand clear when e're they come  
They dance, and tire the Piper out,

And all's concluded with a Shout.

Bessy asked the piper to play *Joyful Days are Coming*, and tried to dance as well as she did when she was young. By night-time, while some guests 'swam in what they drank before', the bride stayed sober. Women friends escorted her to her bedroom, advised her to 'be mannerly in every posture' and undressed her. When the groom arrived they undressed him too, and took away the bride's left stocking,<sup>108</sup> to throw it among the guests. Whoever caught it was believed to be the next to marry.<sup>109</sup> Northumberland had had a poet for some time.

#### (iv) Thomas Whittell

Thomas Whittle was born on 6 September 1681 in the Northumberland village of Cambo, and baptised in Kirkwhelpington Church. Both villages were on the Scottish drovers' road. On 10 September 1683 a Thomas Whittell of Capheaton, just off the drovers' road, was also baptised in Kirkwhelpington Church.<sup>110</sup> Whichever was the future poet was later apprenticed to a miller in Edlingham, 18 miles north of Morpeth.<sup>111</sup> He picked out his initials over the mill door and carried pokes (sacks) of flour on horseback from door to door.<sup>112</sup> At some point he reportedly rode to Cambo, mounted on an old goat from the flock he minded, and worked for another miller. One morning, near the end of his apprenticeship, he is said to have met the vicar, who was 'pleased with his shrewd and pertinent remarks'. He gave him a shilling, and told him to 'lay it out to the best advantage'. Whittell went to a tavern and met 'a few of the disciples of Bacchus', the Roman god of wine, who were 'so delighted with his conversation' that they paid for all his drinks, and he reportedly became 'immoderately fond of drinking'.

After he completed his apprenticeship Whittell became a freemason and roamed between Newcastle and Edinburgh.<sup>113</sup> A *Scots Song* noted that as he left 'England proud' he 'met with a blithe, and a bonny young lass, / And I rue in my Heart that I lay not wit her'. 'Of hunder' pounds, I wou'd gae a pair, / If she of her mill, would make me miller', yet she ran away. A Kirkharle woman had 40 or more suiters, and *The Whimsical Love of Thomas Whittell, And the comical reception it found from that Imperious Beauty, Anne Dobinson*, wished 'all her sweethearts in Heaven' so he 'could get hold of the lass'. Once, when he was 'low in his finances' in Edinburgh, he is said to have shown a master stone mason a masonic sign and was given a large stone which contained whinstone to work on. The stonemason told him he would 'make a devil of it', and overnight Whittell produced a statue of the devil. The stonemason wanted to buy it, though Whittell smashed it to pieces. He also 'excelled in painting', and in 1714 or soon after he painted the new king's arms in Hartburn Church. He painted the devil and little devils in another church, and called them fallen angels. The vicar saw the joke, rewarded him with liquor, and Whittell painted conventional angels.<sup>114</sup> The 'versatility of his talents enabled him to personate different characters'.<sup>115</sup>

Around this time a Northumberland gentleman bought a Gaelic grammar so he could speak with Highland drovers with 'hardly any English' at Stagshawbank Fair above Corbridge.<sup>116</sup> Whittell thanked drovers who were counting their sheep on Sundays for their 'good temper'. Some Scotsmen settled in Northumberland, including a 'blithe and bonny' 'Dominie' (teacher). Probably soon after November 1715 Whittell set *Sawney Ogilby's Duel with his Wife* to the tune associated with *The Worst's Past*. 'Ogilby', possibly a real 'North British hallion' (a contemptible and clumsy Scot), was a chapman who came 'trotting away like a stallion / As keen bitten as a cur-dog'.

The routing the earl of Mar's forces,  
Has given their neighbours supplies;  
They've stock'd us with Highlanders' horses,  
Like kyloes for madness and size.  
The Whirligig maker of Midford,  
Has gotten one holds such a stir,  
He's had worse work with it, I'll say for't,  
Than Ecky e'er had with his Mare.  
Poor Sawney! as canny a North British hallion,  
As e'er crost the border this million of weeks,  
Miscarry'd and marry'd a Scottish tarpawlin,  
That pays his pack shoulders, and will have the breeks. ...

His body was soddy, and sair he was bruised,  
The bark of his shins were all standing in peakes,  
No stivat e'er lived, was so much misused,  
As sarey auld Sawney for claiming the breeks.

Kyloes were small Highland cattle, a stivat was a useless person, and a tarpawlin was a sailor, but when applied to a woman it often meant a sailor's whore, and whoever wore the breeks (trousers) had domestic supremacy.

The chapman in *Willy Lang's Mare* had prospered and bought a mare. Once, in Gateshead, he had to pay 6d for her feed at the Goat Inn. When she broke leg he left her behind, though she recovered and found him. Whittell set his *Midford Galloway's Ramble* to the tune associated with *Ranting roaring Willy*. The pony escaped and toured Northumberland, then returned. Whittell speculated that 'Perhaps it was brought up a tory, / And knew the poor man for a whig'.<sup>117</sup> Reportedly he made a fair copy with a title page and a dedicatory epistle to Mrs Sarah Gregory,<sup>118</sup> and it appeared with a black-letter title and a woodcut.<sup>119</sup>



This was the only Whittell lyric known to have been printed in his lifetime,<sup>120</sup> though he visited Newcastle.

The town's first fashionable assembly took place during Race Week in June 1716,<sup>121</sup> opposite St. John's vicarage in Westgate Street,<sup>122</sup> in a house had formerly belonged to a gentleman.<sup>123</sup> Whittell's *The New Nocturnal Assemblies* condemned 'Nobility turn'd actors on the stage', 'Revels and dances, cards and vile amours, / Mixt with obscene discourse', and when the lights went out there was a danger of rape.

This makes all quiet, tongues no longer go,  
Unless a tender sister shriek or so,  
What woman can Lucretia's fate evade,  
When men are rampant, and the maids display'd?

Whittell feared Newcastle would share 'Gomorrhah's fate'.

Whittell was interested in politics and religion. The title of duke of Berwick had been created in 1687 for the illegitimate son of the later deposed Catholic king. In 1707 the Spanish king confirmed the title and the English title lapsed. The duke became a Jacobite, and in 1719 the Spanish king supported a Jacobite invasion of Scotland, though stormy seas allowed only about 300 troops to land, and the duke did not join them. Whittell's *The Duke of Berwick's Plot* damned 'Rome's pois'nous infection'. Shafto Hall in Northumberland had been sequestered after the owner and his son were attainted for taking part in the rising, yet it was later restored. Whittell's *On East Shaftoe* had a Latin tag which translates as 'Oh if farmers only knew their great good fortune'. It is unclear whether Whittell was one of the 40 or so men carousing with wine in Shafto Hall, but he noted that 'miners th' disembowel'd earth explore' nearby and the Hall was well away from the 'corrupted vulgar crowd'.

In May 1721 Benjamin Richey (or Redshaw) was married at Hartburn Church, and Whittell wrote his *Rape of the Garter*. He was disappointed that the vicar disapproved of men trying to remove the bride's garter, and he disapproved of poor musicians in *Johnny Brecking's Wedding*.

They had a piper, the de'il be fain,  
But if ever you heard an ill-greas'd wain,  
You'd sworn his chanter had been ane,  
And his drone had been a bumbee.

Another *Scots Song* patronised the Morpeth foulplough, when young men pulled a plough through the streets at New Year with 'music, mirth and merriment', and sang the 'ploughman's rant'.

All Morpeth people arse o'er head,  
Get on the streets to eye them,  
They took their round thro' all the town,  
And door by door did pass there,  
And scarcely either card or clown  
Deny'd to give some brass there.

*The Medley of Combats* noted that 'Old Watson's for tuning his fiddle' during a Morpeth skirmish, and Whittell was familiar with the piper at Mason Middleton and 'Ferry the piper's old cat' at Midford.<sup>124</sup>

Whittell was said to be 'intolerant of patronage and jealous of ostentatious wealth'.<sup>125</sup> Morpeth returned two MPs, yet the number of voters was kept artificially low in the rest of the county, at well under 2,000, by the exclusion of freeholders in Alnwick, Hexham and North Shields. In 1722 two Whigs were candidates,<sup>126</sup> and Whittell's *Alnwick Election* noted that 'whigs and low churchmen', even though 'for a commonwealth / Still they are wishing / To the tune of Old Oliver lend me thy nose', had 'brought a great Marquis', and Highland Scots, who were worth 'Twenty shillings per annum,' 'pass for a vote'. 'Don Gold and Sir Selfish' were 'Combining together';<sup>127</sup> and in the event both Whigs were returned unopposed.<sup>128</sup>

Whittell engraved a gravestone for the Aynsley family at Whelpington,<sup>129</sup> but he despised a Hexham lawyer who had reportedly purchased an estate for the earl of Derwentwater in 1711.<sup>130</sup> In 1722 *On J--n A--s/y* noted that he

Could writings forge, and alter dates,  
And juggle men out of their estates,  
Ruin'd widows, orphans, all he met,  
For all were fish that came to net' ...  
... never was a wight profounder,  
At shifting land-mark, butt, or bounder;  
Or took more pleasure, pains, or labour,  
To make encroachments on his neighbour,  
He to this end had men elected,  
By juggling impudence protected,  
All vers'd in the informer's lecture,  
Knew when to lie, to cheat, or hector ...

Whittell concluded that 'ready money' was Aynsley's 'religion'. He also satirised a tavern-keeper.

For honour he has such a lust, as,  
Sometimes to make him act the justice,  
And liberal is of stocks or whipping,  
To such as know nought but submitting,  
But such tough fellows as dare cross him  
He scorns and spares, and lets them pass him.<sup>131</sup>

In 1723 the bishop of Durham introduced a bill in the Lords to give senior clerics the power to lease mines, though the Commons made so many amendments that it was withdrawn.<sup>132</sup> Whittell's *The B----p Defeated. A Burlesque poem*, noted that he wanted 'petty peasants' to 'kiss th' hem of his garment'. *On the Marriage of Sir William Blackett, Bart, with the Lady Barbara Villiers*, had a Latin tag which translated as 'Virtue is its own reward'. Whittell noted that 'when the tidings to Newcastle came', 'Harmonious music play'd, sweet voices sung', and 'The Way to Wallington was still the tune', while *The Farewell* damned 'bailiffs made of bastards' and 'ruining corporations'.<sup>133</sup>

In Northumberland the earl of Carlisle influenced the Morpeth election in 1727, and the Percy family nominated one candidate,<sup>134</sup> yet they were both Whigs. The sitting Whig MP gave a local poet 2s 6d to write verses in his praise, yet Whittell thought poets 'should hold pens, as swords are held by fools,' and 'guard from foes, with arms divine, the Britons Church and King'. He noted that one Whig 'musters up his tribes, / Allur'd by promises, secur'd by bribes,' but 'Keeps solemn league hid in his heart, from sight' as well as 'Old Noll' (Oliver Cromwell) and his 'abhor'd fraternity'. 'The modern saints, the whigs to meet him fly', and the 'mercenary pack of churchmen too'.<sup>135</sup> In the event the two Whigs were returned unopposed.<sup>136</sup>

Blackett died in London 1728 and his corpse was brought to Newcastle. The pupils of St. Andrew's Charity School, 'new clothed in grey, with black caps', and singing, led his funeral procession.<sup>137</sup> Whittell's *On the Death of the Right Worshipful Sir William Blackett, Bart.*, praised 'great Sir William', 'His country's darling, and Newcastle's choice,' who had been 'by the polite kind of mankind lov'd', and Whittell also wrote a flattering *Epitaph*.<sup>138</sup> Over 600 of the 1727 votes for Blackett were set aside on account of bribery and William Carr entered the Commons.<sup>139</sup>

More boys were being educated in the region. In the 1720s new teachers lived in All Saint's and St. John's parishes, though two died in St. Nicholas' parish and one of the two in Denton Chare. There was a teacher in Pudding Chare, one in St. John's churchyard and two at the Grammar School, whose writing master lived in Westgate.

In Northumberland in 1725 Morpeth Grammar School's new statute required the master to have an MA and be 'excellently skilled in Greek and Latin', while the usher had to have a BA. They were to 'teach Poor men's children with as much care and diligence as the Rich', and 'admonish their scholars to speak Latin', even outside school, and



'take great care' that they 'read and pronounce' with 'due sound and accent'. (Neither could hold a church appointment, though they did.) Farmers with less than £20 a year had to pay £1 for their children to attend.<sup>140</sup> A military man established a charity school in Berwick,<sup>141</sup> and larger towns supported professional musicians.

#### (v) Disorderly Living

In summer 1717 the Rothbury curate in Northumberland had dined with the mayor and then 'joined the parade to the town-hall to drink the king's health, with the weights [*sic*] before us'.<sup>142</sup> George Batey was a Hexham piper in 1719, as was Robert Roberts in 1722, and William Hill was a musician there in 1724.

In Newcastle the musician Joshua Dixon had lived in All Saints' parish in 1715, the fiddler William Murray in Fryer Chair and the fiddler Edward Robson in St. John's parish, and the wait John Martin in St. Nicholas' parish in 1716. The piper Robert Richardson married in St. Andrew's Church. The fiddler Thomas Wilkinson and the musician John Younger lived in that parish, while the musicians Thomas Grey and Thomas Moody lived in All Saint's parish. In 1720 a 'Ballad Singers childe' was buried in St. John's parish, as was John King, a 'Blackmore Drumer' in a military regiment. The musician Joseph Wilkinson lived in All Saints' parish, the fiddler James Wilson lived in the Nolt market and the fiddler Richard Morthhead also lived in St. John's parish. The musicians Thomas Laws and Joseph Prior lived in St. Nicholas' parish in 1725. The audiences for music continued to polarise socially.

In 1719 the dancing master Thomas Garenieres had lived in Westgate, and Robert Wood was a dancing master, though the dancing masters Thomas Bray and William Harris died in St. John's parish. Samuel Nichols, the St. Nicholas' Church organist, received £25 a year, but died, and Thomas Powell was appointed at £40 a year and got more for tuning the organ. The former Durham Cathedral chorister Richard Cumin died in Newcastle 1722, as did the dancing master Robert Sholton and the musician Joseph Mitchell in 1723, as did the fiddler George Watson in 1724, yet the musician John Patterson was active. In 1725 a 'famous Lute-Master' and his nine-year-old daughter played at the Grammar School. The Corporation gave money to the All Saints' Church organist, François de Prendcourt, yet died poor, and the organist Francis Fraumet also died. The 22-year-old Londoner Solomon Strolger replaced him, and also became a wait, yet the former wait Robert Blenkinsop complained that he no longer received his pension. Richard Avison died in Durham in 1721 and was buried there. Four of his 11 children survived, and his widow Catherine reportedly became the organist at St. Mary's Church in Gateshead.<sup>143</sup>

Lay musicians evidently found work in Durham. The Grassmen had paid a 'drumer' 2s 6d on bounder day in 1719, 2s 6d in 1720, 3s for 'ye drum' and ale in 1721, 4s 6d for 'ye drum & Garlands' in 1722, plus 2s 6d to the drummer, and 2s to the 'musioners' and 2s to the 'Clerke ye Drummer & ye two Musisioners in Ale on hollow Thursday' in 1723. The Grassmen paid a drummer 2s 6d and 2s for 'Musick', plus 1s 6d for the musicians' ale on bounder day in 1724, and 'ye Drumer & Musick 5s in 1725, while 'ye Drummers & others' got 1s for ale in 1726 and the 'Drummer & Waits' got 3s in 1727;<sup>144</sup>

Elsewhere in County Durham Mr J. Chatto had been a Sunderland musician in 1723,<sup>145</sup> and in 1724 an assembly took place there during the races.<sup>146</sup> The dancing master Hugh Demsey had taught fencing in Durham at least since 1723, and in June 1727 he announced in the *Newcastle Courant* that he would spend six months in the city the following year and the other six months at Lancaster and Preston. He often visited London to learn the latest dances, and Paris occasionally.<sup>147</sup> In 1727 the *Courant* informed

all gentlemen and ladies that an Assembly will be kept during the Assizes at Durham by Mrs. Thorpe, at the house where Mr. Dempsey lately lived and kept the Assembly, and where Mr. Lax now teaches to dance, in Sadler Street. And also an Assembly at Sunderland this season during the time of the Races.

N.B. The same gentlewoman kept the Assembly at Sunderland last season during the Races. Tickets, 2s 6d each, will be given out by Mrs. Thorpe at her house, near Elvet Bridge, and nowhere else.

A 'child of the *Dancing Master*' of West Rainton died in Houghton-le-Spring,<sup>148</sup> though there were assemblies during Bishop Auckland races,<sup>149</sup> and one Tyneside merchant had prospered.

In Gateshead William Cotesworth's annual income from land alone had reportedly been over £4,500 in 1722,<sup>150</sup> and industrial discipline was being tightened, yet in 1724 Gateshead Fell pitmen 'Sleeped the Caller' who tapped on their window to wake them for work.<sup>151</sup> Cotesworth's butler had worked for the Newcastle Whig Richard Ridley,<sup>152</sup> and in 1725 he reportedly tried to poison Cotesworth with arsenic,<sup>153</sup> yet he died in 1726, apparently of natural causes. Even excluding his coal investments he was reportedly worth £60,000.<sup>154</sup> The rector of Bishopwearmouth noted that 90 percent of County Durham was enclosed, and advocated more in 1727.<sup>155</sup>

Years earlier Henry Liddell had told Cotesworth that it was unwise to keep his boys at Newcastle Grammar School, so he sent them to Sedbergh,<sup>156</sup> and by 1727 William junior was at the Middle Temple in London. He played the flute and paid a music teacher £17 17s a year and a dancing master £9 9s. His sister sent Robert Robbin to convince his friends that small piping was 'very good musick', and Cotesworth told his Newcastle sweetheart that he 'outplayed all others in Northumberland';<sup>157</sup> though the best fees for singers in Durham were at the Cathedral.

John Stout had earned £20 a year as a Durham Cathedral singing man in 1715. Thomas Parkinson was excused attendance in 1718, because of old age and infirmity. Henry Parkinson was reinstated, and John Ash became a singing man for £40 a year in 1721. William Laye (or Leigh) had become a singing man by 1716. He was expelled in 1718 for 'Drunkenness & Disorderly Living' and being 'negligent', but he was subsequently readmitted. He was accused of committing incest and suspended in 1721, then partially reinstated in 1722 without a salary for lack of evidence.<sup>158</sup> Philip Falle had become a canon and bequeathed over 200 volumes of printed music, mostly collected abroad, to the Cathedral, though the catalogue has been lost.<sup>159</sup> William Smith became a singing man in 1722, and was allowed to study in London for four years from 1723, while the former chorister Humphrey Norton became the organist at Sedgefield Church around 1724.<sup>160</sup> In 1726 the minor canons William Turner and Ralph Eden were suspended for fornication. Turner resigned, and the dean and chapter later gave him £20, yet Eden failed to give 'any Satisfaction to the Chapter of his Innocence' and was sacked.<sup>161</sup> Cuthbert Brass, a shoemaker's apprentice, had become a chorister in 1717, and was a singing man by 1727. He subsequently looked after the choristers when the organist was away and copied a large amount of music, while William Smith left to study organ-playing in Newcastle. Thomas Guilding had been itinerant teacher of Psalms and songs since 1726. He taught Newcastle and Sunderland charity school children his anthems, but became a Durham Cathedral singing man in 1729 at £30 a year.<sup>162</sup> The Cathedral had to compete in the market in order to recruit and retain the best performers.

#### **(vi) As the Use of these Old Songs is very great**

John Dicey had died in London in 1728 and his widow Elizabeth ran the Bow Lane business. John Cluer Dicey plagiarised 70 songs, with their notes and illustrations, from *A Collection of Old Ballads*.<sup>163</sup>

As the Use of these Old Songs is very great, in respect that many Children never would have learned to Read had they not took a delight in poring over Jane Shore, or Robin Hood, &c. which has insensibly stole into them a curiosity and Desire of Reading other the like Stories, till they have improv'd themselves more in a short time than perhaps they would have done in some Years at School: In order still to make them more useful, I promise to affix an Introduction, in which I shall point out what is Fact and what is Fiction in each Song' which will (as may be readily Suppos'd) give not only children, but Persons of more ripe Years an insight into the Reality, Intent, and Design, as well as many times the Author and Time when such a Song was made, which has not hitherto been explain'd.<sup>164</sup>

He included several lyrics associated with Scotland and a version of *Chevy Chase*.<sup>165</sup> Importing type was banned,<sup>166</sup> though Dicey subsequently printed music from specially-made type and copperplates.<sup>167</sup>

In 1731 Elizabeth Dicey married her late husband's foreman, William Cobb, who ran the press,<sup>168</sup> and an anonymous poem in *The Weekly Register* described a ballad-seller's visit to a London printer for copies.

Thence I receive them, and then sally  
Strait to some market place or alley,  
And sitting down judiciously  
Begin to sing. The people soon  
Gather about, to hear the tune.  
One stretches out his hand, and cries  
Come, let me have it, what's the price?  
But one poor halfpenny, says I,  
And sure you cannot that deny.  
Here, take it then says he, and throws  
The money. Then away he goes,  
Humming it as he walks along,  
Endeavouring to learn the song.<sup>169</sup>

*The Gentleman's Magazine or, Trader's monthly intelligencer* cost 6d. By October it claimed it was sold 'by the Booksellers in Town and Country',<sup>170</sup> and sales soon reached 15,000. It became the first English periodical with a national circulation, thanks to the newsmen of 20 or so provincial newspapers, including one in Newcastle.<sup>171</sup>



# 12. All Gentlemen and Ladies

## (i) Chapmen and others may be furnished with small Books and Ballads

The ballad called *The Birds Lamentation* had appeared in London in 1700,<sup>1</sup> and, probably around 1730,<sup>2</sup> John Cluer Dicey sold it in St. Ives, Atlesbury, Coventry, Harborough, Tring, St. Albans, Cambridge, Newport Pagnall, Stony Stratford, Derby and Leeds, and to Thomas Gent in York and John White in Newcastle.<sup>3</sup> In January 1731 White was arrested for reprinting an article from the Tory London *Craftsman* in the *Newcastle Courant*.<sup>4</sup> The 'Hague Letter' revealed the Whig government's secret foreign policy,<sup>5</sup> and he was fined £80. He wrote in the *Courant*. 'Such as are in Arrear to the Carriers and Distributors' were 'desired to pay the same immediately to them, or the Printer thereof, and for the future will be punctual in such payments.' There were 43 members of the north-east book trade,<sup>6</sup> and 15 were in Newcastle,<sup>7</sup> including Mr S. Ross at the Angel, 1 Flesh Market (today's Cloth Market).<sup>8</sup> White sold *The London Magazine*; *Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, and he and other booksellers took out subscriptions for a Latin *Thesaurus*.<sup>9</sup> In April the 21-year limit on copyright began to expire,<sup>10</sup> and possibly around this time White printed a ballad which named the king who had come to the throne in 1727.

**The Wandering JEW's CHRONICLE;**  
Or, A Brief History of the Remarkable Passages from *WILLIAM* the Conqueror; to this present Reign.

*To the Tune of, The Wandering Jew's Chronicle.*

<b>WILLIAM CONQUEROR.</b> Began his Reign Oct. 12, 1066. Reigned 35 Years 10 Months 25 Days.	<b>WILLIAM RUFUS.</b> Began his Reign Sept. 9, 1087. Reigned 25 Years 10 Months 25 Days.	<b>HENRY I.</b> Began his Reign Dec. 21, 1100. Reigned 35 Years 3 Months 25 Days.	<b>STEPHEN.</b> Began his Reign Dec. 21, 1135. Reigned 18 Years 10 Months 25 Days.	<b>HENRY II.</b> Began his Reign Oct. 25, 1154. Reigned 35 Years 8 Months 11 Days.	<b>RICHARD I.</b> Began his Reign July 8, 1189. Reigned 9 Years 9 Months.	<b>JOHN.</b> Began his Reign April 6, 1199. Reigned 17 Years 6 Months 15 Days.	<b>HENRY III.</b> Began his Reign Oct. 19, 1216. Reigned 56 Years 28 Days.	<b>EDWARD I.</b> Began his Reign Nov. 16, 1272. Reigned 34 Years 7 Months 21 Days.	<b>EDWARD II.</b> Began his Reign July 7, 1307. Reigned 19 Years 6 Months 18 Days.	<b>EDWARD III.</b> Began his Reign Jan. 25, 1327. Reigned 50 Years 4 Months 25 Days.
<b>RICHARD II.</b> Began his Reign Jan. 21, 1377. Reigned 35 Years 3 Months 8 Days.	<b>HENRY IV.</b> Began his Reign Sept. 29, 1399. Reigned 15 Years 3 Months 25 Days.	<b>HENRY V.</b> Began his Reign March 20, 1413. Reigned 9 Years 5 Months 11 Days.	<b>HENRY VI.</b> Began his Reign Dec. 21, 1422. Reigned 38 Years 6 Months 4 Days.	<b>EDWARD IV.</b> Began his Reign March 29, 1461. Reigned 11 Years 1 Month 5 Days.	<b>EDWARD V.</b> Began his Reign April 9, 1483. Reigned 2 Months 13 Days.	<b>RICHARD III.</b> Began his Reign July 2, 1483. Reigned 2 Years 2 Months.	<b>HENRY VII.</b> Began his Reign Aug. 22, 1485. Reigned 32 Years 8 Months.	<b>HENRY VIII.</b> Began his Reign Jan. 28, 1509. Reigned 37 Years 9 Months 6 Days.	<b>EDWARD VI.</b> Began his Reign Jan. 28, 1547. Reigned 6 Years 5 Months 8 Days.	<b>Q. MARY.</b> Began her Reign July 7, 1553. Reigned 5 Years 4 Months 11 Days.
<b>Q. ELIZABETH.</b> Began her Reign Nov. 17, 1558. Reigned 44 Years 4 Months 7 Days.	<b>JAMES I.</b> Began his Reign March 24, 1603. Reigned 22 Years 3 Days.	<b>CHARLES I.</b> Began his Reign March 27, 1625. Reigned 29 Years 10 Months 3 Days.	<b>CHARLES II.</b> Began his Reign Feb. 29, 1649. Reigned 36 Years 7 Days.	<b>JAMES II.</b> Began his Reign Feb. 6, 1685. Reigned 4 Years 7 Days.	<b>WILLIAM AND MARY.</b> Began their Reign Feb. 13, 1689. Reigned 13 Years 23 Days.	<b>Q. ANNE.</b> Began her Reign March 8, 1702. Reigned 13 Years 4 Months 25 Days.	<b>K. GEORGE I.</b> Began his Reign Aug. 1, 1714. Reigned 13 Years 10 Months 10 Days.	<b>K. GEORGE II.</b> Began his Reign June 11, 1727. Reigned 13 Years 10 Months 10 Days.	<b>Q. CAROLINE.</b> Began her Reign June 11, 1727. Reigned 13 Years 10 Months 10 Days.	<b>Q. MARY II.</b> Began her Reign June 11, 1727. Reigned 13 Years 10 Months 10 Days.

**W**hen William, Duke of Normandy,  
With all his Normans gallantly,  
This Kingdom did subdue;  
Full fifteen Years of Age I was,  
And whither since has come to pass,  
I can report for true.

I can remember since he went  
From London for to conquer Kent:  
Where in a walking Wood,  
The Men of Kent compassed him,  
And he for Aye confirm'd to them,  
"King Edward's Laws for Good."

Likewise I William Rufus knew,  
And saw the Arrow that him flew,  
Hard by a Forest Side:  
I will could tell you if I list,  
Or better tell you if I will,  
Who next to him did rise.

Fifth Henry, aye, and Stephen knew,  
Whom no Man there but I did view,  
I saw them Crown'd, and Dead:  
I can remember well also  
The Second Henry's royal Show;  
The Day that he was wed.

I likewise was at Woodstock Bower,  
And saw that sweet and famous Flower,  
Queen Eleanor did to light:  
I found the best of Thee and again,  
After that worthy King's was slain,  
"Twas green, blue, red, and white."

I saw King Richard in his Shirt,  
Full out a furious Lion's Heart,  
Whereby his Strength was try'd:  
I saw King John, when as the Monk  
Gave him the Poison which he drunk,  
And then forthwith he dy'd.

I mark'd the Barons when they sent  
For the French Dauphin, with Intent  
To put this Henry down:  
I saw the Earl of Leicester foot,  
(Call'd, Simon Maunsard) with his Tent  
Believe fair London Town.

And I have the First Edward seen,  
Whose Legs I still thought to have been:  
A Yard and more to Length;  
With him I into Scotland went,  
And back again incontinent,  
Which he subdu'd by Strength.

I knew Canaan's Minion dear,  
And saw the Fall of Malmesbury,  
With all the Barons Wars:  
I likewise was in Armour sent  
To Barons Battle upon Trent,  
Where I receiv'd these Scars.

Third Edward, and his valiant Son,  
By whom great great Wars were done,  
I saw on Cressy Plain;  
Which Day, when Bows and Arrows were  
Grew faint, with mighty Stones I went,  
Were many Brethren slain.

I knew Wat Tyler, and Jack Straw,  
And I the Mayor of London saw,  
In Smithfield, which him flew:  
I was at Pomfret Castle, when  
The Second Richard there was slain,  
Whose Death e'er since I rue.

I saw when Henry Beaufort took,  
The Crown and Scepter on him took:  
Which he became full well:  
I saw when Henry Holgarth he,  
And many Lords at Salisbury,  
Were slain in Battle fell.

I saw the brave victorious Prince,  
Whose Death I have bewail'd e'er since,  
Henry the Fifth, I mean:  
And I can give you just Report,  
How many French at Agincourt,  
Were in one Battle slain.

I saw the White and Red rose Kullah,  
And saw what Great in Armour bright,  
To the Sixth Henry's Reign:  
And present was that very Hour,  
When Henry was in London Tower,  
By crook'd Back'd Richard slain.

I in the Goldsmith's Shop have seen,  
Fourth Edward's famous Concubine:  
Whose Name was sweet Jane Shore:  
I saw when Richard's Cruelty,  
Did put her to great Misery,  
And I was griev'd therefore.

I also was at Bosworth Field,  
Well arm'd there with Spear and Shield,  
Meaning to try my Force:  
Where Richard's loving Life and Crown,  
Was taken from to Leicester Town,  
Upon a Collier's Horse.

To the Seventh Henry then I was,  
A Servant, as it came to pass:  
To serve him at his Need:  
And while I did in Court remain,  
I saw in the Eighth Henry's Reign,  
Full many great Men bleed.

I was a Soldier bold with him,  
O'er Neptune's curled Breathe did swim  
Unto the Realm of France:  
I help'd to Ruffick Bully's Town,  
And many Places of Renown,  
Yet Home I came by Chance.

I knew Sixth Edward of a Child,  
Whose Countenance was very mild,  
A hopeful Prince he was:  
I knew Queen Mary in her Reign,  
Put Protestants to mickle Pain,  
And re-set up the Mass.

And to my Comfort I have seen  
Elizabeth, that Maiden Queen,  
Queen Mary's only Sister:  
Though the reign'd four and forty Years,  
Her Subjects shew'd well by their Tears,  
That they too soon had mis'd her.

I saw King James come from the North,  
Like to a Star that shew'd forth,  
To glad the People's Sight:  
He brought a Salve to cure our Wound,  
And made Great Britain safe and sound,  
Through Equity and Right.

He was in Troth a Prince of Peace,  
And made all former Jars to cease,  
"Twixt English Men and Scots:  
The English Men sung merry Sonnets,  
The Scots they then threw up their Bonnets  
For Joy of their good Lots.

In Scotland born, in England nurt,  
Was Pious Prince Charles the First,  
Who had to Wife Queen Mary:  
But by the Rage of Rebels Hate,  
Murder'd and martyr'd at his Gate,  
This good King did miscarry.

King Charles the Second that had spent  
Many long Years in Banishment,  
And 'scap'd with Life to nearly;  
By Miracles and Means unknown,  
I saw plac'd on the Royal Throne,  
Where he did shine most clearly.

I saw his Royal Brother James,  
Who was led on to such Extremes,  
Which made the Nation weep:  
I saw his Coronation day,  
And how he did the Scepter sway,  
Which long he could not keep.

Lord Chancellor I saw likewise,  
When he did Rule and Tyrannize,  
By Arbitrary Power:  
And I was in the Council-room,  
When Peter he was pleas'd to doom  
The Bishops to the Tower.

I present was that very Morn,  
When the Pretender he was born,  
Being the Tenth of June,  
In Sixteen Hundred Eighty Eight:  
But this Day prov'd unfortunate,  
It put all out of Tune.

I saw King William cross the Seas,  
To give the Land and Nation Ease,  
With a most glorious Fleet:  
I saw him cross to Ireland,  
With a right valiant armed Band,  
Making his Foot retreat.

I have his Royal Comfort seen,  
Mary, our most Religious Queen,  
In all her County Train:  
I saw her Royal Funeral,  
And how the Showers of Tears did fall,  
While Subjects did complain.

I saw the Duke of Gloucester's Birth,  
The Glory, Triumph, Joy and Mirth,  
That was on this great Day:  
I saw his Royal Mother's Tears,  
When in the Blossom of his Years,  
Death snatch'd hence away.

I saw King William when he dy'd,  
Who was the Land and Nation's Guide,  
A Scourge to France and Spain:  
I saw Queen Anne come to the Throne,  
Whose Royal Favours he made known,  
During her glorious Reign.

I saw her Commons, Lords, and Peers,  
Who paid a Tribute of sad Tears,  
Before her Royal Tomb:  
I saw King George pass thro' the Town,  
All to pollish the Royal Crown,  
And govern in her Room.

I saw King George the Second come,  
With long Hazards to Britain's Throne,  
And glorious Caroline;  
Like bright Aurora, sweet and gay,  
That chafes all dim Clouds away,  
The Joy of Woman-kind.

I saw their numerous Progeny,  
The Pledges of Prosperity,  
For many Years to come:  
I saw the King and Queen when crown'd,  
With Men and Angels compass'd round,  
Long may they Grace the Throne.

Newcastle upon Tyne:  
Printed and sold by J. WHITE, where  
Chapmen and others may be furnished  
with small Histories, Sermons, &c.

Martin Parker's lyrics had been registered in London in 1634.<sup>12</sup>

There were 14 chapmen based in Newcastle.<sup>13</sup> By September White had moved his press.<sup>14</sup> *THE MERRY BROOMFIELD; OR THE WEST COUNTRY WAGER*,<sup>15</sup> had previously appeared without an imprint,<sup>16</sup> and probably in the early 1730s it appeared with the same format and woodcut, and the imprint of 'Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold by John White in Pilgrim Street.'<sup>17</sup> So did *The Unfortunate Concubine; or, Fair ROSAMOND's Overthrow, To the Tune of, The Court Lady*,<sup>18</sup> which had been registered in London in 1656,<sup>19</sup> and had been frequently reprinted.<sup>20</sup>

Abraham Taylor had sold books in Durham by 1731,<sup>21</sup> and Mr J. Ross published a book about the Cathedral for the bookseller Mrs Waghorn in 1733,<sup>22</sup> while George Nichols sold books in Morpeth in Northumberland.<sup>23</sup> Three books were published in north-east England that year.<sup>24</sup>

Nationally, 20,000 children attended charity schools, and schoolmistresses could earn £25 a year and live in a rent-free house.<sup>25</sup> In 1734 White's children's catechism was available from booksellers in Newcastle, Durham and Messrs Nichols and Hardy in Alnwick. He printed essays on the 'origin of evil' and 'the Foundation of Morality' by a graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge, for the bookseller Martin Bryson,<sup>26</sup> and printed and sold the ballad of *The Life and Death of the Duke of Berwick*, the mercenary who had recently been decapitated by a cannonball at Philippsburg in the Rhine Valley.<sup>27</sup> White sold his York press to John Gilfillan,<sup>28</sup> and was elected as a York sheriff, but claimed that the 'badness of the roads' prevented his attendance. He also sold the *York Courant* to a Londoner,<sup>29</sup> and focused on his Newcastle business, when Northumberland's poet was on his last legs.

In the early 1730s Thomas Whittell had frequented the Burnt-house tavern just off the Side in Newcastle. The schoolteacher William Carstairs was vain about his poetry, and one day the company compared his talents unfavourably with Whittell's, and 'it was agreed, that an hour should be allowed for each of them to write satirical verses on the other'. They were 'placed in separate rooms', and 'at the expiration of the time specified, it was determined by throwing up a halfpenny, which of the two should first read his lays'.<sup>30</sup> Whittell went first with *Will Carstairs Described*, which noted that 'A clown had ne'er the heart to buy/ A face like Will Carstairs' and 'His nose would make a midnight noon, / It casts such heat and light'.<sup>31</sup> Carstairs was reportedly 'so chagrined' that 'he put the concoctions of his less fertile brain in the fire'.<sup>32</sup>

Whittell was always 'slovenly in his dress and clownish in his appearance',<sup>33</sup> and now acknowledged it.

A shirt I have on,  
Little better than none  
In colour much like to a cinder ...

My black fustian breeches,  
So fall'n in the stitches,  
You may see what my legs have between them ...

My coat is all turn'd,  
With forelaps piss-burn'd,  
And so out of the arm-pits and elbows ...<sup>34</sup>

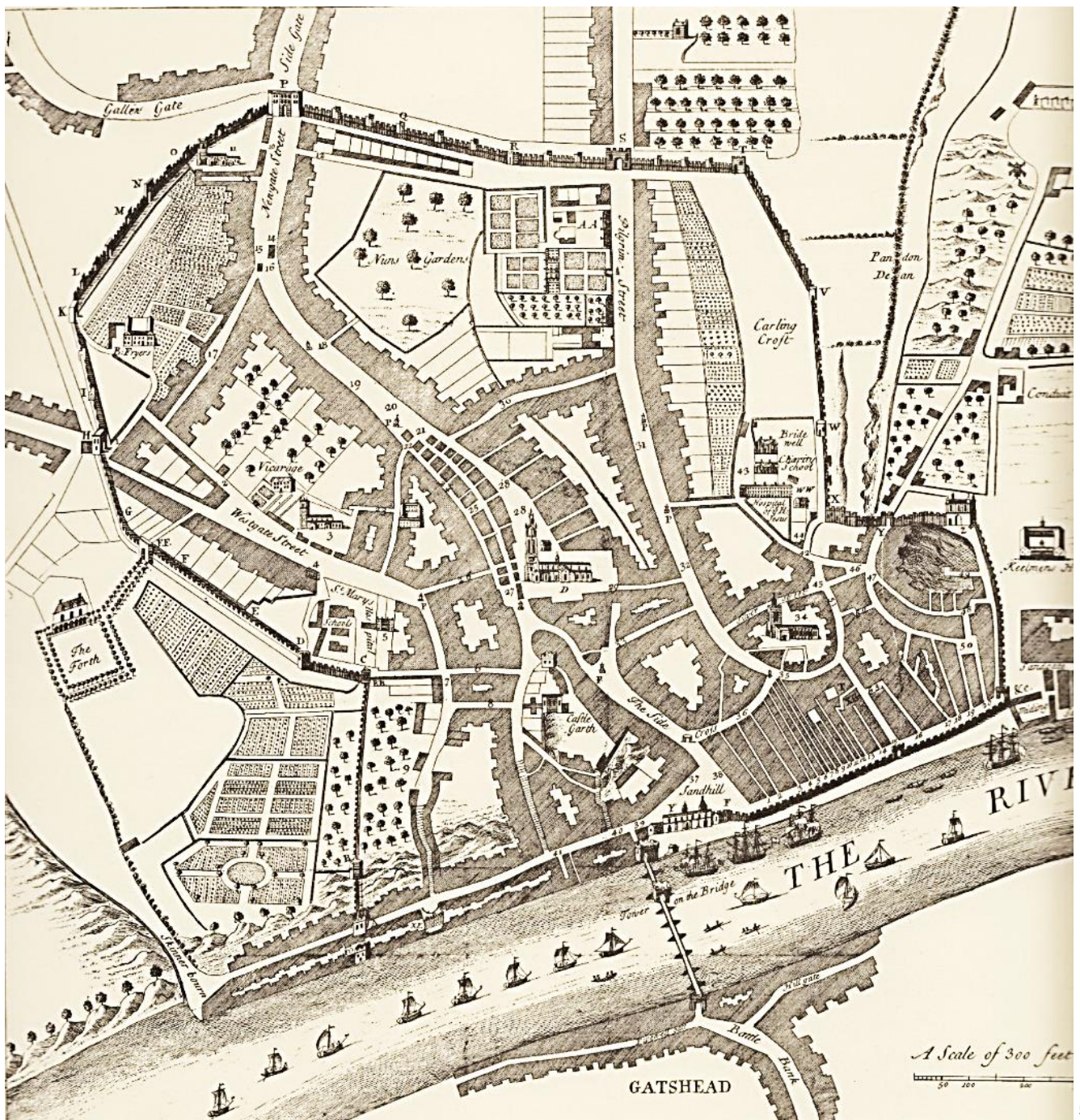
By the mid-1730s the poet was in 'extremely indigent circumstances'.<sup>35</sup> His *Last Testament*, reportedly written shortly before his death, suggests that he was 'in the neighbourhood of Capheaton.'<sup>36</sup> In February 1736 a Thomas Whittell died at the age of 60, and was buried in Whittingham churchyard,<sup>37</sup> yet a later writer claimed that the poet died, unmarried, in April.<sup>38</sup> Thomas Whittle of East Shaftoe was buried in nearby Hartburn churchyard, and the register described him as 'an ingenious man', while Thomas Whittell of Capheaton was buried in Kirkwhelpington churchyard.<sup>39</sup>

## **(ii) The Durham Chronicle and Newcastle Journal**

Isaac Lane was born in Durham in 1705.<sup>40</sup> He had moved to Newcastle by 1732,<sup>41</sup> and published Prideaux Errington's *New Copies in Verse for the use of writing-schools*.<sup>42</sup> In 1734 Lane formed a partnership with Leonard Umfreville at the Head of the Side,<sup>43</sup> but they dissolved it in November 1735,<sup>44</sup> and Lane returned to Durham, married,<sup>45</sup> and opened a shop. He sold ballads, though only *The Lady's Policy; or, The Baffled KNIGHT* has been traced.<sup>46</sup> (Richard Crimsal's lyrics had appeared in London in 1693.<sup>47</sup>) The bookseller Patrick Sanderson published the *Durham Courant*, and in 1736 an advertisement in the London *Gentleman's Magazine* noted that subscriptions for a book printed in Durham would be taken in by the 'Carriers of the *Durham Courant* in their several Roads', Mrs Waghorn and John Aisley and Mr I. Ross in Durham, the 'Booksellers of Newcastle', Francis Hildyard in York, Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler in Scarborough and London and Alex Symers in Edinburgh.<sup>48</sup>

Henry Bourne had died in Newcastle in 1733, and in autumn 1735 White had announced that *The History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; or, the ancient and present state of that town*, would be available in sheets for 10s 6d, and in a sheepskin binding for 2s extra or in calf for 2s 6d. He printed 300 copies for Bourne's children in 1736,<sup>49</sup> and there were almost 200 subscribers, including an earl, knights, gentry, clerics and Thomas Gent in York. It was dedicated to Sir Walter Blackett, and a map showed buildings radiating outside the walls to the west, north and east.





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The level of literacy in the region continued to rise unevenly.

By 1735 six girls attended Durham Blue Coat School.<sup>51</sup> From 1700 to 1730 Newcastle Grammar School had sent 50 pupils to university,<sup>52</sup> though the common council discontinued the £5 annual bursary to undergraduates in 1737. The school was in a 'low state', so 'many burgesses and inhabitants were obliged to send their children to distant schools.'<sup>53</sup> Morpeth Grammar School had 100 pupils,<sup>54</sup> and Quakers founded a school at Hawthorne in County Durham.<sup>55</sup> In October 1738 the Newcastle bookseller John Linn at the Locke's Head on Tyne Bridge advertised in the *Courant* that 'Gentlemen may be duly served with any New Books', which could be 'neatly bound' for a modest fee, and he offered to buy 'Gentlemens libraries, or any parcel of old Books'. Akenhead placed an almost identical advertisement soon after. Newcastle had eight printers, and around 50 books were published each year.<sup>56</sup> The *Durham Courant* had evidently folded,<sup>57</sup> while a freemasons' lodge met without a warrant at the Bird and Bush in Saddler Street,<sup>58</sup> and there was another new paper in Newcastle.

Isaac Thompson was born into a Quaker family in Lancashire around 1703. He moved to Newcastle as a young man and became a land agent.<sup>59</sup> In 1731 White printed his *A Collection of poems, Occasionally Writ on Several Subjects*,<sup>60</sup> which cost 3s, and almost 400 of the 500 copies were subscribed for before publication.<sup>61</sup> One poem stressed that, thanks to Newcastle's printers and publishers, the town was not a provincial backwater, and the book

would raise 'Our Thoughts from Coal Pits' and 'vulgar Keelmen'.<sup>62</sup> In January 1739 Thompson and the printer William Cuthbert announced that they had ordered a 'complete Set of new Types' from London and intended to publish a paper with attractive presswork, varied contents, comprehensive and trustworthy news', and they were assured of 'several Subscribers in Seven different Counties'.

We declare we have no Design to enter into the Service of a Party, nor to set ourselves up in opposition to any present Paper or Publisher of News; but only to carry on an Affair, in a manner as Useful and entertaining to the Publick in general as any thing of its Kind extant. We shall therefore cautiously avoid the rancour and Ill-nature of all Factions, Sects, political Distinctions, and particular Interests; tho' we shall make an impartial Use of every Side and Party to come at the Truth, and omit nothing in our Power, either of Information, or agreeable Amusement.

In spring the *Newcastle Journal* appeared from their printing office,<sup>63</sup> at the Head of the Side,<sup>64</sup> and it was Whig-inclined.<sup>65</sup> By summer several postmasters distributed it. From Carlisle Mr Pattison supplied Brampton, Wigton, Annan and Dumfries, Mr Fisher sold it Cockermouth, Mr Birket in Whitehaven supplied Workington, and Mr Richardson in Penrith Hesketh and Keswick. Mr Parkin supplied Appleby, Mr Dalton Kirby-Stephen and Mr Lamb Brough. From Bedale Mr Holmes supplied Middleham, Askrigg and Masham. From Berwick Mr Grieve supplied Eyemouth, while James Hunter distributed the paper in Duns as did Mr Mabon in Kelso.<sup>66</sup> In summer the *Journal* announced that it sold an average of 'nearly 2,000' copies.<sup>67</sup> It subsequently had an agent in Hexham. Robert Wharton supplied Ambleside, Hawkshead, Ulverston, Cartmel, Milnthorpe and Burton from Kendal. Isaac Rawlinson supplied Hornby, Garstang and Preston from Lancaster. Others supplied Kirby-Lonsdale, Sedburgh, Whitby, Morpeth, Felton, Alnwick, Belford, Wooler, Duns and Jedburgh, and Robert Winterop distributed it in Hawick, the bookbinder Andrew Spottiswood in Durham, as did Mr Emmelton, the Warkworth carrier, and 'news carriers' distributed it to Sunderland, Shields, Bishop Auckland, Raby, Staindrop, Sedgefield, Barnard Castle, Darlington, Yarm, Stockton, Norton, Stokesley, Guisborough, Richmond, Ripon, Thirsk and Northallerton. All the Newcastle booksellers sold the paper. In autumn the *Journal* condemned White's 'many ungrounded Charges and Misrepresentations', refused to respond to his 'low squinting Scurrility',<sup>68</sup> and accused him of printing 'false Stories of Amours between Men and Favourite Mares' and of 'suffocating Inoffensive Persons with Brandy Bottles'.<sup>69</sup>

During the 1730s Newcastle Grammar School sent five pupils to university.<sup>70</sup> Five of the teachers in All Saints' parish had died, including Taylor Thirkeld, as had one in St. Nicholas' parish. At least two were active in St. John's parish, though none appeared in the St. Andrew's register. No members of the book trade appeared in St. John's or St. Andrew's registers; yet there were three bookbinders in both All Saints' and St. Nicholas' parishes.

The printer and bookseller Robert Taylor ran a circulating library in Berwick in 1739,<sup>71</sup> when Thomas Gent's business was on its last legs.

### **(iii) *The pattern of piety: or tryals of patience***

In June 1733 a London gentleman had intended going Scarborough for the 'Spaw season' by sea, which was vastly pleasant and agreeable' in summer, and seldom took longer than three or four days.

The method of agreeing for your passage is thus; if you go down to Billingsgate any day in the week, you meet with the masters of vessels, who come up from Newcastle, Whitby, Scarborough, Burlington [Bridlington], with coals, etc., the proper time of meeting with them is from twelve till about two; where you may bargain for your passage, which is about a guinea, if you diet with the Master, and half a guinea or fifteen shillings for a servant, and send your goods on board directly to the ships, which generally lie near the Tower, without any farther trouble. ...

[At the] corner of the Long-Room Street is the bookseller's shop, where, as at Bath and other public places, for both gentlemen and ladies to subscribe 5s each; for which they have the use of any books (which they have a very good collection of) during the season, and take them home to their lodgings. There are also books raffled for continually, and the persons wining [sic] may have the choice of any in the shop to the value of the raffle. They also take in the news papers for the accommodation of their customers and subscribers; whom they also complement with the use of gilt paper, &c for writing letters in their shop during the whole season.

It belonged to Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler, who had another at the Ship outside Temple Bar in London,<sup>72</sup> and they sold Gent's books in both shops.<sup>73</sup>

In June 1734 Gent established a printing house in Scarborough, in Mr. Bland's lane. He sent his nephew, Arthur Clarke, to run it, and he printed theatre bills,<sup>74</sup> though his only known book was *The pattern of piety: or tryals of patience*. He was still an apprentice, and, according to Gent, 'not at all qualified to afford him any useful



assistance', and he was heartily glad when he completed his servitude. Clarke left York in 1736 and his subsequent career was 'far from respectable'.<sup>75</sup> In York Gent published a portrait of himself sitting under the books he had published, and his musical instruments.



He also advertised 'various kinds of Chapmen's books'.<sup>76</sup> By then, if not before, Ward and Chandler had a shop in York and had an 'abundance of business' until Chandler committed suicide.<sup>77</sup> In 1737 Ward & John Bland issued a 22-page catalogue of books printed for and sold by them in London, York, and at the corner of Long-Room Street at Scarborough, then in 1739 they bought *The York Courant* and re-engaged the printers.<sup>78</sup>

Some musicians were taking engagements across the region.

#### **(iv) A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSICK**

Thomas Fleming, Francis, Henry and George Beckwith, and Thomas Thackeray had been York musicians in 1733.<sup>79</sup> The Skeldergate waits played at the Assembly Rooms in 1734,<sup>80</sup> and John Dixon was an oboe player in 1735.<sup>81</sup> In 1736 the waits in their scarlet liveries with silver badges preceded the sheriff through the streets, and one wore 'a red pinked or tattered ragged cap' of 'great antiquity'.<sup>82</sup> James Blayclock was a musician in 1737, and Thomas Storme was a dancing master in 1739.<sup>83</sup>

The Durham Grassmen had paid 2s 6d to 'ye Drumer' on boulder day in 1728, 5s to 'Drummers & Waits' from 1730 to 1735, 2s 6d to 'ye Drum' in 1736, 3s 6d to 'ye Drum & garland' in 1737 and 3s 6d to 'ye Drum & Waites & Garland' in 1738;<sup>84</sup> yet the well-to-do and the Cathedral lived a different musical life.

In 1730 assemblies had been advertised 'once every week at Hartlepool during the bathing season'.<sup>85</sup> In 1732 James Houseman, who was probably from London, became a singing man at the Cathedral at £40 a year. He had an 'extraordinary voice' and may have been a counter-tenor.<sup>86</sup> Peter Blenkinsop, who had been a lay-clerk since 1729, became a wait and ran a tavern called the 'Star and Rummer'.<sup>87</sup> His annual salary at the Cathedral was £40, though he accepted an extra £5 to resign as a wait in 1733. Henry Marshall became a singing man at £30 a year in 1734, yet was constantly in debt. James Hesletine had been a chorister at the Chapel Royal in London until 1707, when he became a church organist, then moved to Durham Cathedral as a singing man in 1711,<sup>88</sup> for £30 a year. In summer 1732 he was given 'leave for Three Months' to 'Teach one day in the week in the Countrey', and in 1734 his pay was raised to £80, partly because of his 'Dilligence in Teaching the Boys'. Thomas Mountier from Chichester had become a favourite singer at London concerts before he joined Durham Cathedral choir in 1735 at a salary of £50, and he organised the town's first concert at the Grammar School.<sup>89</sup> His son Thomas, who had been a popular singer in London, became a soloist in Charles Avison's Newcastle concerts, and George Williams, Avison's apprentice, may have led the Durham concert band in 1736. In 1738 Robert Paxton became a probationary singing man at £10 a year, and a full singing man at £20 a year in 1739, when Williams ran away from Avison.<sup>90</sup>

From 1726 to 1730 St. Andrew's parish register in Newcastle had included no musicians, and St. John's register mentioned only Solomon Strolger, while Thomas Hart, Joseph Wilkinson and the piper Robert Osler lived in All Saints' parish. The instrument maker William Prior was in St. Nicholas's parish, as were the organ builders William Bristow and William Barlow and the wait Joseph Wilkinson. He died in 1731, and William Martin replaced him. The dancing master Thomas Garencieres died in All Saints' parish, yet the 'finest and best Masters from York, Durham, &c.' performed at Newcastle Grammar School, and there was a concert in Mr Harris's dancing school, which was also in Westgate Road.<sup>91</sup> The ballad singer Thomas Kidd died in All Saints' parish in 1733. In the early 1730s Bristow

sold at least one chamber organ, and he also worked on the Song School's organ in Durham. In 1734 Mr Earle advertised a chamber organ, though he was also an assay-master, wood turner and repairer of false teeth. The Assembly Rooms band consisted of four musicians in winter and eight on special occasions, and the dances and concerts functioned as marriage markets for children of the urban elite and country gentry. In 1735 Avison composed a cantata for a benefit concert in London, and after he returned to Newcastle 12 gentlemen 'procured' 170 subscriptions for 12 concerts at 10s 6d. They were probably members of the Musical Society with shares in the Assembly Rooms,<sup>92</sup> in Ridley Court, off the Groat Market,<sup>93</sup> and they advertised in the *Courant*.

**A**LL Gentlemen and Ladies that are willing to Encourage a Subscription now on Foot, for a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental MUSIC, to be held at the Assembly-Room, are desir'd to send in their Names to Messieurs Brown and Sanderfon, Watch-makers at the Head of the Side, where on Payment of 5s. one Half of the Subscription, they will receive a Ticket for the Season, which will admit two Ladies, or one Gentleman. It is also desir'd that those who have subscribed, and live in the Country, wou'd order any Person in Town to receive their Tickets, which will be deliver'd on Payment of the above-mentioned Sum. ———NE. The first Concert will be perform'd on the 2d of October, being the first Thursday after Michaelmas-day, and will continue every other Thursday till the Lady-day ensuing.

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This was the first concert series outside London,<sup>95</sup> and the band probably included a Swiss violinist, a dancing master, the five waits and their apprentices,<sup>96</sup> and the waits led the procession from the Mansion House to St. Nicholas' Church on the anniversary of the king's accession.<sup>97</sup> The saddler James Clarke had been the organist at St. John's Church until Avison was appointed at £20 a year. In 1736 he married Catherine Reynolds, who was in her early twenties, and the couple lived in Humble's buildings. After Thomas Powell, the All Saints' Church organist died 'in poor circumstances', Avison was appointed at £40 a year, though he objected to playing 'common Songs or Airs'.

The drum major Henry Carter had lived in St. Nicholas' parish in 1735. William Wright was a musician around 1736,<sup>98</sup> and the musician John Richardson lived in All Saints' parish, as did David Hart in 1738.

The price of Avison's concert series doubled to £1 1s,<sup>99</sup> yet there were fewer than 110 subscribers, and in January 1738 Catherine advertised in the *Courant*.

In HUMBLE's Buildings near the Pullen-Market,  
IS Taught all Kinds of NEEDLE-WORK.  
PLAIN-WORK, at 5s. per Quarter; SHADE-WORK  
and EMBROIDERY, at 8s. per Quarter, and Half a  
Crown Entrance, by CATHERINE AVISON.

In summer Avison advertised a concert during Race Week, and in winter he took full responsibility for the concert series,<sup>100</sup> yet the 12 gentlemen resigned and the number of subscribers fell to around 100.<sup>101</sup> The wait Franks left town in 1739, and John Wrightman was appointed.<sup>102</sup> The dancing masters Sebastian le Sac and John Lax died in All Saints' parish, but the fiddler Ralph Potter lived in St. Nicholas' parish.

In Northumberland the Berwick garrison had refused to accept the magistrates' decisions in 1731, and ordered the waits not to 'play music to Mr. Mayor, Justices, Aldermen, and Bailiffs on their return from the riding of the Bounds', though they soon gave in.<sup>103</sup> William Dixon had been baptised in Stamfordham, and in 1733, when he was 55, he compiled a manuscript tune-book, and most were for long dances. There were 19 reels, rants or common-time hornpipes, ten jigs, some slip jigs, one minuet and *Dorington Lads*.<sup>104</sup> In 1735 John Oswald led Berwick waits.<sup>105</sup> All these musicians depended directly or indirectly on the region's coal trade, and they and other key groups of workers were increasingly restive.

## (v) The Newcastle Guildhall 'riot'

In January 1731 north-east pitmen had been 'forc'd to draw Coals about for small Pay to prevent starving', which was 'work more proper for Horses', then some viewers increased the size of corves by two gallons for the same price. After Wear coal-owners stopped selling coal to drive up the price, especially in London, many pitmen's wives and children went out begging. Early in February many pitmen went to Durham and complained, but got nowhere.

In March a Newcastle corver reported that the corves were being increased by ten gallons and were 'hardly to be drawn by Horses'; so a large number of pitmen resolved not to work until they were reduced to their original size.

By May the Grand Allies' collieries were working three-quarter time, and late in October, as binding day approached, over 100 men at Newbottle colliery in County Durham broke lead pipes in the drainage engine and threatened the engineer and viewer. On 2 November pitmen attacked the engines at Murton and Biddick collieries, and burned the enlarged corves. On the 11<sup>th</sup> pitmen 'laid in' two pits at Causey colliery, went on to Beckley to get the workforce to strike, and then to other collieries. Next day a meeting agreed to send two representatives from each colliery to complain to the coal-owners, and they were invited to Ravensworth Castle. Soon after one Wear colliery viewer gave in to the men's demands, to stop it from flooding. The government sent troops and told magistrates to arrest the 'most mutinous', and the Riot Act was read at Ravensworth Castle on the 15<sup>th</sup>. Next day almost 300 pitmen met at nearby Chester-le-Street and almost 1,000 on the 17<sup>th</sup>. Eight companies of infantry arrived in Newcastle on the 21<sup>st</sup> and by the 25<sup>th</sup> it was all over.<sup>106</sup>

By the late 1730s some Tyneside collieries were eight miles from the river,<sup>107</sup> and a mile of waggon way cost over £10,000. The Tyne's annual exports had averaged 763,000 tons,<sup>108</sup> and the Wear's were around 40 percent of that figure,<sup>109</sup> yet the Grand Allies raised prices sharply.<sup>110</sup> In summer and autumn 1739 heavy rain hindered the trade and damaged crops, and the outbreak of war with Spain led to an embargo on foreign trade. The Tyne was frozen well into February 1740, bringing exports to a virtual halt, and in spring strong winds kept colliers in harbour, while seed corn rotted in the ground.<sup>111</sup> A survey found that 55 percent of Tyne keelmen had originated in Scotland, yet three-quarters had lived in Newcastle ten years or so, and several a good bit longer.<sup>112</sup>

Newcastle's population was around 21,000,<sup>113</sup> and together with Gateshead and nearby villages the total was probably around 40,000, though they all depended on grain from some distance away. After the embargo was lifted in May, at least one corn merchant sent a cargo to Scotland. A small group of women, led by 'General' Jane Bogey, rang bells and impeded waggons carrying grain through the town. Five women were sent to prison, yet they were soon freed. A regiment of dragoons was withdrawn at the end of the month,<sup>114</sup> and Sir Walter Blackett doled out £200 to each of Newcastle's four parishes to relieve the poor;<sup>115</sup> yet soon after women near Durham demonstrated all night about the price of corn, and one went to Norton, near Stockton, 'with a stick and a horn' to raise the people. Some members of a crowd of 3,000 boarded a vessel bound for Amsterdam with corn, and messengers went to nearby pit villages. On the 13<sup>th</sup> merchants offered corn at fixed prices, but also organised 1,000 horsemen, captured seven people, and sent two women to Durham, where townspeople freed one at the prison door.<sup>116</sup>

By June 1740 the price of corn on Tyneside had virtually doubled, and three companies of troops were ordered from Berwick to Newcastle on the 17<sup>th</sup>. Just after midnight on the 19<sup>th</sup> the night shift at nearby Heaton Bank colliery went on strike over the reduction in their coal allowance. From 3.00am they spread the strike to nearby collieries, reportedly threatened to cut the winding gear, and between 60 and 100 marched to Newcastle. They arrived at the Sandhill about 5.00am, then left to seek support, and by 10.00am there were between 300 and 400 people on the Sandhill with a drum, horn and banners. Magistrates invited a delegation into the Guildhall, while crowds roamed the streets, seizing corn, and piling it up on the Sandhill with threats to take it if their demands were not met. One group of women and children, together with some Heaton pitmen, broke into a granary. After the corn merchants agreed to lower their prices between 24 and 40 percent, and sell it only to regular customers, and the demonstrators dispersed. On the morning of the 20<sup>th</sup> people assembled in greater numbers and found many corn merchants' shops and stalls were closed. By 10.00am pitmen, women and children were seizing loaves in the market and attacking granaries. They demanded a significant reduction in the price of grain, and set prices for peas, beans, oatmeal, cheese and butter. The mayor and one of the town's MPs, who were both corn merchants, estimated that there were 1,000 demonstrators, so they sent for troops, called up the town guard, and asked coal-owners to get their employees to help to restore order.<sup>117</sup> On the 21<sup>st</sup> 'several pitmen, keelmen, and poor of the town' found that most corn merchants had 'absconded'.<sup>118</sup> Matthew Ridley arrived on the Sandhill with 60 horsemen and 300 men on foot with oak cudgels, and after they arrested the 'ringleaders' the crowd dispersed.<sup>119</sup> That evening three companies of troops arrived and took 40 prisoners.<sup>120</sup> On the 25<sup>th</sup> the Merchants' company sold small amounts of oatmeal cheaply and a ship with rye docked at the Quayside. The mayor refused to sign an order to keep guards on the gates, and retired to his house at Elswick. Early on the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> Shields keelmen stopped traffic on the river and sent a delegation to bring out Swalwell ironworkers.<sup>121</sup>

Ambrose Crowley had been sheriff of London in 1706. He was knighted in 1707 and bought a small ironworks at Swalwell on Tyneside.<sup>122</sup> He was master of the London Draper's Company in 1708 and an alderman in 1711, and in 1713 he and three others loaned the government £130,000. Crowley became MP for the Hampshire borough of Andover, thanks to a local lord, but died weeks later, and his John son ran the Tyneside business.<sup>123</sup> He lived in Suffolk, and was suspected of being a Jacobite in 1715. When he died in 1728 he left £70,000,<sup>124</sup> and John Bannister ran the Tyneside business for Ambrose Crowley's nephew.<sup>125</sup> Thereafter 'Crowley's Crew' made agricultural



implements to be traded for slaves in Africa, and neck-locks, shackles, chains, bilbos (bars with sliding fetters) and branding irons.<sup>126</sup> By noon on 26 June several hundred set off for Newcastle, though after Ridley promised to try to reduce the price of corn most went home.<sup>127</sup> The magistrates agreed to distribute the rye, yet Ridley and 20 to 30 armed freemen forced their way to the Quayside through 3,000 or so demonstrators.<sup>128</sup> The mayor, aldermen and other gentlemen were in the Guildhall,<sup>129</sup> and one fired into the crowd, killing one man and wounding others. Members of the crowd chased them up the Guildhall steps with a volley of stones, went inside, smashed everything and destroyed Corporation documents.<sup>130</sup> Reportedly they took £1,300 or more, broke weapons and threw them in the river,<sup>131</sup> then escorted the magistrates to their homes unscathed. This was still underway at 8.00pm when three companies of troops from Morpeth arrived in Newcastle. The magistrates subsequently freed 65 of the 91 people who had been involved on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup>, yet five were transported for seven years, and the trials of 26 and those arrested on the 26<sup>th</sup> were postponed to the 1741 Assizes.<sup>132</sup>

In Durham Isaac Lane printed Edward Chandler's *A charge delivered to the grand-jury: at the Quarter-Sessions held at Durham, on Wednesday, the 16th of July, 1740: concerning engrossing of corn and grain, and the riots that have been occasion'd thereby*.<sup>133</sup> John White, Martin Bryson and other Newcastle booksellers sold it, as did others in nearby towns and one in London,<sup>134</sup> where an engraver had produced images of ballad-singers and ballad-sellers.

#### (vi) William Hogarth

William Hogarth was born into the family of a poor textwriter and Latin teacher in London in 1697. He was later apprenticed to an engraver, and though he did not complete his servitude, he began a series of engravings, entitled *The Rake's Progress*, in 1733. He lobbied parliament for legal protection, and the Engravers' Copyright Act became law in 1735. That year Hogarth engraved a scene in a brothel with a pregnant woman singing at the left hand side.<sup>135</sup>



136



London 'mughouses' sold ale or stout, but only to men, who took turns to sing and bought drinks for the harper.<sup>137</sup>

There was no copyright on old ballads, and William Dickey had grown rich in Northampton. In 1733 he had paid £500 for a house in Market Square.<sup>138</sup> In London William Cobb assigned his Bow churchyard business to Dickey in 1736, and he took Cluer Dickey into partnership to run it.<sup>139</sup> A group of London booksellers founded a large new conger called the 'Chapter', which met at the Chapter coffee house.<sup>140</sup> In 1738 the Stationers' Company sued the Diceys for breaching their monopoly on 'Psalters, Primmers, Almanacs, Prognostications' and 'Predictions',<sup>141</sup> yet the Diceys published *A Collection of Old Ballads* which contained 159 lyrics.<sup>142</sup> By 1739 the paper-making industry satisfied most domestic demand, and Robert Walker and others pioneered cheap part-books, or 'numbers', which were sold across the country. Parliament forbade the importation of books, and any that were found were confiscated and destroyed. Everyone involved would be fined £5, plus twice the books' value; though some scholarly works and those published before 1710 and not reprinted since 1718 were exempt.<sup>143</sup>

In 1741 Hogarth's *The Enraged Musician* showed a well-dressed London musician horrified by the music being played outside his home, and a pregnant singer with a baby in her arms offering *The Ladies Fall* for sale.



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In 1742 London printers and publishers still dominated the national market for small books, old ballads and 'slip songs', which were smaller than broadsides and in white-letter;<sup>145</sup> and there was a poetic battles in Newcastle.

#### (vii) NO ... *This is the Truth!*

By 1740 around 89 percent of north-east craftsmen and tradesmen, and half of male servants, were probably literate.<sup>146</sup> Michael Robinson, a school master at Cornsey in County Durham, had gone missing late in 1739, and his remains were found on Billyhill in spring 1740. A mastiff dog was eating his skull, legs and clothes.<sup>147</sup>

Newcastle was home to 36 of the 58 members of the north-east book trade.<sup>148</sup> The Edinburgh goldsmith William Ged had used stereotypes to print a book in 1739. Printers and type foundry were hostile,<sup>149</sup> yet White reportedly used stereotypes in Newcastle in 1740.<sup>150</sup> In October 1740 he noted in the *Courant* that 'in the Paragraph of my last, relating to the Officers of the Town, some imprudent Expressions are made use of'. They had been 'inserted without the Direction or Leave of any Person whatever, and do heartily ask pardon'.<sup>151</sup> He asked Thomas Gent in York for '30 to 40 pounds' of 'great primmer black, English black, pica black, small pica black, and long primmer black', and he would pay what John Gilfillan agreed. Gent offered type for a few words in black-letter, though he published less often himself.<sup>152</sup>

The schoolteacher-poet Edward Chicken had been elected as a Newcastle chamberlain in 1737,<sup>153</sup> and in 1739 his son Edward attended a Durham boarding school and wrote to his father. 'I rise every morning before five and read before I go to school, for then the boys are pretty quiet; in the afternoon I do the same, come straight home, do my task, read till supper, after that, perhaps, I take a walk, and then about 9, I go to bed'. He and his uncle Robert, a Bishopwearmouth curate, joined the Newcastle Weavers' Company and became freemen. (Edward later entered Cambridge University.)<sup>154</sup> By 1741 Edward Chicken senior ran the Three Tuns Inn in Newgate Street, Newcastle.<sup>155</sup> There were 3,000 freemen,<sup>156</sup> and Sir Walter Blackett, 'attended by about five hundred gentlemen, tradesmen, and others, some of whom had weight with almost every burgess', canvassed during the parliamentary election.<sup>157</sup> Richard Ridley had been mayor in 1732, and his son Matthew the following year,<sup>158</sup> and he became a candidate in 1741. Joseph West sold the anonymous *Is this the Truth? A POEM*, for 6d, in the Groat Market, and the Latin title page quotation translated as 'O citizens, citizens, you must first seek for wealth, for virtue after money'.

There is a *Pagod* all bedeck'd with Gold  
And all around, his glittering Poyson spits;  
The thoughtless Multitude lick up the Bane,  
Which to Delirium infant turns their Brain.  
Then, by inverted Rule, the *Pagod* pays  
Great Feasts he gives ...  
And every Man he courts, to make his Tool ...  
Thus to decoy from Industry and Pains,  
And thereby sink the poor Mechanicks' Gains  
By Ways inglorious, once his Purpose won ...<sup>159</sup>

A pagod was an image of a far eastern god.

Chicken responded with *NO ... This is the Truth! A POEM*, which was 'Sold by Booksellers in Newcastle upon Tyne' for 6d. The Latin quotations on the title page stressed the need for an honest and just man to be elected, and Chicken ridiculed the rhetoric about 'The Want of Bread, and Loss of Liberty', since Richard Ridley had long been 'the Terror of the Town' and the 'sole Disposer of the *Scarlet Gown*' to aldermen. 'Numbers of Minions always were in Pay', and 'Slaves in Council with his Schemes soon clos'd'. Ridley senior had 'wrung both Sense and Learning out of Schools' and intimidated churchmen, so 'We all were Slaves'. Chicken invited readers to 'view the *Father* living in the Son', and exhorted them to support Blackett, the 'great Promoter of true Liberty'.<sup>160</sup> The anonymous *NO ... That is a Mistake* bore a motto from Alexander Pope. 'Ah luckless Poet! Stretch thy lungs and roar', and another in Latin which ridiculed the 'stammering, cackling, humming, grinding and fanfaring' Blackett supporter. West advertised it for 2d, though it may not have appeared.<sup>161</sup> The candidates all claimed to be 'Non-Partisan', and 2,391 voted. Blackett won 1,453, Nicholas Fenwick 1,231, Ridley 1,131 and Carr 683.<sup>162</sup>

In July 112 of the 213 people arrested for taking part in the Newcastle Guildhall disturbances on 26 June 1740, who included 22 women, 38 keelmen, and 46 Crowley workers, were tried. Most local collieries went on strike pending the outcome, and 101 escaped punishment,<sup>163</sup> yet five men were transported for seven years.<sup>164</sup>

Literacy continued to develop unevenly. In the early 1740s the rector of Kirkhaugh in Northumberland kept £30 of the charity school's funds and refused to employ a master, and Mary Patterson was charged with 'teaching school without a licence' on Holy Island.<sup>165</sup> Thanks to a bequest a Hartlepool school taught 24 boys and gave them £5 for shoes and clothes a year.<sup>166</sup> There were four bookbinders in Newcastle's St. Nicholas' parish. One who had come from London died, as did the printer Thomas Bullman in All Saints' parish.

Turnpike surveyors had been empowered to require compulsory labour from villagers in 1714, and in 1716 the surveyors were allowed to bargain for a lump sum payment to take over parish responsibilities, while borough magistrates were permitted to levy a rate to maintain the roads. In the 1720s 71 new turnpike trusts were established, and milestones were erected. From 1727 to 1735 Acts against turnpike toll-gate wreckers required penalties from three months' hard labour and a public whipping to death without benefit of clergy.<sup>167</sup> In 1742 the first turnpike opened in County Durham,<sup>168</sup> from Catterick Bridge via Yarm to Durham.<sup>169</sup>

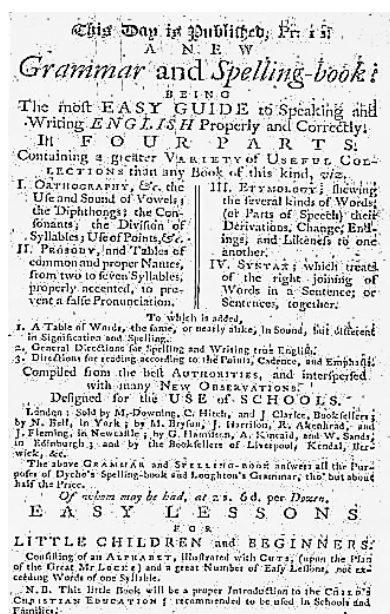


Early in 1742 the *Newcastle Courant* announced that the 'Men who carry the News' could receive subscriptions.<sup>170</sup> Around a third of people in Newcastle's Sandgate were religious dissenters,<sup>171</sup> and when John Wesley preached in May, some told him about their library.<sup>172</sup> The Whites' daughter died,<sup>173</sup> though her father printed Henry Scogal's *The Life of God* with stereotypes. John Gooding, who was in his mid-twenties, printed the *Courant* in Burnt-House Entry,<sup>174</sup> and it advertised seven patent medicines and lottery tickets.<sup>175</sup> Isaac Thompson accused William Cuthbert of slander and dissolved their partnership in autumn, and John Brown printed the *Newcastle Journal* in the Side. Thompson took three partners,<sup>176</sup> and Gooding printed the *Journal*.<sup>177</sup> In autumn it claimed a larger circulation than any other paper from Lancaster and York to southern Scotland.<sup>178</sup>

Joseph Barber had been baptised in a Dublin Presbyterian Church in 1706.<sup>179</sup> He had become a Newcastle bookseller by 1738 with a shop on the Sandhill by 1740.<sup>180</sup> He advertised the town's first copperplate print,<sup>181</sup> for 1s, in 1741,<sup>182</sup> and in 1743 he was at the sign of the duke of Cumberland in High Bridge,<sup>183</sup> in Humble's buildings.<sup>184</sup> Wesley had laid the foundation stone of Newcastle' Orphan House and it opened early in 1743. It was meant to look after 40 poor orphans, yet housed none.<sup>185</sup> That year 24 books were published in north-east England.<sup>186</sup>

Robert Chicken died that year, and in 1744 an advertisement appeared in the *Journal*. 'To be let immediately, or against May-day next, a House or Messuage, near the White Cross, lately inhabited by Mr. Chicken. Enquire of Isaac Thompson, without Pilgrim Street Gate'.<sup>187</sup> John White married a barber-surgeon's daughter,<sup>188</sup> and leased a house in the Castle Garth.<sup>189</sup> Cuthbert printed the *Newcastle Gazette* in Cutter's Entry in the Close.<sup>190</sup>

By 1745 Newcastle had a resident female author. Ann Fisher had been born into a yeoman's family in Oldscale, Cumberland, and was baptised in December 1719.<sup>191</sup> Late in June 1745 the *Newcastle Journal* advertised an anonymous schoolbook, which would be available from Robert Akenhead, Martin Bryson, Messrs J. Harrison and J. Fleming in Newcastle, four booksellers in York, and others in Liverpool, Kendal, Berwick and Edinburgh.



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No copy has been traced.<sup>193</sup>

An annual subscription to Barber's circulating library of 1,250 volumes cost £1 1s.<sup>194</sup> One teacher had moved from St. John's parish to St. Nicholas' parish, and there was another in All Saints' parish, where David Kidd was a printer, and civic music continued.

### (viii) A place of considerable profit

In January 1740 the *Newcastle Courant* had reported that the Durham freemasons had recently processed through the city 'adorn'd with their Jewels, and Musick playing before them'.<sup>195</sup> A concert series took place, and in April 1742 an advertisement appeared in the *Courant*.

Whereas Mrs PEACOCK ... who keeps a Boarding School in Durham, having for the Advantage of young Ladies that are, or may be, under her Care, taken to her Assistance a Teacher from London, skilful in all sorts of Needle-work; she begs leave to inform the Publick, that within her House is also taught Musick, Dancing, Reading, and English Grammer [*sic*], Writing, and all other Female Accomplishments.

Charles Avison organised entertainment for Durham's race week, in partnership with the Newcastle theatre company, and the programme included John Gay's London hit *The Beggar's Opera* and a farce.<sup>196</sup>

The highest salaries for musicians and singers were still at Durham Cathedral. The singing man James Houseman had received £40 a year in 1740, and two others accompanied Mrs Drage's coffin from Bishop Auckland to York for burial.<sup>197</sup> The dean and chapter suspended the singing man Thomas Mountier's salary. When his wife was ill they gave him 10s a week and a loan, though they threatened him with the sack in 1741, and stopped paying him in 1742. William Paxton became a probationary singing man at £10 a year, and a full singing man at £20 a year in 1743, yet Houseman's salary was cut to £30 for being negligent in 1745.

The Newcastle wait William Wrightman had died in 1739. John Oliver, a musical instrument maker, who may have been related to a York dancing master and musical instrument-maker, advertised a chamber organ for sale in 1740. The wait Robert Martin died as did the wait William Jubb died in 1742, and William Sinclair replaced him.

In Northumberland the piper John Hill had died in 1743 in Hexham,<sup>198</sup> where the three-ton Fray Bell to warn townspeople about raiders had recently been broken up.<sup>199</sup> In 1744 a *Newcastle Journal* advertisement announced that 'One of the Waits of Morpeth being dead, any person that can play well upon the Hautboy and Fiddle will, on application to the Magistrates of Morpeth, meet with encouragement. N.B. – It is a place of considerable profit'.<sup>200</sup>

In County Durham ten men and five boys had been killed at North Biddick colliery in January 1743, and one or two others died later,<sup>201</sup> while 70 to 80 pitmen died at Bensham colliery.<sup>202</sup> In 1745 Samuel and Nathaniel Buck showed that the Tyne keelmen were busy.



203

In August all of Newcastle's gates were walled up except Newgate, Sandgate and the gate on Tyne Bridge,<sup>204</sup> since the son of the deposed Catholic king's had raised an army in Scotland and captured Edinburgh, though they invaded England by the north-western counties.

In Newcastle John White had announced that 'A POEM, called A COLLIER'S WEDDING, Written in the Year 1729 By Edward Chicken', was 'In the PRESS, And speedily will be published, Price One Shilling'. 'Subscriptions will be taken in by the AUTHOR, and by the Booksellers in Newcastle upon Tyne'.<sup>205</sup> Chicken died late in December, and was buried in St. John's churchyard on 2 January 1746. Two days later, instead of pressing on to London, the Jacobite army retreated north from Derby.



# 13. Paid for this Day!!!

## (i) The Idle 'Prentice

In 1747 parliament commissioned William Hogarth to make engravings showing 'industry' and 'idleness', and one was *The last dying Speech & Confession of Tho. Idle* as he was taken to the gallows.



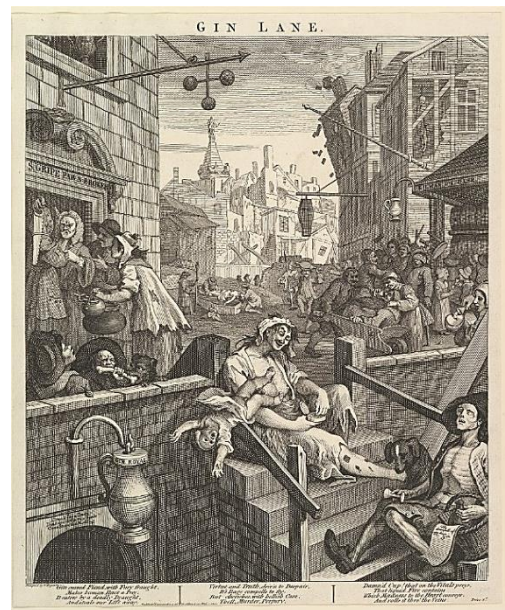
A female with a baby in her arms in the centre was selling copies of the 'speech' to latecomers.

In the 24 years to 1749 there had been 466 printers, booksellers and stationers in London,<sup>2</sup> as were 21,603 of England's 141,700 retail outlets.<sup>3</sup> By 1750 England's population was about 5.74 million,<sup>4</sup> and London's was around 750,000. Over 16 per cent of adults elsewhere had spent part of their lives there.<sup>5</sup> Hogarth engraved an image of the Guards division setting from London for Finchley to defend the city in 1745.



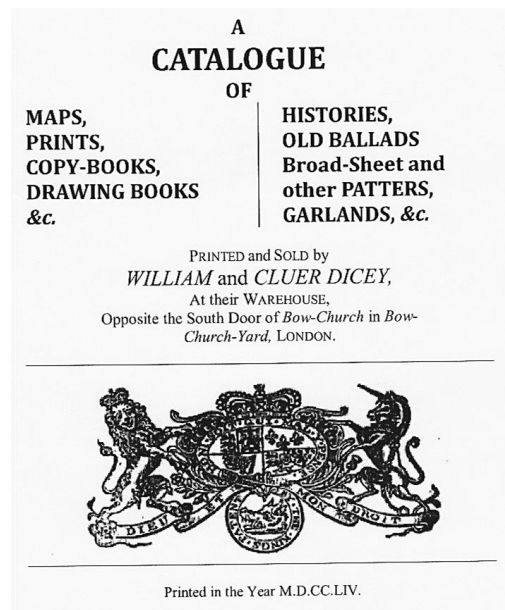
A pregnant young woman in the centre has copies of *God Save the King* in her basket, and an older woman is threatening her with a rolled-up Catholic newspaper, while a woman on the right offers gin to a drunken soldier.

Gin had arrived from Holland in 1689,<sup>6</sup> and in 1690 anyone had been permitted to distil and retail spirits made from corn,<sup>7</sup> and it became extremely popular among the London poor.<sup>8</sup> In 1751 a Hogarth's *Gin Lane* included a drunken man holding *The Downfall of Mrs Gin*.



In 1753 parliament required the annual renewal of magistrates' licences for inns and ale-houses.<sup>10</sup>

Richard Marshall of the Wheelwrights' Company bought a quarter of the Diceys' business. By 1754 their press was at 4 Aldermay churchyard, around 100 yards from their warehouse,<sup>11</sup> and they issued a catalogue.



It listed hundreds of 'Old Ballads' and 'near Two Thousand different Sorts of SLIPS; of which the New Sorts coming out almost daily render it impossible to make a Complete Catalogue'.<sup>12</sup> At least 15 of the 164 small books had previously been published in Edinburgh.<sup>13</sup>

Around 1.11 million or 88 percent of Scotland's 1.26 million people lived in the countryside or in towns with fewer than 4,000 inhabitants, yet 315,000 readers formed 25 percent of the population, and a group of booksellers had reprinted out-of-copyright works for some time.<sup>14</sup> In 70 years the great majority of the 173 surviving ballads probably published in Edinburgh lacked a colophon, around a quarter had a crude woodcut, almost 60 percent named an air, and they evidently sold for 2d Scots.<sup>15</sup> Robert Drummond had been an Edinburgh printer since 1740, and when he died in 1752 he left copies of 47 small books and ballads, consisting of 181 reams of 480 sheets, and five quires of 24 sheets of 'pot' paper, 15½ by 12¼ inches, all valued at £54 7s 6d sterling. In the 80 years to 1755,



apart from almanacs, almost 700 of the 15,300 titles probably printed in Scotland without a colophon had been small books.<sup>16</sup> Cattle drovers earned from 3s to 4s a day,<sup>17</sup> and some probably brought small books to England.

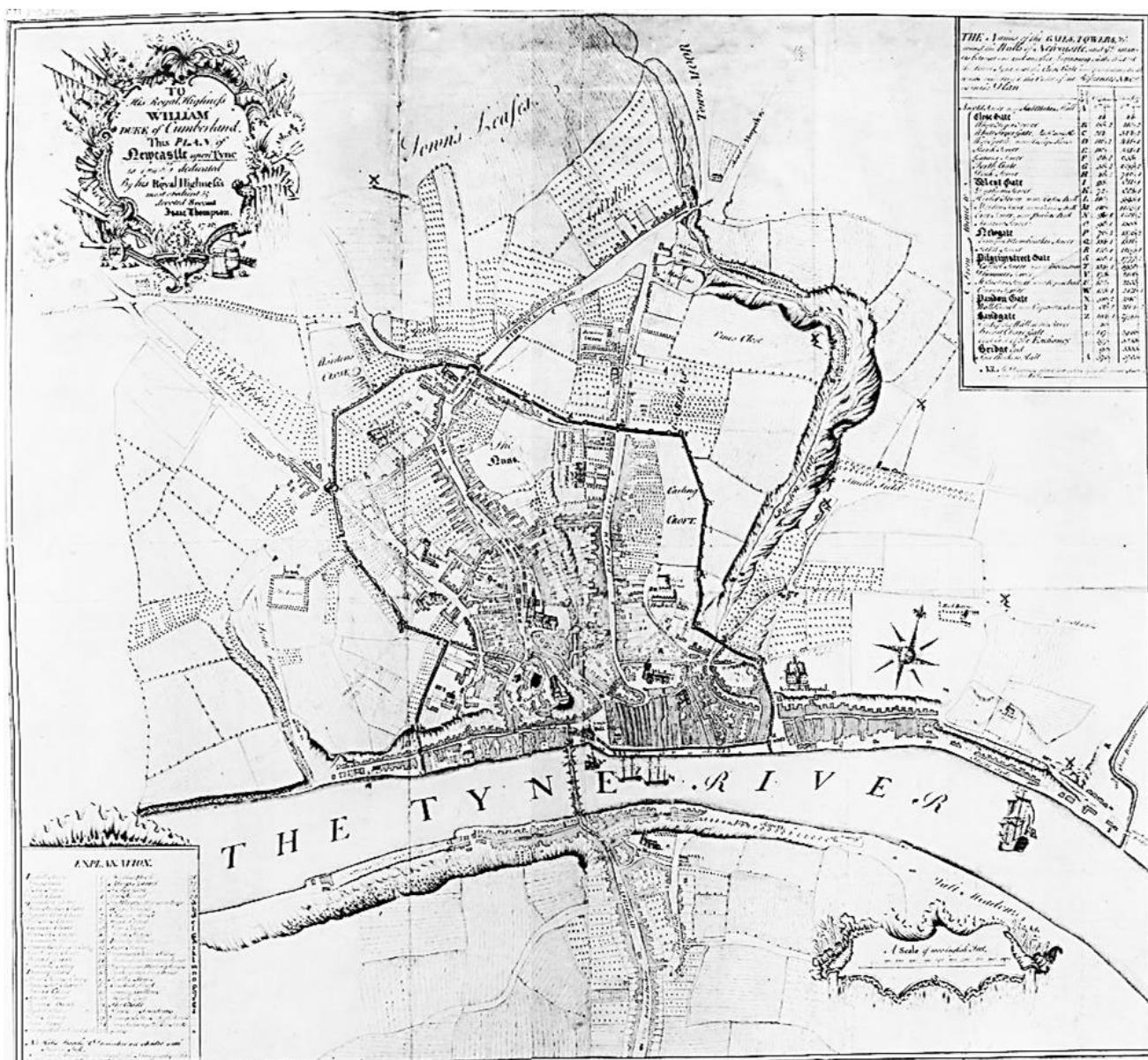
Since 1700 a Londoner's catalogue had listed an annual average of 93 new full-length books.<sup>18</sup> William Dickey died and left the Northampton business to Cluer,<sup>19</sup> yet a Londoner printed sophisticated small books.

John Newberry was born into a farmer's family near Reading in 1713. He attended the village school, became a printer's apprentice in Reading around 1729, and published a small book in 1740.<sup>20</sup> John White sold them in Newcastle in 1744.<sup>21</sup> Newberry was in London by summer 1745, and persuaded well-known authors to write stories for children, and by 1758 an edition of several thousand sometimes sold over Christmas. Most small books were folded, though his were stitched, strongly bound and gilded, and many were pirated in York and Newcastle.<sup>22</sup>

## (ii) To wear off the Newcastle tone

In 1736 Sir Walter Blackett had financed an addition to St. Nicholas' Church to house the library of Reverend Dr Robert Thomlinson, the rector of Wickham, and provided an annuity of £25 a year for a librarian. Thomlinson loaned over 1,600 volumes, and in 1745 he bequeathed them, with £5 a year for the librarian to buy books.<sup>23</sup>

Late in January 1746 the duke of Cumberland reached Berwick from London in four days by coach,<sup>24</sup> on his way to Scotland, and in April his troops crushed the Jacobite army at Culloden, east of Inverness.<sup>25</sup> The duke returned via Newcastle, and asked Isaac Thompson to produce a plan of the town.<sup>26</sup>





It showed fields, market gardens, orchards and houses outside the walls to the west and north, and water workers' houses to the east, while Gateshead's houses bordered the river and the main road south.

In 1747 Newcastle corporation financed a road across the Town Moor, and parliament approved a turnpike to Belford in Northumberland, near Berwick,<sup>28</sup> where an army officer bought a 'London Vocabulary'.<sup>29</sup> Alexander Graham had sold books in Alnwick for at least a year,<sup>30</sup> and a school opened in Wallsend in 1748, near Newcastle.<sup>31</sup>

Richard Dawes was born in or near Market Bosworth in Leicestershire, in 1708. He attended the grammar school and subsequently entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge.<sup>32</sup> He was elected a fellow in 1731,<sup>33</sup> and was appointed as headmaster of Newcastle Grammar School in 1738. He taught his few pupils to translate the Greek word for 'ass' as 'alderman',<sup>34</sup> and in the 1740s only eight pupils went to a university. By 1749 his salary was £50 a year,<sup>35</sup> and the Corporation persuaded him to resign,<sup>36</sup> for £80 a year and other benefits, and paid his successor £120.<sup>37</sup> A Durham man sent his son to a private school in the south 'to wear off the Newcastle tone which he learned at Houghton'.<sup>38</sup> The Durham bookseller John Aisley died, and the antiquary Christopher Hunter sold his library to the city's bookseller John Richardson for around £350.<sup>39</sup> William Cuthbert's *Newcastle Gazette* could be 'had of Mr. Ralph in Sedgefield, from which Place it will be distributed by John Hart, to Bishop-Auckland, Barnardcastle, Darlington, and all the Market-Towns adjacent to those Places; Also by John Robson, to Stockton, Yarm, Stokesly, Gisborough, and Places adjacent'. The *Newcastle Journal* charged 2s 6d for an advertisement of up to 140 words, and 6d for every 100 words thereafter,<sup>40</sup> and John Gooding printed the *Newcastle General Magazine* for I. Thompson & Company.<sup>41</sup> John and Sarah White had had a son baptised John in All Saints' Church in 1748, and though Richard soon died, another son was baptised Richard there that year. In January 1750 White published the play of *Alexander and the King of Egypt*.<sup>42</sup> There 120 members of the book trade in the region.<sup>43</sup>

Northumberland's population was close to 150,000, County Durham's was almost 140,000,<sup>44</sup> and Newcastle's was around 25,000.<sup>45</sup> A visitor noted that it had 'the 'nastiness and filth of Edinburgh' and while the 'poorer sort seem to vie with one another in dirt', it had 'the riches and trade of London in some degree'.<sup>46</sup> In spring the *Newcastle Journal* included an advertisement aimed at 'YOUNG LADIES', and especially those

*Who chuse to learn the ENGLISH GRAMMAR, Yet cannot conveniently attend on SCHOOL HOURS, may At Mrs FISHER's School, In St. Nicholas's church-yard, NEWCASTLE, Betwixt the hours of Five and Eight at Night, Be instructed under the following HEADS, viz. THE peculiar SOUNDS of the several LETTERS. To spell and divide by Rule. An exact and proper METHOD of READING according to the Points, Cadence, and Emphasis. A critical Knowledge of the various Kinds of WORDS, and Parts of SPEECH to which each Word particularly belongs; with the comparing of Qualities, forming of Verbs, stating of Pronouns, &c. AND LIKEWISE To concord and connect Words in a Sentence or Sentences together, Consistent with the best English writers. Any YOUNG LADY, of tolerable Capacity, who can read pretty well, and write a legible Hand, may, in a few Months, may be completed in this Way, at a reasonable Rate.*

*\*\*\* Whatever may be pretended, or whatever Pains taken by rote, it is presumed That no continuing Certainty, or perfect Correctness in Spelling, no regular or just Manner of Accenting, no pathetic or strictly intelligible Method of Reading or Speaking, or even a tolerable Judgement in any kind of Writing, can be acquired by an English Scholar, without a thorough Knowledge of Grammar in all its Parts.*<sup>47</sup>

No knowledge of Latin was required, and Fisher was evidently targeting young women, particularly house servants.<sup>48</sup> Isaac Thompson & Company published her anonymous *A new grammar: being the most easy guide to speaking and writing the English language properly and correctly ... To which are added, exercises of bad English ... Designed for the use of schools*.<sup>49</sup> Another edition appeared later that year, and Martin Bryson in Newcastle and some London booksellers sold it.<sup>50</sup> By summer the *Newcastle General Magazine* had readers in Hexham, Brampton, Durham, Sunderland, Bishop Auckland, Yarm, Stockton, Darlington, Guisborough, Northallerton, Thirsk, Bedale, Ripon, Barnard Castle and Brough.<sup>51</sup> In Newcastle the Bridge-End coffee house and Bryson's bookshop burned down.<sup>52</sup> He was away, and though his servants narrowly escaped death,<sup>53</sup> he needed an assistant.

Gilbert Gray was born in Aberdeen in 1709. He had a good education, and intended to become a Presbyterian minister, but became a Quaker.<sup>54</sup> By 1750 he worked as a bookbinder for the Edinburgh bookseller Alan Ramsay and when Bryson asked Ramsay for an assistant,<sup>55</sup> he sent Gray to Newcastle, where he worked a proof-reader.<sup>56</sup> Thompson reissued Fisher's *English Grammar* in 1751,<sup>57</sup> and she married. Thomas Slack had been born in Wreay, near Carlisle, in 1722. He later moved to Newcastle and managed the *Journal* by 1751. In December he and Fisher married at Long Benton,<sup>58</sup> and Gray became their bookbinder, proof-reader and warehouseman.<sup>59</sup> Humphrey Richardson replaced Thomas Smith as the *Courant* agent on the Richmond route, and the paper advertised 26 patent medicines, including a 'Remedy' for 'Claps' (gonorrhoea) for 5s.<sup>60</sup> A subscription had raised £70 to compensate Bryson,<sup>61</sup> and he needed a partner.

William Charnley, the son of a Penrith 'haberdasher of hatts', had been born in 1727. His father died in 1739, and in 1742 the boy was apprenticed to a Newcastle tinplater to learn bookselling and stationery. He transferred

to Bryson in 1745,<sup>62</sup> completed his apprenticeship in 1749, joined the Upholsterers', Tinsplate Workers' and Stationers' Company, became a freeman,<sup>63</sup> and Bryson made him a partner in 1751.<sup>64</sup> In 1752 Slack inherited two tenements and land leased from the dean and chapter of Carlisle Cathedral.<sup>65</sup>

Newcastle's Trinity House opened a school for members' sons and apprentices,<sup>66</sup> and White advertised ten small books printed in London in the *Courant*. His Sedgfield 'News Carrier', John Robson, could be contacted at home and at the Black Bull in Gateshead on Fridays.<sup>67</sup> Mr Cradock sold books in Barnard Castle.<sup>68</sup> Nationally there were about 32 provincial newspapers,<sup>69</sup> and several were sent to London coffee houses.<sup>70</sup> In 1753 *A New Grammar*, credited to 'A. Fisher', appeared there,<sup>71</sup> though 20 books were published in north-east England that year. Around 1.2 million people, or 21 percent of the English population, lived in provincial towns with over 5,000 inhabitants, and around 46 percent, including 1.9 million men and over 758,000 women, were literate.<sup>72</sup> There was one shop for every 52 people, and many village shops sold a variety of goods.<sup>73</sup> In 1754 White printed a cookery book in Newcastle, which was available from the author, Ann Cook, in the Bigg Market.<sup>74</sup> The printer Francis Tween and the bookbinder John Mitchel lived in All Saints' parish, while the printers David Kidd and John Brown, and at least three bookbinders, lived in St. Nicholas parish, and there were teachers in all four parishes.

Coaches with springs ran between London and Edinburgh,<sup>75</sup> yet it took four days to get to York,<sup>76</sup> and two more to get to Newcastle.<sup>77</sup> William Cuthbert and Company published the *Newcastle Intelligencer* in Custom House Entry off the Quayside,<sup>78</sup> but it attracted few advertisers,<sup>79</sup> and in 1757 the government doubled the tax on newspaper advertisements.<sup>80</sup> The *Newcastle Courant* cost 2s 9d a quarter, or 2½d per issue,<sup>81</sup> which was around ten percent of an agricultural labourer's weekly wage.<sup>82</sup> During the 1750s sales of newspaper stamps had risen from 7.3 million in 1750, to 9.4 million.<sup>83</sup> By 1760 there were over 130 provincial papers, and most were oppositional in tone, though they depended for much of their content on London papers.<sup>84</sup> Bryson retired, and Charnley and Company ran the bookshop,<sup>85</sup> which they moved to the foot of the Flesh Market. A subscription to their circulating library of 2,000 volumes cost 12s a year, or 3s a quarter, and Joseph Barber cut his charges to 10s and 2s 6d.<sup>86</sup>

In County Durham Stockton parish had become separate from Norton parish in 1711,<sup>87</sup> and in 1721 a Charity School had been founded by subscriptions for 20 boys to learn read, write and do arithmetic, and they had to attend the Anglican Church, and by 1759 16 pupils were girls.<sup>88</sup> In May the *Newcastle Intelligencer* ceased publication.<sup>89</sup> Bryson died in Stockton in August.<sup>90</sup> In Durham Elizabeth Bowes, a coal-owner's daughter, had a private income, and owned over 80 books, including Mary Astell's *An Essay in Defense of the Female Sex*, and works on religion and morals, but no novels.<sup>91</sup> Catherine Proud, the owner of a coffee house, died in 1760.<sup>92</sup>

During the 1750s there had been 59 members of the book trade in the region, including eight printers in Durham, and 10 printers and 20 booksellers in Newcastle.<sup>93</sup> The town's population was reputedly the best-educated outside London,<sup>94</sup> and White sold Dr Bateman's Pectoral Drops made by Cluer Dicey and Company at the Original Warehouse in Bow Church Yard, London.<sup>95</sup> Most elite musicians in the north-east depended on composers elsewhere.

### (iii) Charles Avison, gentleman

By 1745 the Newcastle musician Charles Avison was prospering. He loaned a gentlewoman £70 and offered £100 towards the £160 needed to repair St. John's Church's organ, if he could employ a deputy to play it. By 1746 the Avisons lived at the corner of Rosemary Lane and Pudding Chare, with servants. Charles took apprentices, though he spent weeks with the Bowes family at Gibside, who paid him up to £10 10s for his 'trouble'. A son was christened in St. John's Church in 1749, but soon died. By 1750 Avison taught music at home for a down payment of 10s 6d, then 10s 6d for a month or eight lessons. On Mondays and Fridays he taught women to play the harpsichord from 9.00am to 1.00pm, and men to play the violin and flute from 2.00 to 6.00pm. He gave a benefit for the new Infirmary,<sup>96</sup> in the Assembly Rooms, and raised £36 15s.<sup>97</sup> A new organ was installed in St. John's Church,<sup>98</sup> where Charles Avison junior was christened there. In 1752 his father's *Essay on Musical Expression* appeared in London and warned church organists to be 'extremely cautious of imitating common Songs or Airs', which 'expose Religion to Contempt and Ridicule'. (Reportedly Solomon Strolger's playing was 'extravagant'.)<sup>99</sup>

In 1753 the Newcastle merchant Ralph Carr sent his wife harpsichord music from Holland.<sup>100</sup> In summer there was a concert in Durham Assembly Room,<sup>101</sup> and in 1754 Monsieur Jourdain and an Italian woman performed at Gibside, where the family subscribed to the *London Magazine*, the *Newcastle General Magazine*, *Newcastle Intelligencer*, *Newcastle Courant*, and *Amsterdam Gazette*, to keep abreast of the diamond market.<sup>102</sup> While Avison had published Psalm tunes with bass lines in London, William Charnley's 1756 edition was the first of its kind in Newcastle. Eight-year-old Master Reynolds played the violin at a concert in 1757, and the watchmaker and stationer John Hawthorne sold 'Music and Musical Instruments' including violins, hautboys, flutes, fifes, flageolets, tabors, pipes, harps, Aeolian harps, mock trumpets and French horns, plus accessories, instruction books and printed music

at the Dial at the Head of the Side.<sup>103</sup> Avison raised the price of his concert series to 13s. His monthly concerts from April to August cost 10s 6d and single tickets were 3s.<sup>104</sup> In 1758 he described his audiences as 'people of the genteeler sort', but he faced competition. The 18-year-old Irishman Charles Claget ran a dancing school, taught music and organised concerts, and Avison charged 15s for his series in 1759. The Leeds musician William West arrived,<sup>105</sup> though the instrument-maker William Prior died,<sup>106</sup> as did the musical Hostman Henry Atkinson at the age of 89. The *Courant* noted his 'Character in publick and private Life has left his Memory an Honour to Trade, dear to Friends, and exemplary to all'.<sup>107</sup> In summer there were concerts in Spring Gardens at the head of Gallowgate, and in winter Avison called himself a 'gentleman'.<sup>108</sup> At some point he had his portrait painted.



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The best singers in north-east England were at Durham Cathedral, and Avison was not above poaching.

The new dean of Durham Cathedral had noted in 1746 that there was a 'fine organ, a good organist, and tolerable good voices'.<sup>110</sup> In 1748 the singing man Robert Paxton was fined for negligence and non-attendance. William Paxton sang at Durham and Newcastle concerts and benefits. In 1749 he was allowed to study in London for three months, and on his return his salary was raised to £30.<sup>111</sup> The Durham printer Isaac Lane produced *A Collection of Anthems, As the same now Perform'd in the Cathedral Church of Durham*, which included only the words.<sup>112</sup> In 1750 the singing man Thomas Mountier received £50 a year. William Paxton's salary was suspended for three months, and he was warned that a further offence would result in expulsion. He died in 1751,<sup>113</sup> though an Oxford-educated curate and minor canon became a singing man.<sup>114</sup> In 1753 the Winchester Cathedral singing man Jasper Clarke accepted £50 a year to move to Durham. The dean sent him £5 5s to cover removal expenses, and commented that 'My Choir has just been improved by the arrival of one of the best Singers in that way I ever heard', and 'to add to his Perfections he is a very decent Violino for our concert'. Clarke earned another £6 a year by being a janitor and barber to the dean and chapter and the other singing men,<sup>115</sup> and he also sang at Durham concerts and was the first violin in the concert band. In 1754 Avison's former apprentice George Williams gave a concert in Durham. The singing man Stephen Paxton argued with the dean and chapter about singing in subscription concerts, and left for London. (He became a cellist and composer and when he died he left £10,000.) After the singing man Henry Marshall died in 1755, the others held benefits for his widow and orphans and a colleague.

Cornforth Gelson was born in County Durham and was a Cathedral boy chorister by 1736. In 1747, after his voice broke, he became a Newcastle wait, but by 1755 he had returned to the Cathedral as a singing man and led the band, and Avison tried to recruit him for his Durham concerts. Gelson paid maintenance for fathering an illegitimate child, and while the dean and chapter sacked him, the other singing men put on a benefit. Gelson and his family moved to Edinburgh,<sup>116</sup> where English operas, including *The Beggar's Opera*, had been performed for the first time in Heriot's Gardens, just below the Castle, four years earlier. Gelson led the Musical Society's band, and the council employed him to teach church music. He soon had a large number of pupils and put on concerts.<sup>117</sup>

Thomas Ebdon, the son of a Durham cordwainer who repaired clerics' shoes, was born in 1738. In 1748 he became a Cathedral chorister. In 1756 his £5 salary as a singing man was less than a chorister's, though it was soon raised to £10.<sup>118</sup> Cuthbert Wilson became a singing man in 1757, and sang in local concerts.<sup>119</sup>

#### **(iv) A very grotesque appearance in their parade through the streets**

Morpeth magistrates had appointed Simpson Kell as a wait in 1745, yet he was a Newcastle wait by 1746, and lived in St. Andrew's parish. The wait Robert Robson died in St. Nicholas' parish, and John Wrightman resigned.<sup>120</sup> David

Hall, the itinerant ballad singer known as 'Blind Davy' and the 'Newcastle Homer', died 'at a very advanced age' in 1749.<sup>121</sup> The fiddler Walcomb McCloud lived in All Saints' parish, and the fiddler Thomas Stephenson and the musician Thomas Radcliff died there, as did the musicians William Boyd and Chester Bell in All Saints' parish, yet the regimental drummer John George lived in St. Nicholas' parish.

Around 1750 *Newcastle Ale* was set to what its anonymous printer called *Lillabolero*.<sup>122</sup> (*Lilliburlero* had been written around 1688,<sup>123</sup> and had been adopted by the Jacobites in 1715.<sup>124</sup>) Early in 1750 John White advertised the ballad *England's gold Mine; or, The British Herring-Fishery for ever* in the *Courant*,<sup>125</sup> set to a tune associated with *There was a jovial beggar*.<sup>126</sup> A *Courant* correspondent noted that the Alnwick chamberlains had 'committed two Ballad singers, a Man and a Woman, on Suspicion', and insisted that 'All the Crew of them are for certain ... employed in begging, and I heartily wish them the Gallows for their *Wages*'. In summer Fayrer Oyston sold ballads in Bishop Auckland in County Durham,<sup>127</sup> and in October John Gales listed the Newcastle waits' regular duties throughout the year.

The first Monday after Michaelmas Day [29 September] we play the New Mayor from the Spittle ...

The Next Morning, we hunts up the old Mayor, New Mayor, the Old Sheriff, New Sheriff, the two Coronners and the Eight Chamberlains.

The first Sunday after the Mayor is chosen we play him to church.

Micklemiss Gill [Guild] Day we play Dinner at the Mayors, we have The Cloaks and hautboys to play him through the curtain into ye House when he comes from the Gill. The same all other Gill days.

The fifth of November we play the Mayor from Church.

Christmass Gill we Dinner at the Mayors.

Easter Sunday we play the Mayor from Church.

Easter day we play Dinner at the Mayors.

Assension Day we go to the Water Bounders. Paid for this Day!!!

Whitsunday we play the Mayor from Church.

The Twenty Ninth of May we play the Mayor from Church.

King George the Seconds Acces[sio]n to the Crown we play the Mayor from Church, ye 11<sup>th</sup> of June.

The Assize Week we play Dinner at the Mayors all the time the Judges stay in Town.

N.B. The Judges leaves us ten Shillings.<sup>128</sup>

On their nightly watch they played next to chalk marks on certain walls.



129

In 1751 they played at the boundary-riding, and Thomas Scott and James Dunn were musicians in All Saints' parish.

In County Durham a Bishopwearmouth couple set off to church in 1752, preceded by three fiddlers and a piper, and Gateshead woollen-cloth factory workers played music at their employer's house in Newcastle.<sup>130</sup> In 1754 the Heaton pitman William Wedderburn married Elizabeth Oswald from Gallowgate in All Saints' Church. They invited 'friends in the country', who arrived 'mostly mounted double', and the women and horses were 'covered with ribbons'. One townsman thought they 'made a very grotesque appearance in their parade through the streets', and there were 'five or six thousand' in the church and churchyard.<sup>131</sup> In 1755 the wait Thomas Howgill died, and Walter Cooper replaced him,<sup>132</sup> yet the musician Joseph Henderson died in All Saints' parish.

In 1756, at Swalwell Hopping, there was 'dancing for ribbons, grinning for tobacco, women running for smocks, ass races, foot courses by men, with an odd whim of a man eating a cock alive, feathers, entrails and all!!!'.<sup>133</sup> James Towers, who was about 80, rode to a church near Bishop Auckland, led by a piper and fiddler, to marry a wealthy 60-year-old woman,<sup>134</sup> though the Durham ballad singer Jane Mackinhem died.<sup>135</sup>

In Northumberland the three Berwick waits had received £10 10s between them in 1746. From then on the Corporation paid them in instalments on, or soon after, Lady Day, Midsummer Day, Michaelmas and Christmas Day. They also paid for their cloaks and hats,<sup>136</sup> and gave them an extra 5s for 'Playing before the Magistrates on

Michaelmas Day', 15s for playing at Tweedmouth Court, 15s when the duke of Cumberland visited,<sup>137</sup> and more for playing on Fair Day and High Market Days.<sup>138</sup>

In 1750, at Dilston Park near Hexham, an excellent dance band played at a barbecue, and after the ladies and gentlemen became cold and went home, 'the Populace ... concluded the Evening with Mirth and Jollity'.<sup>139</sup> In 1752 Henry Tate was probably one of the four Berwick waits who received £14 between them.<sup>140</sup> In 1755, when David Home was about to join the Lifeguards, he gathered 'the whole Corporation, mayor, and Aldermen of Norton', near Berwick, plus local musicians and 'a great many' others from 'the country Villages round' for what the *Newcastle Courant* described as a night of 'the utmost Jovelyty, Mirth, Pleasure, and satisfaction imaginable'.<sup>141</sup> Berwick waits had to 'play round the Town from the second Monday in October, and continue to Candlemas Yearly',<sup>142</sup> and in May 1756 the mayor opened the fair 'with music'.<sup>143</sup> The waits received four additional payments of 5s and £5 17s for 'the difference of setting their Stints to Unfreemen'. In November they were paid for playing at a dinner, and they received £4 16s for 'not setting their Stints' (grazing rights) to 'Stallangers' (stall-holders) in 1757. John Oswald evidently retired as their leader in 1758 and John Hogg died. The Guild decided that George Gilchrist was 'very well qualified', and would 'commence from Michaelmas next'.<sup>144</sup>

Alnwick bailiffs had paid 13s 4d for the waits' green coats and drab knee breeches in 1747 and for silver badges in 1748.<sup>145</sup> When John Young and Daniel and William Cuthbertson failed to vote for the chamberlains, they decided that they had to 'deliver up' their badges or 'be sued' for them, and 'we shall have no waits for the future'.<sup>146</sup> In 1752 John Smith's tune book included *The Keel Row*.<sup>147</sup>

Joseph Turnbull was born in Newburn,<sup>148</sup> around 1724. He married in St. Nicholas's Church, Newcastle, in 1749,<sup>149</sup> and in 1752 a Whig MP noted that the countess of Northumberland 'has her pipers' in Alnwick.<sup>150</sup> By 1756 Turnbull ran the post office, and played at the castle,<sup>151</sup> and possibly around this time he had his portrait painted, though the original has not been traced.



The piper Robert Hill was an Alnwick wait in 1757,<sup>152</sup> and women 'dressed with ribbons, bells, and garlands of gum-flowers', called '*timber-waits*', welcomed new freemen with dancing and singing.<sup>153</sup> By 1760 Turnbull was the licensee of the Angel Inn, and called himself 'Late servant' of the earl and countess of Northumberland.<sup>154</sup> The chamberlains paid a Newcastle goldsmith £1 19s for 'mending 2 old silver badges and making a new one for the Musicians'.<sup>155</sup>

By 1760 James Wallace was a Newcastle fiddler.<sup>156</sup> Britain was at war in India, the Caribbean and Canada. The king died in October, and on 1 November the Newcastle waits led the mayor and magistrates from the Guildhall to proclaim the new king at the Flesh Market, White Cross and other customary places.<sup>157</sup> Patrons of the town's musicians and book trade continued to polarise on the basis of social status.



# 14. The barbarous productions of unpolished ages

## (i) The resort of all the well-read men of the district

By 1761 the population of north-east England was reportedly around 262,500.<sup>1</sup> Newcastle Corporation appointed an under-usher at the Grammar School because of the growing number of pupils;<sup>2</sup> Joseph Barber's circulating library had over 2,000 volumes and he moved to Amen Corner,<sup>3</sup> and John White's press and William Charnley's bookshop were 'resort of all the well-read men of the district'.<sup>4</sup> In 1762 Isaac Thompson printed a book for a teacher from Great Salkeld in Cumberland, who went on to establish Sunderland's first press in High Street. In Durham, just before he died, Isaac Lane willed 'the history books ballads & other things either in the warehouse above stairs or shop below stairs' to his niece to sell to 'chapmen or others', and White needed an assistant in Newcastle.

Thomas Saint was born in Morpeth in 1738. In 1754 he paid £54 to be Martin Bryson and Charnley's apprentice, and in 1761, after he was admitted to the Upholsterers', Tinplate Workers' and Stationers' Company, White took him into partnership. In 1762 John White and Company sold Anderson's Pills 'as cheap as in Edinburgh', while Cluer Dicey and Company in London appointed Saint as an agent for patent medicines. By 1763 the imprint of the *Newcastle Courant* was J. White and T. Saint,<sup>5</sup> and at some point that year they printed *The Pleasant History of Jack Horner*,<sup>6</sup> and Saint took an apprentice,<sup>7</sup> though John White junior died.

That year 20 books were published in north-east England,<sup>8</sup> and provincial booksellers formed a substantial proportion of the London publishers' market.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Slack had printed books by 'I. Thompson & Co. for Thomas Slack' in Newcastle in 1761,<sup>10</sup> and his wife's *New English Tutor* was published for him in London,<sup>11</sup> where there were over 120 master printers.<sup>12</sup> Slack edited and printed the successful *Newcastle Memorandum Book*;<sup>13</sup> yet in summer Thompson noted in the *Newcastle Journal* that Slack was 'no longer employed at the New Printing Office', and in November Thompson advertised *The Newcastle Pocket Book, or Gentlemen and Ladies Complete Journal for the year 1763*.<sup>14</sup> Slack noted in his *Memorandum Book* for 1763 that an advertisement he had paid for in the *Journal* had been refused,<sup>15</sup> and April 1763 he advertised in the *Courant* that the 'Printing Press', a 'Commodious NEW SHOP, the Head of Middle Street, opposite the High Bridge, would open the following week and sell, 'on reasonable terms, All sorts of the Books in Divinity, History, Mathematics, &c.'

Also Maps, Perspective Views, and Mezzotinto Prints, colour'd or plain – School Books, the best Editions, in Greek, Latin, French or English. – Likewise Writing Paper, of Several Sorts, and mathematical Instruments with a great Variety of Articles in the Stationary Way, as Spectacles, Prospect glasses, Letter cases, Sealing-wax, Pens, Ink &c. Those who please me with their Custom may be assured my best Endeavours will be exerted to serve them well, and execute their Orders punctually; and Obligations conferred up-on me will be gratefully remembered, by Their most humble Servant, THO. SLACK.

'Letters Post paid' would be 'duly answered', though no 'Credit can be given', and he would sell State Lottery tickets. The *Courant* welcomed Slack's shop,<sup>16</sup> and Fisher's *English Grammar* was printed for Slack and London booksellers,<sup>17</sup> as was Fisher's *Pleasing Instructor*, which was later pirated by London and provincial printers.<sup>18</sup> Literacy rates in north-east England were now 100 percent for gentry, 76 percent for yeomen and 72 percent for craftsmen and tradesmen; and some Quaker artisans and labourers were literate.<sup>19</sup>

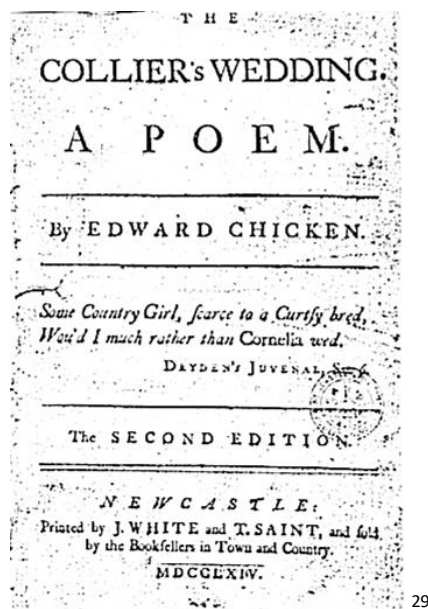
The first number of the Slacks' *Newcastle Chronicle* appeared in March 1764. Three-quarters was advertisements, including those for Fisher's books,<sup>20</sup> though the tax on advertisements was 3s 6d and repeats cost 2s 6d.<sup>21</sup> The *Chronicle* was more Whiggish than Thompson's *Journal*,<sup>22</sup> and the Slacks' premises attracted artists, writers, actors and political activists,<sup>23</sup> yet White had many agents, including several in the capital.

Mr Bristow, St. Paul's Church-yard; Mess. Wilson and Fell, Pater-noster-Row, London; Mess. Fletcher and Hodson, Cambridge; Mr. Jerman, North-Shields; Mr. Scott, South-Shields; Mr. Lightfoot, Sunderland; Mr. Buddle, Chester-le-street; Mr. Manisty and Mr. Clinton, Durham; Mr. Geo. Airs, Sedgfield; Mr. Pickering, Stockton; Mr. John Hodgson, Yarm; Mr. Robson, Guisborough; Mr. Pearson, Stoxley; Mr. Wharton, Darlington; Mr. Walker, North-Allerton; Mr. Sievers, Thirsk; Mr. Beckwith, Rippon; Mr. Swann, Bedal; Mr. Topping, Richmond; the Postmaster in Barnardcastle; Mr. Sherwood, Staindrop; Mr. Oyston, bishop-Auckland; Mr. Featherston, Hexham; Mr. Walton, Aldston; Mr. Corney, Penrith; Mr. Wilkinson, Appleby; the Postmaster in Kirbysteven; Mr. Ashburner, Kendal; Mr. Fell, Whitehaven; Mr. Matthews, Cockermouth; Mr. Whiteside, Workington; Mr. Birbeck, Wigton; Mr. Campbell, Carlisle; and 14 others.<sup>24</sup>

In Newcastle Thompson published *The Literary Register, or Weekly Miscellany*.<sup>25</sup>

In South Shields around 40 of the 700 families were dissenters, and benefactors established a free school for 16 pupils, while two private schools taught reading, writing and Anglican religion.<sup>26</sup> An Anglican widow in Sunderland left money for a free school for girls aged seven to 16 to learn reading, knitting, sewing and spinning.<sup>27</sup>

In Newcastle White had advertised Edward Chicken's *The Collier's Wedding* for 1s in 1750, 1752, 1753 and again in 1754, without a price,<sup>28</sup> yet it was 1764 before he and Saint published it. The title-page quotation was from John Dryden, who claimed to prefer a 'Country Girl' to 'Cornelia', a conventional name for an upper class woman, and White and Saint seemed confident that 'Booksellers in Town and Country' would sell it.



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William Emm now sold books in Bishop Auckland, County Durham,<sup>30</sup> as did G. Hunter in Hexham, Northumberland.<sup>31</sup> In reality the region's pitmen had become increasingly unhappy.

## (ii) The 1765 pitmen's strike

In the 1740s little north-east coal was shipped from November to February. It usually took about a fortnight for a return voyage to London, and each collier generally made eight or nine trips a year.<sup>32</sup> London needed a million tons of coal a year and it took 1,000 colliers to satisfy the demand. A Whitby-built 'cat' was a wide-beamed, shallow-draught, lightly rigged vessel designed for the coal trade, and it gave ship-owners the most profit. The largest cat could carry 600 tons with a crew of 12 or less, though in 1747 a 450-ton cat owned by a Whitby Quaker, left for London with a cargo of 'best Tyne coal', and the crew of 19, included the captain, master, carpenter, cook, plus five experienced sailors and 10 apprentices, one of whom was 18-year-old James Cook, took almost two months to return.<sup>33</sup> Tyne exports averaged 747,000 tons a year in the 1740s,<sup>34</sup> and the Wear about 40 percent of that figure.<sup>35</sup>

In 1750 Tyne keelmen stuck up printed handbills about their grievances in public places,<sup>36</sup> and Tyneside collieries produced almost two million tons that year.<sup>37</sup> In 1752 young pitmen at Gibside Colliery earned around £7 for a 242-day year, and putters and hewers between £11 10s and £21 4s for 238 days.<sup>38</sup> That year 190 vessels averaging 300 to 400 tons belonged to the Wear, yet almost 3,600 used the port.<sup>39</sup> Colliers were half-loaded at the quays, 'then go out and the coals are brought out in lighters to fill them'. In bad weather 'many coals drop into the sea' and 'the poor pick them up' and 'are chiefly supplied with fuel in this way'. On large-decked boats arriving in ballast, women threw 'up all the earth and gravel' they could, then the vessel was taken out of the river, the earth was 'shovel'd into the sea' and the women drew 'harrows backward and forward' to loosen the earth below so it would be carried further out by the current.<sup>40</sup>

In 1755 most Scottish pitmen were freed from having to sign bonds, but not those in England.<sup>41</sup> At about 2.00am one day in August 1756, there was a 'dreadful accident' at Chayters-haugh colliery in County Durham.

The foul air in one of the pits ignited, by which four men were instantly killed and torn to pieces. The explosion was so violent that a corf full of coals was blown up the shaft from a depth of 80 fathoms into the open air, and a vast quantity of coal dust and rubbish was thrown to a great distance, discolouring the surface of the ground round about. The explosion was so loud as to be heard by people in their beds two miles off, rumbling like thunder, or the discharge of many cannon.

Had it happened an hour later, the whole of the workmen would have been in the mine, consequently the destruction of human life would have been dreadful.<sup>42</sup>

Whickham parish paid paupers with two children £13 13s a year, when the utter minimum needed was £14 6s 4d.<sup>43</sup> In 1757 16 pitmen were killed at Ravensworth.<sup>44</sup> During the 1750s Wear exports were half of those of the Tyne,<sup>45</sup> and one man was killed at Long Benton colliery near Newcastle in 1760.<sup>46</sup>

In March 1761 pitmen and agricultural workers destroyed militia lists in Gateshead and Morpeth and Whittingham in Northumberland. Soon after almost 5,000 people faced two battalions of the Yorkshire militia in Hexham market place for three hours, then one man grabbed a soldier's rifle. The officer ordered the troops to fire and they reportedly killed 45 and badly wounded 300. Two members of the crowd had guns, and most had clubs and staves, yet none retaliated. Nevertheless the alleged 'ringleaders' were arrested, dragoons were stationed in the town and martial law was declared. Subsequently, one man was hanged twice at Morpeth, since the rope broke.<sup>47</sup> In December five pitmen were killed at Hartley colliery.<sup>48</sup>

In 1764 Some Wear collieries were 'in great want of hewers', and viewers reportedly paid up to £4 4s instead of the traditional 6d for drink on binding day. Early in 1765 Tyne and Wear coal-owners met secretly at the White Hart in Chester-le-Street. They agreed not 'to employ any person or persons' without the consent of their previous employer in writing, and not to pay more than 1s in binding money, but to establish a committee to settle differences.<sup>49</sup> In April eight pitmen were killed at Walker colliery.<sup>50</sup> Before the bonds at many collieries expired at the end of August, pitmen had heard about the coal-owners' agreement, and on 14 August every colliery workforce on the Tyne and Wear, though not at Hartley in Northumberland, went on strike. In County Durham up to 30 men broke waggons, assaulted their drivers and scattered the coal at Whickham, Tanfield and Lamesley collieries. Waggons were 'stopp'd and waggon ways 'broken up and destroyed', keels were 'all laid by', hundreds of colliers lay idle, and the price of coal in London rocketed. On the 31<sup>st</sup> the coal-owners promised that anyone who wished to leave could do so, but they refused to agree to a simultaneous binding, and the men refused to sign a bond. On 2 September three troops of dragoons arrived in Newcastle. On the 7<sup>th</sup> the coal-owners claimed in the *Newcastle Journal* that the men were breaking their bonds, yet some troops left on the 12<sup>th</sup> and the magistrates were unable to arrest 4,000 strikers. Next afternoon, after one coal-owner got some men to return, pitmen at one colliery broke machinery, threw it down the shaft and threatened to burn the rest, and a strike meeting at Chester-le-Street threatened to destroy 'all the collieries they come at'. On the 14<sup>th</sup> the *Newcastle Chronicle* criticised the coal-owners' 'scandalous and false reports', and argued that they aimed to 'reduce the industrious Poor' to 'the greatest Misery' when 'all the Necessaries of Life are at such exorbitant Prices'. It was 'impossible for them to support their Families without using some other lawful Means, which they will and are determined to do'. 'A Collier' defended the pitmen in two London papers. On the night of the 17<sup>th</sup> Pelton and other County Durham collieries were set on fire, above and below ground. Three troops of dragoons were ordered to Durham or Newcastle, and on the 21<sup>st</sup> the *Journal* published a conciliatory editorial. The coal-owners tried to defend themselves in the *Journal*, *Chronicle* and *Courant*, and in a London paper on the 31<sup>st</sup>, though they soon admitted defeat. Half of the strikers returned to work victorious on 4 October and the rest did so on the 7<sup>th</sup>.<sup>51</sup>

A song about a County Durham landlady had become popular. Alice Harrison had been christened in Houghton-le-Spring in 1713, and in 1735 she married Ralph Marley who kept a tavern at Picktree near Chester-le-Street.<sup>52</sup> In 1745 it was called the Swan, and Dutch mercenaries marching north to fight the Jacobites reportedly used its sign for target practice.<sup>53</sup> Around 1750 it was called the Barley Mow and Alice ran it. In the early 1760s she was described as 'a tall, slender, genteel-looking woman', but once, 'being out on some little business about the premises', she 'perceived that her pocket was lost, on which she hurried into the house where some company was drinking', and her husband reportedly extemporised a verse.

O d'ye ken Ailcie Marley, honey,  
The wife that sells the barley, honey?  
She's lost her pocket and all her money  
Aback o' the bush I' the garden, honey.<sup>54</sup>

(The tune had appeared in a Scottish book in 1757.<sup>55</sup>) According to her grandson, 'Elsie was an active manager, and the household affairs were entrusted to her sole control'. The 'lost pocket' incident took place when she went to Newcastle with 20 golden guineas sewn into her pocket to pay the brewer's bill. On the Sandhill 'someone jostled her, and clapping her hand to her side, she exclaimed aloud, "O honney, honney, I've lost my pocket and all my money"'.<sup>56</sup> Subsequently verses were added and the song 'speedily became so popular all over the district'. In 1765, at Beverley races, a bay mare was called 'Alcey Marley'.<sup>57</sup>

In 1766 ten pitmen were killed at Walker colliery in Northumberland,<sup>58</sup> 27 at South Biddick,<sup>59</sup> and six at Lambton in County Durham. In 1767, after 39 were killed at Fatfield,<sup>60</sup> the *Journal* announced that

As so many deplorable accidents have lately happened in collieries, it certainly claims the attention of coal-owners to make a provision for the distressed widows and fatherless children occasioned by these mines, as these catastrophes from foul air become more common than ever; yet, as we have been requested to take no further notice of these things, which, in fact, could have very little good tendency, we drop the further mentioning of it.<sup>61</sup>

Looking backward was far more comfortable for the well-to-do.

### **(iii) *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry***

Samuel Johnson, a Lichfield bookseller's son, and the actor David Garrick, had walked to London in 1737.<sup>62</sup> In 1751 Johnson acknowledged that *Chevy Chase* 'pleased the vulgar', though it 'did not satisfy the learned' or 'fill the mind capable of thinking strongly',<sup>63</sup> and he ridiculed Joseph Addison for taking *The Children in the Wood* seriously.<sup>64</sup>

In 1755 Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* argued that southern English was 'national'.

The English language has properly no dialects; the style of writers has no professed diversity in the use of words or of their flexions and terminations, nor differs but by different degrees of skill or care. The oral diction is uniform in no spacious country, but has less variation in England than in most other nations of equal extent. The language of the northern counties retains many words now out of use, but which are commonly of the genuine Teutonic race, and is uttered with a pronunciation which now seems harsh and rough, but was properly used by our ancestors. The northern speech is therefore not barbarous but obsolete.<sup>65</sup>

He noted that he 'could not visit caverns to learn the miner's language, nor take a voyage to perfect my skill in the dialect of navigation', and he used only printed sources,<sup>66</sup> though old northern English had a clerical admirer.

Thomas Percy, the son of a wholesale grocer and tobacco merchant in Bridgnorth, Shropshire, was born in 1729. He attended the Free School, then Newport School, and entered Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1746. He graduated BA in 1750, was ordained as a deacon in 1752 and as a priest in 1753, and his college presented him with the living of Easton Maudit in Northamptonshire.<sup>67</sup> In 1756 an earl appointed him as his chaplain and as rector of nearby Wilby, and he began calling himself 'Percy'. When he visited Humphrey Pitt in nearby Shifnal he saw a battered manuscript 'lying dirty on the floor, under a bureau in the parlor', being 'used by the maids to light the fire'. Pitt gave him what was left,<sup>68</sup> which included around 145 ballads. In 1757 Johnson promised to help Percy select the 'most valuable pieces' and 'revise' them for publication. He failed to do so, though the poet William Shenstone helped.<sup>69</sup> Percy married a woman with a dowry of £2,000,<sup>70</sup> and visited Cluer Dicey's warehouse in London. He found 'above four score' ballads he had not seen before,<sup>71</sup> and marked their titles in the 1754 *Catalogue*. He privately described Dicey as 'the greatest printer of ballads in the kingdom',<sup>72</sup> but 'an Acquaintance' of 'a much lower stamp'. He had promised to 'romage into his Warehouse' and send Percy all his 'old Stock Ballads',<sup>73</sup> yet he sent over 300 mainly recent slip songs. The London publisher James Dodsley guaranteed Percy £105 for three volumes of ballads, on condition that he would own the manuscript if he failed to deliver, and the first sheets were printed in 1762. Percy used Dodsley's wagons to bring books from scholars, visited Magdalene College, Cambridge, to see Samuel Pepys's collection, and bought provincial ballads, including some of John White's. He accumulated and collated around 441,<sup>74</sup> and wanted a patron.

Hugh Smithson was born in Langdale, Yorkshire, in 1714. He inherited a baronetcy in 1733, and an income of £3,000 a year in 1740, and after he married the countess of Northumberland he changed his name to Percy by a private Act of parliament. He became an earl in 1750,<sup>75</sup> and later a Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain and a member of the Privy Council. He recovered land, royalties and mines from the Alnwick freemen,<sup>76</sup> and became Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland in 1763. Thomas Percy's draft dedication stressed his 'humble aim was to preserve a few ancient pieces written to celebrate the house of Percy',<sup>77</sup> though he failed to impress the earl.

The king had given Johnson £300 a year in 1762, and the Scottish lawyer James Boswell met him in London in May 1763.<sup>78</sup> In summer Boswell visited the Dicey's Aldermary churchyard premises and was 'ushered into the world of literature'. He saw *Jack and the Giants*, *The Seven Wise Men of Gotham*, and 'other story-books which in my dawning years amused me'. It was a 'pleasing romantic feeling to find myself really where all my old darlings were printed. I bought two dozen of the story-books and had them bound up' as *Curious Productions*.<sup>79</sup> By 1764 Richard Marshall may have had an equal share in Dicey's business,<sup>80</sup> and the Bow churchyard premises was a warehouse for patent medicines. They had a large distribution network in the provinces and issued another wholesale

catalogue with 6,000 or so items which included 325 small books. Elaborate ones for children cost 6s per 100 in unbound sheets, or 13 stitched for 9d, and 'Penny History Books' cost 2s 6d for 104.<sup>81</sup> There were hundreds of 'Old Ballads' at 8s a ream, and 'near Three Thousand different Sorts of SLIPS',<sup>82</sup> for 4s a ream, or five to ten for a penny.<sup>83</sup>

Thomas Percy got Johnson to write a dedication to the countess of Northumberland, and after she accepted it, he moved the ballads relating to her family to the first volume, deleted 'indelicate pieces' and inserted others 'more inoffensive'.<sup>84</sup> It appeared early in 1765. The frontispiece was intended to represent a medieval bard and there was an extract from a prologue written by Nicholas Rowe in 1714 for his play *Jane Shore* (who was also the subject of an old ballad), and the title-page motto under a harp translated as 'hard work saved'.



*These venerable antient Song-enditers  
Soar'd many a pitch above our modern writers:  
With rough majestic force they mov'd the heart,  
And strength and nature made amends for Art.*  
Rowe

RELIQUES  
OF  
ANCIENT ENGLISH POETRY:  
CONSISTING OF  
Old Heroic BALLADS, SONGS, and other  
PIECES of our earlier POETS,  
(Chiefly of the LYRIC kind.)  
Together with some few of later Date.  
VOLUME THE FIRST.



L O N D O N :  
Printed for J. DODSLEY in Pall-Mall.  
M DCC LXV.

Percy formally apologised for the 'barbarous productions of unpolished ages', though they were the 'effusions of nature' and the 'first efforts of ancient genius'. He believed monks may have composed the larger metrical romances, while bards or minstrels may have written the smaller narratives in the 'northern dialect'. Many 'antique words and phrases' were 'extremely incorrect', and some lyrics exhibited the 'utmost licence of metre', yet they had a 'romantic wildness' and were 'in the true spirit of chivalry'. He credited the Percies with preserving some of them, since their 'heroic deeds' had been sung 'in the halls of Alnwick'. The first volume began with *Chevy Chase*. *The Battle of Otterbourne*, *An Elegy on Henry the Fourth earl of Northumberland* by Skelton, *The More Modern Ballad of Chevy Chase*, *Northumberland Betrayed by Douglas* and *The Rising in the North*, while *The Earl of Westmoreland*, which glorified the beheaded Catholic rebel, came later;<sup>85</sup> yet *Childe of El* had grown from 39 lines to 210 and *Sir Cawline* from 201 to 394.<sup>86</sup> Percy took over 60 of the 180 ballads from Dickey publications and changed Dickey's playful comments into earnest commentary.<sup>87</sup> All three volumes included a 'Glossary of the Obsolete and Scottish Words',<sup>88</sup> and by July 1,100 copies of the edition of 1,500 had been sold.<sup>89</sup>

The earl of Northumberland made Percy his chaplain,<sup>90</sup> and when the earl became a duke in 1766,<sup>91</sup> he had the portrait of Joseph Turnbull retitled 'Piper to the Duchess of Northumberland 1756', when she had been a countess.<sup>92</sup> The Alnwick chamberlains paid £3 17s for the musicians' Silver laced Hats', £9 15s 1d for their 'Cloaths', and £4 17s 1½d for 'Trimming' and 'making them'.<sup>93</sup>

In London Johnson wrote about distributing a book which was to retail at £1. 'We must allow, for profit', 'six and seven shillings in the pound' to a wholesaler, and deliver 104 copies for every 100 ordered; so he would pay between 13s 5½d and 14s 10d a copy and sell them to country booksellers for 16s 6d. They could expect a profit of



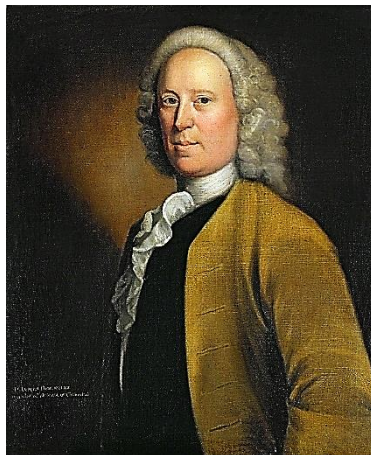
3s 6d at most for a quick sale, though 2s 6d if they gave credit for a year. 'With less profit than this ... the country bookseller cannot live; for his receipts are small, and his debts [are] sometimes bad'.<sup>94</sup> The *Reliques* was republished in 1767,<sup>95</sup> in a print run of 1,500,<sup>96</sup> yet other songs appealed to the singers at Durham Cathedral.

#### **(iv) Rule Britannia**

John Garth was born into a yeoman's family in Harperley, County Durham, in 1721. His father died in 1725, though John probably attended Bishop Auckland Grammar School, and he may have been one of Charles Avison's pupils. He became the organist at Sedgefield Church and at Auckland Castle, and was admitted as an apprentice freemason in Durham in June 1742.<sup>97</sup> He taught music,<sup>98</sup> and became the organist at Durham Cathedral. His annual salary was increased to £100 in 1750, and from 1752 aristocratic patrons financed his subscription concerts, which competed with those of the Cathedral band, and during the 1750s he invested hundreds of pounds.<sup>99</sup> The freemason and singing man Peter Blenkinsop had sold tickets for the Cathedral choir's concerts, then switched to Garth's rival series. In 1759 Garth opened the organ at Stockton Church,<sup>100</sup> and in 1761 Dr Musgrave Heighington from Durham became the Episcopal Church organist in Dundee.<sup>101</sup>

In 1757 Thomas Ebdon's led the Cathedral's concert band, yet he fell out with Garth and Avison,<sup>102</sup> who had played with him in concerts and the Newcastle band.<sup>103</sup> His Cathedral salary was raised to £30 in 1760, and he was also appointed as organist at £40 a year, bringing the total to £70, and that was raised to £80 in 1762. Ebdon and Garth organised concerts in Darlington.

James Hesletine's salary had been £30 a year in 1760. That was soon raised to £60, then to £70 in 1761 and £80 in 1762, when other singing men's salaries ranged from £25 for locals to £50 for those from the south.<sup>104</sup> At some point Hesletine had had his portrait painted by Robert Taylor.



105

He was evidently well-to-do, though he died in 1763.<sup>106</sup>

Some singing men, a regimental band and the Newcastle waits performed in Spring Gardens. A ticket cost 1s and the series of 16 cost 10s 6d.<sup>107</sup> Avison's programme included *Rule Britannia*, *Britons Strike Home* and *God Save the King*. Ebdon promoted concerts in Sunderland, South Shields and Newcastle, and composed sacred and secular music. The watchmaker John Marshall was a singing man at £30 a year, yet William Paxton's salary was raised to £50. John Matthews brought manuscripts from Salisbury Cathedral and he was probably the main copyist. His salary was £50, and he also sang in local concerts and at Spring Gardens in Newcastle,<sup>108</sup> as did a distinguished foreign composer.

William Herschel was born in the Electorate of Hanover in 1738. He moved to England in 1757,<sup>109</sup> and joined the Darlington militia band.<sup>110</sup> Durham militia was formed in 1759, and Herschel joined in 1760 and led the band. He met Avison and Garth,<sup>111</sup> but they fell out.<sup>112</sup> Herschel visited Sir Ralph Milbanke, and played his two new symphonies. He had moved to Sunderland by spring 1761, and wrote another symphony. Avison engaged him as first violin and soloist in Newcastle,<sup>113</sup> and he also played in Spring Gardens.<sup>114</sup> In 1763 a 'private gentleman' led Darlington concerts.<sup>115</sup> In 1764, in Newcastle, after Avison raised the price of his concert series from 15s to £1 1s, and the number from 12 to 14, the Spring Gardens concerts ceased.<sup>116</sup> In 1766 Herschel left for Leeds, Halifax and then Bath, as the organist at the fashionable Octagon Chapel, and his musical career took off astronomically.<sup>117</sup>

William Evance was born into a musical family around 1745, and became a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, then a student at Christ Church, Oxford, before his appointment at Durham Cathedral in 1767.<sup>118</sup> Thomas

Drake, a minor canon, was suspended without pay for ordering a chorister to tell the organist to stop playing a voluntary before and after evening prayers, though his pay was later restored.<sup>119</sup> In 1769 Durham Cathedral and York Minster choristers, and Lancashire chapel singers, performed at a Newcastle festival,<sup>120</sup> and the Tyneside town's culture continued to polarise socially.

The Newcastle dancing master Neil Stewart had charged a 10s 6d entrance fee and £1 6s 3d for six days' teaching in 1761,<sup>121</sup> yet the dancing master George Peacock died in St. John's parish. In spring 1762 the ladies who attended a baptism in St. Nicholas's Church walked to the Mansion House, accompanied by the waits,<sup>122</sup> yet the wait Simpson Kell died in All Saints' parish in 1763. In 1765 Thomas Ross was a wait, but the wait John Gale died in All Saints' parish. Walter Cooper was sacked for lack of skill and 'misbehaviour', and Richard Newby was appointed.<sup>123</sup> Catherine Avison died in 1766, aged 53, and Charles wrote his will early in 1767. He bequeathed a harpsichord to all his children, £800 to his daughter, £100 to each of his boys and wanted to be buried next to his wife.<sup>124</sup> He died in St. Nicholas' parish in May, aged 61. Edward became the St. Nicholas' Church organist,<sup>125</sup> and held a subscription concert in June.<sup>126</sup> During the 1760s the fiddler John Dickenson died in All Saints' parish, though the musicians Robert Edington and Jeoffrey Metcalf were active, as were George Welch, Robert Brown and Robert Henderson in 1767.

In Northumberland the four Berwick waits had shared £24 16s and three payments of 5s in 1761. In March 1763 they were paid for playing at the proclamation of peace, and at the king's birthday in June, and were recompensed for not being asked to play when a lord received his freedom in July.<sup>127</sup> William Lamshaw was born in 1712, possibly in Medomsley in County Durham. He learned to play the smallpipes as a boy,<sup>128</sup> and later became an innkeeper in Morpeth,<sup>129</sup> and by 1764 he and Thomas Gleghorn were waits.<sup>130</sup> John Gamster was a Hexham fiddler in 1765,<sup>131</sup> and Robert Scott, a 90-year-old piper, threw away his crutches and walked six miles to St. John Lee to marry a 25-year-old woman. Pipers and fiddlers entertained the company after the wedding feast.<sup>132</sup> In Haltwhistle Thomas Pratt sang days before he died, reportedly aged 115,<sup>133</sup> and the North Shields fiddler Robert Turnbull had sufficient property to make a will. In County Durham, when the fiddle and rosin case of the Gateshead fiddler Thomas Potts were found in a pond on the Fell in 1767, it was presumed that he had drowned. In the late 1760s John Pillemot travelled across the region selling violins, flutes, oboes and other instruments and accessories, and gave discounts to teachers who bought in bulk.<sup>134</sup>

A young man from the Tyne valley who was keen on local music had recently become apprenticed in Newcastle.

#### **(v) Thomas Bewick**

Agnes Arthur was born into a Northumberland laird's family in Kirkheaton, 20 miles north of Newcastle, in 1683, and Thomas Bewick was born in Cherryburn, 16 miles south of Kirkheaton in 1685.<sup>135</sup> They later married and lived in Cherryburn, where Thomas rented land on Eltringham common and leased a small land-sale colliery at Mickley Bank. When the family moved to Stocksfield,<sup>136</sup> Thomas farmed Painshaw field and Birches Neuk, and earned the reputation of being 'one of the most intelligent, active & best farmers on Tyneside',<sup>137</sup> and he was reputedly 'very rich' when he died in 1742.<sup>138</sup> His son John became a widower in 1750, and in 1751 he rented eight acres for £4 a year,<sup>139</sup> from a man who lived near Doncaster,<sup>140</sup> and wanted to remarry.

When Thomas Wilson, a schoolteacher at Ainstable in Cumberland, died, his eldest son had inherited the house, so two daughters lived with an aunt in Appleby.<sup>141</sup> In 1747 Jane became the housekeeper of the Reverend Christopher Gregson in Ovingham, near Cherryburn.<sup>142</sup> She married John Bewick in 1752, and Thomas was born in 1753.<sup>143</sup> A village girl helped Jane with the housework,<sup>144</sup> though Agnes Bewick died in 1756.<sup>145</sup> Thomas was sent to Mickley School when he was very young, because his parents hoped it would keep him out of trouble, yet he recalled that 'Shabby' Rowns beat him for 'not learning what it was not in my power to comprehend' or for 'nothing at all', until he 'broke his Shins' with his iron hooped clogs. He played truant and got 'many severe beatings' when his parents found out.<sup>146</sup> His father employed a dozen or so workers, and paid men 10d a day and women 8d. In 1763 runaway horses killed William Scott from Prudhoe. James Burn arrived at Mickley School, but soon died,<sup>147</sup> and Thomas was sent to Gregson's school in Ovingham. He recalled 'shouting as long as I could while the Psalms were singing' in church, but liked the music at home.

The Winter evenings were often spent in listening to the traditionary Tales & Songs, relating to the Men who had been eminent for their prowess & bravery in the Border Wars, and others who had been esteemed for better & milder qualities, such as their having been good Landlords, kind Neighbours, and otherwise in every respect being bold and independent & honest Men. – I used to be particularly struck or affected with the Warlike music & the Songs relative to the former

description of Characters, but with those regarding the latter, a different kind of feeling was drawn forth, and I was often greatly distressed & often gave vent to it in (a flood of) tears.

He recalled a song about the earl of Derwentwater who was a 'Victim to the cruelty of the Reigning Family'. He was aware of his social distance from his father's workers and labourers and he liked their music.

Here & there on this Common were to be seen the Cottage or rather Hovel of some labouring Man, built mostly at his own expense with his own hands, and to this he always added a Garth, or Garden upon which great pains & labour were bestowed to make productive & for this purpose not a bit of manure was suffered to be wasted away on the *Lonnings* or publick roads. These cottagers ... were of an honest and independent character while, at the same time they held the neighbouring Gentry in the greatest estimation & respect ... Most of these poor Men, from their having limited intercourse from the World, were in all their actions & behaviour truly original – except reading the Bible, local Histories & old Ballads, their knowledge was generally limited.

One of his father's pitmen told 'droll and witty stories' and his songs were 'great entertainment';<sup>148</sup> though in 1767 Thomas was apprenticed.

William Beilby was born into a comfortably-off Scarborough family in 1706. He later became a silversmith and jeweller, and in 1733 he married in Durham and settled there. William junior, the couple's fourth child, arrived in 1740, Ralph in 1743, Thomas in 1747 and Mary in 1749. The boys attended Durham School, then William was sent to learn seal-engraving and enamelling in Birmingham. The family business was bankrupt in 1759, and they were in 'dire straights', so they moved to Gateshead. There was a heavy tax on glass, yet several Newcastle businesses made fine flint glass for the well-to-do, and by 1762 William Beilby junior and his sister Mary engraved glass in Newcastle. Ralph later joined them,<sup>149</sup> as did Thomas, who produced an enamel glass goblet for the launch of the *King George* at Whitehaven, which became a slave ship.<sup>150</sup>

In Cherryburn Will Bewick (no relation) had encouraged Thomas to draw 'Pictures', and in summer 1767, when William and Ralph Beilby visited their godmother in Bywell, she gave them 'a most flattering account' of the boy's talents, so they went to Cherryburn and invited him to say whose apprentice he would like to be. His grandmother had left him £20 for an apprentice fee, and he chose to be bound to Ralph 'on trial'. On 1 October he began working in St. Nicholas's churchyard in Newcastle, learning to engrave glass.<sup>151</sup>

Ralph Beilby was a skilful musician,<sup>152</sup> and Bewick recalled that he 'belonged to a Musical Society held at Moore's in the Close & when I had any message to take, or other errand to him, I was commonly invited to remain', and he met Edward and Charles Avison junior;<sup>153</sup> though he knew that Newcastle was the centre of the region's print trade.

#### **(vi) *The Child's Tutor; or, Entertaining Preceptor***

Jane Middleton was born into a Quaker family of glassmakers in the Newcastle area around 1720. She was well-educated in philosophy, science, and languages, and married Captain Francis Gomeldon. Soon after she fled to France and reportedly had many adventures disguised as a man. In 1740 her husband placed an advertisement in the *Newcastle Journal* asking her to return. She explained in the *Newcastle Courant* that she had left him because of his cruelty and he had meddled with the fortune her mother had left her, and she eventually obtained a legal separation in 1742. Early in 1751 her husband died and left what had been her property to a nephew. In 1766 John White and Thomas Saint printed a book of her essays called *The Medley*, anonymously, which she presented to 'one of the governesses of the Lying-In Hospital for poor women, in Newcastle', and had 'printed for the benefit of that charity'. The 31 essays were written in the first person from the point of view of a male narrator. 'I am Son to a Man, more rich than willing to part with his Money - and of a lady whose high Birth and genteel Accomplishments, inclined her much to lay out what Money she could'. None of 'his' siblings resembled their father, and 'it was continually remarked, that one Child was like one Gentleman, another Child like another Gentleman: As for myself, I was reckoned like a whole Regiment; and what was very singular, this very Regiment had been quartered in our Neighbourhood the Year I had been born'. The essays discussed female education, cross-dressing, female adultery and problems with men. 'Ladies at present value themselves upon more than merely knowing domestic life' and 'exclude not themselves from any thing!' and 'when one sees them thus accomplished, 'tis an additional spur to write for the gentlemen, to render them fit to be their companions!' The book raised £53.<sup>154</sup>

In 1765 Sir Walter Blackett had paid a schoolmaster at the head of West Allen Water £10 a year to teach lead miners' children.<sup>155</sup> The salary of Newcastle Grammar School's under usher was raised to £50 a year,<sup>156</sup> and though the former headmaster, Richard Dawes, had died in 1766, he had completed *The Origin of the Newcastle Burr*, which appeared anonymously in London in 1767. It argued that Newcastle people's speech was

A gutt'ral Noise, like Crows and Jays;  
 Or somewhat like a croaking Frog,  
 Or Punch in Puppet-Show, or Hog;  
 A rattling, Ear-tormenting Yell  
 Much us'd 'mong low-liv'd Fiends in Hell.

It was so distinctive that 'you know them in the dark'.<sup>157</sup>

John Sadler was a printer in Darlington; James Graham was a bookbinder, bookseller, printer and stationer in Sunderland High Street; Josiah Nicholson sold books in Wolsingham,<sup>158</sup> and a prosperous Newcastle stationer owned land at Cullercoats.<sup>159</sup> There were probably seven master printers in Newcastle.<sup>160</sup> Saint had married, and he and White published *Tom Thumb's Play Book*. The *Courant* received letters and advertisements from St. Paul's coffee house in London, where the paper was 'regularly and separately filed'. By November White and Saint had published *The Child's Tutor; or, Entertaining Preceptor, to render his Introduction to Learning pleasing, instructing and agreeable, in which is given Rules for Behaviour, very necessary to be given to young Person to point out to their Notice, the Manner of rendering themselves and all about them happy; with several Cuts. Price bound and gilt 4d.* It was available from Robert Akenhead, Joseph Barber, Martha Fleming and Son and J. Gentle in Newcastle, George Oliver and Mrs West in North Shields, J. Winston in Piercebridge, M. Hodgson in West Auckland, Oyston and R. Hogget in Bishop Auckland, F. Ibbetson in Middleton, H. Watson in Staindrop, T. Cuminn in Romaldkirk, G. Wharton in Darlington, John Pickering in Stockton, William Tunstall in Richmond, Miles Dent in Penrith, Mrs Cowley in Cockermouth, Miss Feerness in Wigton, W. Hodgson and A. Campbell in Carlisle, Nicholas Lee in Hexham, Alexander Graham in Alnwick and G. Lawrie in Tweedmouth. White and Saint soon published a second edition.<sup>161</sup> Yet another group of the region's key workers was not only restive, but politicised.

In April 1768 sailors reportedly 'rioted' at Newcastle, Tynemouth, Shields and Sunderland, 'upon the pretence of demanding an advance in wages', and they compelled ship-owners to sign agreements with their representatives'. A London newspaper reported that 'the cry for Wilkes and Liberty is said to be as loud among the sailors as at London, and attended with the same violence'. By early May London sailors 'demanded 35s a month, 'alleging that their families would be starving', and until this was conceded they would 'neither engage, nor suffer any ship to sail'. Sailors' committees visited outward-bound ships, and by the 9<sup>th</sup> they had prevented every one from sailing. On the 10<sup>th</sup> between 5,000 and 15,000 sailors marched with a petition to parliament, and gave two gentlemen three cheers after they 'addressed them from the roof of a hackney-coach'. Several ship-owners came to terms with sailors' committees and their ships had were allowed to sail. The Hudson's Bay Company was compelled to pay £2 a month on the 12<sup>th</sup>, though coal-heavers marched to the Mansion House, and attacked collier crews. Within days the price of wheat reached £2 16s a quarter and demonstrations included sailors. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> coal-heavers boarded the *Thomas and Mary* in Shadwell dock and threatened to kill any sailor who continued to load. Next day sailors on another collier were attacked with bludgeons and cutlasses. Two were wounded and one young sailor was stabbed to death. On 1 June two collier captains came ashore in Wapping, to buy provisions, and were beaten by 50 coal-heavers. Another clash was reported on the 6<sup>th</sup>, but after the military arrived 20 'desperadoes' were arrested and the movement evidently collapsed.<sup>162</sup>

In County Durham Alice Marley was very ill,<sup>163</sup> and in August the *Newcastle Chronicle* reported her death. 'Thursday sen'night, in the morning', at Vigo, near Chester-le-Street. She had become 'remarkable for the celebrated song composed upon her' and she had been 'found drowned in a pond'.<sup>164</sup> The *Newcastle Courant* added that 'being in a Fever', she had 'got out of her House, and went into a field where there was an old Coal-pit full of water, Which she fell into, and was drowned'.<sup>165</sup>

In October White and Saint published *An Hundred Godly LESSONS*, set to the tune associated with *Flying Fame*. The surviving copy is on the reverse of *Westminster Races, 1768*, an election speech by the radical John Wilkes,<sup>166</sup> who had failed to win the Berwick parliamentary election 14 years earlier.<sup>167</sup> White, the oldest master printer in England, died at his house in Pilgrim Street, Newcastle, in January 1769, aged 80,<sup>168</sup> and was buried in All Saints' churchyard. Weeks later Saint's *Courant* obituary described him as 'candid, affable, generous, charitable' and 'religious without ostentation, a steady disinterested friend, and an honest Man'.

In spring Saint advertised a songbook in the *Courant*.

As many GENTLEMEN have been very desirous Mr MASSEY should publish his BOOK OF HUMOROUS SONGS ... [he] proposes to open a SUBSCRIPTION; at Two Shillings and Sixpence each person; Eighteen-pence to be paid into the hands of Mr Saint, Printer, and to Mr FISHER, at the Circulating Library, at the foot of the Flesh-market, and One Shilling at the time of the delivery of the BOOK, which Mr MASSEY promises to deliver in twenty days from the date hereof, providing there are subscriptions sufficient to defray the expenses. The VOLUME will contain a number of ORIGINAL SONGS, ODES, CANTATAS,

&c. in the *English, Irish, Scotch, French, Dutch, and Italian Taste*; with several humorous STORIES, and a large collection of TOASTS and SENTIMENTS, never before printed.

They promised to return the money if there were too few subscribers.

When Baron de Wenzel, 'Oculist to their Imperial Majesties', left London for Edinburgh, he called on the booksellers William Darnton in Darlington, Richard Manisty in Durham, Graham in Sunderland and Saint in Newcastle. Saint sold a patent elixir for 3s, as did Darnton, Patrick Sanderson and Laidlaw in Durham, Graham in Gateshead, J. Jackson in Bishop Auckland, I. Ianson in Middleham, Metcalf in Richmond, Ashburner in Kendal and Garbutt in Whitby. Saint advertised snuff, tobacco, 'Corn Salve' and a 'Family Medicine Chest' at 5s 3d.<sup>169</sup> Sanderson stocked writing paper, account books, ledgers, journals, waste books, music books, letter cases, maps, landscapes, mezzotint prints, sealing wax, wafers, slates, quills, pens, pencils, standishes for writing materials, Japanese and Indian ink, and ink powder.<sup>170</sup> Wilkes had been ejected from the House of Commons, though in summer readers of the *Newcastle Chronicle* received a copy of his petition demanding reinstatement.<sup>171</sup>

A Billingham vicar opened a free school in Durham,<sup>172</sup> and a school financed by private subscriptions opened in Bishop Middleham in 1770.<sup>173</sup> A Quaker bequeathed money for a charity school in Sunderland,<sup>174</sup> and endowed others in Durham, Raby, Shotton, Shildon, Bishop Auckland and Newcastle.<sup>175</sup> In 14 years there had been at least six schoolteachers in Newcastle's St. Andrew's parish, and five in All Saints' parish, though two had died.

Newcastle's population was probably around 24,000,<sup>176</sup> and its printers produced more small books and schoolbooks than anywhere except London.<sup>177</sup> Saint printed *The Rudiments of the English Tongue*, a schoolbook on grammar written by the radical dissenting minister James Murray,<sup>178</sup> and Saint soon had to ask booksellers for the return of unsold copies since his stock was low. He also sold *Moral Instructions of a Father to a Son*, which was 'very proper for Schools', and a 'cure' for venereal disease. Subscriptions for a *New History of the Churches in England and Scotland* were to be taken by 'all the Booksellers in town and country', and Saint gave a 'good allowance to country Shop-keepers' to stock his *Newcastle Pocket Diary*. By summer he needed two pressmen 'immediately'.<sup>179</sup>

Lewis ('Luke') Pennington had become a printer in Edinburgh's Tolbooth parish.<sup>180</sup> He later moved to Kendal in Westmoreland, and in 1770 he sold Thomas Slack's *Newcastle Pocket Book*, though Saint poached Slack's agent on the Carlisle route.<sup>181</sup>

Cultural connections between Scotland and northern England had become more common. Haddington, east of Edinburgh, had a town drummer and bagpiper, and the border instrument was similar to the Northumberland smallpipes,<sup>182</sup> yet London officials continued to exercise some control over chapmen in the north.

In London there were ten riding surveyors of chapmen's licenses,<sup>183</sup> and turnpikes had speeded travel for horse-riders and carriages.<sup>184</sup> A traveller going south from Newcastle believed that a more 'dreadful' road 'cannot be imagined',<sup>185</sup> yet reaching London quickly from north of the Tyne soon became even more difficult.



# 15. Theyr Fools if they Pley unless their Well Paid

## (i) Musicks a Crotchet the Sober thinks it Vain

In 1771 Nathaniel Spencer published a view of Tyne Bridge and Newcastle.



1

In November a flood destroyed much of Tyne Bridge.



2

Robert Akenhead lost his bookshop on Tyne Bridge. William Charnley had established a paper mill at Fourstones, near Hexham, eight years earlier;<sup>3</sup> but after the flood destroyed his Tyne Bridge shop he had to sell the mill.<sup>4</sup> Dozens died from Haltwhistle and Alston to Newcastle, and the only surviving bridge was at Corbridge.<sup>5</sup>

The Merchant Adventurers abolished the £20 fine for taking an apprentice from Tynedale and Redesdale.<sup>6</sup> Mr Burn was a printer in Wooler.<sup>7</sup> An Edinburgh bookseller corresponded with printers in Alnwick, Berwick,

Whitehaven, Carlisle, North Shields, Durham, Newcastle, Sunderland, Stockton, Ripon, Whitby, Bridlington and York,<sup>8</sup> though a Berwick bookseller was charged with selling books plagiarised in Scotland.<sup>9</sup> In Allendale Jane Salkeld was barred from teaching after she married,<sup>10</sup> and the wealthy Tyneside parents of eight-year old John Carr sent him to a famous boarding school in Beverley.<sup>11</sup>

In Newcastle Thomas Bewick made woodcuts for Thomas Saint's children's books,<sup>12</sup> and later recalled that Saint was 'famous for his numerous publications of Histories & old Ballads'. 'With the singing of the latter, the streets of Newcastle were long greatly enlivened, & many market day visitors, as well as the town's people, were often highly gratified.'<sup>13</sup> *CUPID's Courtisie* was set to a 'most pleasant Northern Tune',<sup>14</sup> and *An Excellent Old BALLAD of The Lord of LORN, and the false Steward*, to *Green sleeve and Pudding-pies*. They bore the imprint of 'Newcastle upon Tyne: Printed and Sold by T. Saint, in Pilgrim-street'.<sup>15</sup> Another used two old woodcuts and two black letter words.

A Tragical BALLAD on the Unfortunate LOVE  
OF  
**Ld Thomas and Fair Eleanor:**  
TOGETHER

With the downfal of the Brown GIRL.

To a pleasant Tune, call'd, Lord Thomas, &c



**L**ORD Thomas he was a bold Forester,  
And a Chace of the King's Deer;  
Fair Eleanor was a fine Woman,  
And Lord Thomas he lov'd her dear.

Come Riddle my Riddle, dear Mother, he said  
And Riddle us both at one,  
Whether I shall marry with fair Eleanor,  
And let the Brown Girl alone!

The Brown Girl she bargot Hens and Larks  
And fair Eleanor she has got none;  
Therefore I chide you on my Blissing,  
Bring me the Brown Girl Home

And as it befel on a high Holiday,  
As many did more beside,  
Lord Thomas he went to fair Eleanor,  
That should have been his Bride.

But when he came to fair Eleanor's Bower  
He knocked there at the Ring;  
But who was so ready as fair Eleanor,  
For to let Lord Thomas in.

What News, what news, Lord Thomas she said  
What News hast thou brought to me!  
I am come to bid thee to my Wedding,  
And that is bad News for thee.

O God forbid, Lord Thomas, she said,  
That such a Thing should be done;  
I thought so have been thy Bride my own self,  
And you to have been the Bridegroom.

Come Riddle my Riddle dear Mother, she said  
And Riddle it all in one,  
Whether I shall go to Lord Thomas' Wedding  
Or whether I shall tarry at Home?

There's many that are your Friends, Daughter,  
And many that are your Foe;  
Therefore I charge you on my Blissing,  
To Lord Thomas' Wedding don't go.

There's many that are my Friends, Mother,  
If a 'Dons and more were my Foe;  
Beside my Life, beside my Death,  
To Lord Thomas' Wedding I'll go.

She clothed herself in gallant attire,  
And her merry Men all in Green;  
And as they rid through every Town,  
They took her to have been a Queen.

But when he came to Lord Thomas' Gate,  
She knocked there at the Ring;  
But who was so ready as Lord Thomas,  
To let fair Eleanor in.

Is this your Bride? fair Eleanor she said,  
Mistake! she looks wondrous Brown;  
Then might I have had as fair a Woman,  
As ever trod on the Ground.

Despite her wit, fair Eleanor, he said,  
Despite her wit, fair Eleanor,  
For better I love thy little Finger,  
Than all her whole Body.

This brown Bride had a little Pen-knife,  
That was both long and sharp;  
And between the poor Ribs and the long,  
Prick'd fair Eleanor to the Heart.

Oh! Christ now free thee, Lord Thomas, he said  
Mistake! thou look'st wondrous wan;  
Thou wilt die for to look with as fresh a Colour  
As ever the Sun shined on.

Oh! art thou blind! Lord Thomas, she said,  
Or canst thou not very well see?  
Oh! dost thou not see my own Heart's Blood  
Run trickling down my knee.

Lord Thomas he had a Sword by his Side,  
As he walked about the Hall;  
He cut off his Bride's Head from her Shoulder,  
And he threw it against the Wall.

He set the Hilt against the Ground,  
And the Point against his Heart;  
The sword never throes Lovers that ever met,  
Did e'er so soon depart.

Licensed according to Order.

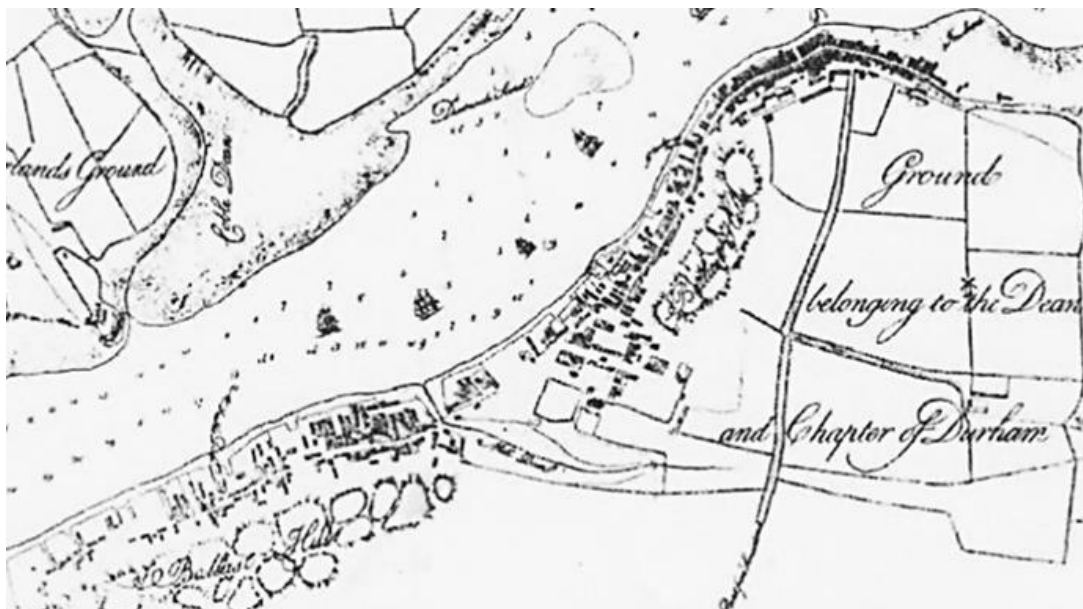
FINIS

Newcastle upon Tyne Printed and Sold by THOMAS SAINT.

Saint printed *The Gentleman and Lady's Miscellany* and *Proper Directions and address ... from Inferiors to Persons of Distinction*, by a curate in Middleton in Yorkshire, for a London bookseller. The *Courant* noted that 'All Letters and Advertisement for the Printers of this Paper are taken in at the *London Coffee-House, Ludgate-hill*'.<sup>16</sup> Saint reprinted *The Rudiments of the English Tongue* in 1772 and advertised a textbook by W. Thompson of Carlisle.<sup>17</sup>

Richard Newby junior, the wait's son, played the cello in a benefit for Charles Avison. Newby's father died in 1772, and James Walker, who was blind, replaced him, and the wait Whitaker Shadforth played the oboe at a benefit concert.<sup>18</sup> In October a temporary bridge opened across the Tyne and the builders marched through the town preceded by music.<sup>19</sup> Richard Fisher bought Charnley's circulating library, and Edinburgh wholesalers who were in financial difficulties told Charnley he could keep some books and 'dispose of what you can', though he had to return the rest to Leith by sea. By 1773 Charnley was bankrupt.<sup>20</sup> In March, after the book- and music-seller Joseph Barber ignored two letters demanding money, his Westgate Hill house was set on fire.<sup>21</sup> His son Robert returned from London, and ran the music shop in the Wool Market, and tried to establish himself as a music teacher and concert promoter. In summer, on the Ballast Hills east of Newcastle, a female dancer with the 'most graceful attitude' won a 'Holland smock and a 'tucker', a lace or linen bodice for a low-cut dress, with a 'narrow blue Silk-rose-knot on each sleeve'. Mr Hogg, a dancing master probably based in North Shields, held a concert in Newcastle in Race Week.<sup>22</sup> Gilbert Gray's *The Pleasing Historian; Or, Impartial History of England*, was printed in York and published in London for 2s 6d.<sup>23</sup> Gray supported John Wilkes, and his book explained how the legal and political system disadvantaged the poor.<sup>24</sup> He sold copies to 'country people' arriving for the Saturday market,<sup>25</sup> and it soon had to be reprinted.<sup>26</sup> That year 41 books were published in north-east England, and turnpikes between English provincial towns and London speeded travel.<sup>27</sup>

In County Durham South Shields had grown.



28

Mr Jarmon had been a printer South Shields since 1770,<sup>29</sup> and in 1772 a charity school opened in Tyne Street,<sup>30</sup> to teach 30 boys and 10 girls aged up to 14 reading, writing and arithmetic.<sup>31</sup> Stephen Clarke left Durham to be the organist at Edinburgh's New Episcopal Chapel in 1771.<sup>32</sup> Mr Cowley was the organist at Sedgefield Church, and the Durham Cathedral organist John Garth had stopped organising concerts by 1772, and focussed on teaching.<sup>33</sup>

A *Song against Musick* had appeared in *The London Spy* years earlier,<sup>34</sup> and the Northumberland fiddler William Vickers had misquoted a few lines of what he called *On Music* to begin *Vickers' book Anno Domini 1770*.

Musicks a Crotchet the Sober thinks it Vain  
The Fiddles a Wooding Projection  
Tunes are But Flights of a Whimsical Brain  
Which the Bottle Brings best to Parfection  
Musicians are half witted mery and madd  
And Those are the same that admire Them  
Theyr Fools if they Pley unless their Well Paid  
And The Others are Blockheads to Hire them.

The book now lacks 31 pages, though the original 581 tunes included 251 reels, 245 jigs, 52 hornpipes and 17 cotillions, a fashionable French dance.<sup>35</sup> Some were from *The Dancing Master*, while *Tristram Shandy* was named after Laurence Sterne's 1759 novel. *The Morpeth Rant* (on a missing page), *Bobby Shaftoe*, *Down the waggon way*, *Drive hakky*, *Keel Row*, *Old waggon way*, *Saylors is all at the barr*, *Show me the way to Wallington*, *Sunderland Lasses*, and *Alcy Marly* were associated with north-east England, and others with Scotland, Ireland and Germany. The book ended with the date of 10 July 1772 and was signed by Vickers and J. Thomas.<sup>36</sup> In 1773 Alnwick gentlemen celebrated the 21<sup>st</sup> birthday of the duke's son at the Angel Inn, and the landlord and smallpiper Joseph Turnbull informed 'The Nobility and Gentry, and others, travelling the Great North Road', that it was a 'malicious report' that the inn's level of service had declined. The Assize judges invited the duke to dinner, and next night the duke entertained them at the Castle.<sup>37</sup> Fashionable assemblies took place in the White Swan Inn and Town Hall, in Morpeth Town Hall and Tynemouth's Star and Garter Inn;<sup>38</sup> yet the nearest purpose-built theatre was in York.

## (ii) The northern theatre companies

There had been plays in Newcastle's Moot Hall since 1700, if not before, though five magistrates had to agree to every performance.<sup>39</sup> Early in 1705 York Merchant Taylors had agreed that 'Mr Gilbert and his Company shall have the use and benefit of the Hall' for £1 a week. In summer 1711 Mr Ager paid £1 1s 6d a week; yet in 1713 a newspaper complained about the audience's smell. In 1715 Ager booked the hall for six weeks during the spring and summer Assizes, which coincided with Race Week, and in summer 1716 he leased it for those dates for seven years for £12 a year. Another company played in the Market House.<sup>40</sup> In 1716 Mr Peirson's company performed in Newcastle,<sup>41</sup> and the 'Mountebank' Mr Molloy lived in St. John's parish in 1718.



By 1721 Thomas Keregan from Norwich ran a York company and booked Newcastle Moot Hall for six weeks during Race Week in June.<sup>42</sup> They had previously played at Nottingham and Leicester races.<sup>43</sup> In June 1723 the company returned to Newcastle, and in 1724 Keregan leased York Merchant's Hall for six weeks to coincide with the spring and summer Assizes. By 1725 he had abandoned his connection with Norwich, and in 1727 his company played at Banks's Cock-Pit outside Bootham Bar.<sup>44</sup> In June 1728 Mr Herbert's 'Company of Comedians' entertained 'the quality and the gentry' in Newcastle's Moot Hall during the races, while Keregan's company played in Mr Usher's timber yard at the Head of the Side, and they both put on John Gay's recent London success, *The Beggars' Opera*.<sup>45</sup> John Pepusch had taken most and perhaps all of his tunes from Thomas D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth*.<sup>46</sup> A London reviewer had complained that the performers were like those at Pye-corner, Fleet-ditch, Moor-fields and other places, who 'shock'd most Ears, and set most Teeth on edge, at turning the corner of a Street, for half a moment'.<sup>47</sup>

In May 1730 Keregan's company performed at a freemason's 'bespeak' (a sponsored event) in Newcastle, and reportedly 'Never such an appearance of ladies and gentlemen were ever seen together in this place'.<sup>48</sup> In 1732 Mr Orfeur's York-based company performed in Newcastle.<sup>49</sup> In May a York paper reported that 'Mr Keregan was last week in Scarborough where he obtained the leave of the Bailiffs for his company to perform the ensuing season'. He had 'taken a Piece of Ground to build a large Booth' near 'the sign of the Crown and Sceptre in the Horse fair, near the Market Place',<sup>50</sup> which was 'very convenient for coaches',<sup>51</sup> and Henry Todd printed his playbills.<sup>52</sup> A Londoner wrote about the town.

In the afternoon are plays acted, to which most of the gentry in town resort; Kerregen [*sic*] from the Theatre at York, is here every season with his company; and allowing for scenes and decorations here, they perform several plays very well. After the play is over, it is customary to go to the Long-Room again, where the gentlemen and ladies dance or play 'till about nine, and then sup in companies.

'Gentlemen (only) pay for dancing one shilling each' and 'on one side of the room is a musick-gallery, and at the lower end are kept a pharo Bank', a card game, 'a hazard table, and fair chance; and in the side rooms, tables for such of the company, as are inclined to play at cards: below stairs you have billiard tables'.<sup>53</sup>

In January 1733 Keregan was given permission to erect a 'commodious playhouse' in York, since it 'may very much conduce to the Entertainment of the Nobility and Gentry resorting to this City' and encourage them to 'spend their Winter Seasons here'. In May the company performed at the 'Great Booth in Mr Usher's Timber-Yard', in Newcastle, and hoped for 'a favourable Encouragement from the Quality and Gentry'.<sup>54</sup> In York Keregan had converted a tennis court in Minster Yard into the city's first permanent theatre,<sup>55</sup> and it opened in October 1734. It cost 3s for a seat in a box, 2s on the stage and in the pit, and 1s in the middle gallery, yet 'No Servants will be admitted to any part of the House', even with a ticket. In 1736 Keregan paid 16 actors and actresses 12s a night, plus a free pit ticket, and the musicians got 10s 6d, plus drink at their rehearsals; though he claimed he lost over £95 in the last quarter of the year. In 1737 Thomas Gent printed the libretto of Keregan's opera, *The Lucky Discovery: or, The Tanner of York*, which was performed at the theatre.<sup>56</sup> Parliament prohibited performances of plays in all except licensed theatres, yet some companies advertised 'concerts of music' with a 'free' play thrown in.<sup>57</sup> The York authorities closed Keregan's theatre in 1739 and he leased the Merchant Taylors' Hall. A Newcastle-based company visited Edinburgh,<sup>58</sup> and in 1744 it was renamed the Edinburgh company. York Theatre Royal opened in St. Leonard's Place,<sup>59</sup> and in August Mrs Keregan's company played at the new theatre in Mint Yard, but she had either retired or died by December, and Joseph Baker ran the company, and in 1746 it sandwiched a play 'for their own diversion' between two halves of a concert.<sup>60</sup>

In Newcastle William Parker ran the new Turks' Head Inn in the Bigg Market.<sup>61</sup> Its Long Room was the largest in the town,<sup>62</sup> and was sometimes used as a theatre,<sup>63</sup> and in June Keregan's company began a regular summer season there.<sup>64</sup> The 'Stage Player' Roger Coopen had died in St. Nicholas' parish in 1742, and the 'comedian' Thomas Esty in 1745, and the 'comedian' Thomas Achurch lived there in 1747. In 1748 Parker built a playhouse on the site of the Nunnery of St. Bartholomew,<sup>65</sup> which had an entrance from the Turk's Head yard, though the well-to-do sat apart from others.<sup>66</sup> By then a young actor had arrived from Dublin.

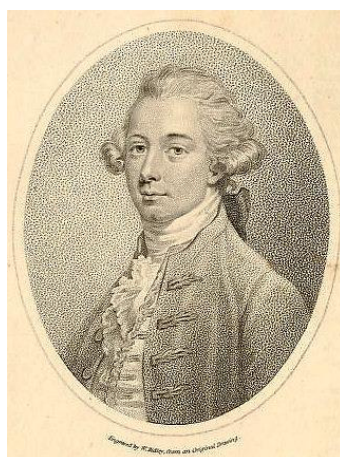
### (iii) John Cunningham

John Cunningham was born in Dublin in 1729. His parents were originally from Scotland, and his father, a wine-cooper, subsequently won a lottery and became a wine merchant. John attended Drogheda Grammar School, when but after his father was bankrupted he was summoned back to Dublin. He frequented the theatre, but was ungainly

and 'so unmusical as to be offensive to the ear'; yet the manager of a company of strolling players engaged him.<sup>67</sup> In 1746 the 17-year-old wrote *Love in a Mist; or a Lass of Spirit. A farce*, which was staged in Dublin and published there in 1747.<sup>68</sup>

By then the company was in England, and Cunningham stayed on after his father died.<sup>69</sup> In 1748 and 1749 Joseph Baker's company put on *Love in a Mist* in York, and sandwiched plays between two halves of a concert. Tickets cost 1s in the pit, or 12s for 12 performances, and 2s 6d or 18s in a box. From 1757 to 1759 the company performed during race week in Durham, and gave only one performance in Newcastle. In 1760 the Edinburgh-based company opened a theatre in Durham.<sup>70</sup> There was a concert at William Parker's Long Room in Newcastle, and the Edinburgh 'comedians' performed the ballad opera *The Jovial Crew or, the Merry Beggars*, at the New Theatre in the Bigg Market.<sup>71</sup> In 1761 the *Gentle Shepherd*, written by the Scottish poet Allan Ramsay in 1725, and *The Recruiting Sergeant*, which was probably *The Recruiting Officer*, written by the Irishman George Farquhar in 1706, were staged in Berwick,<sup>72</sup> and in 1762 the 'comedian' James Grainger lived in Newcastle's All Saints' parish.

Cunningham had joined companies who played in York, Northallerton, Durham, Sunderland, Shields, Newcastle, Alnwick and other towns in northern England and southern Scotland, and specialised in impersonating Frenchmen, and showed some poetic ability at a 'minor' (unlicensed) theatre in Edinburgh. He visited London at the invitation of a bookseller, who went bankrupt, and then returned to Edinburgh. Probably around this time he visited Newcastle and met the Ann and Thomas Slack.<sup>73</sup> They knew Thomas Bates, and Cunningham joined his company. Ann Slack gave him clothes, and while he gave some to members of the company,<sup>74</sup> a portrait possibly made around this time showed him smartly dressed.



75

Newcastle merchants and professional men dining at one another's house and drank wine, then visited a tavern suggested by their beer-taster, such as the Stone Cellar in the Close, to 'clear out' with beer.<sup>76</sup> At some point Cunningham wrote *Newcastle Beer* about Mr Moor's Sun Inn in the Close.

WHEN Fame brought the news of Great  
Britain's success,  
And told at Olympus each Gallic defeat;  
Glad Mars sent by Mercury orders express,  
To summon the deities all to a treat:  
Blithe Comus was plac'd  
To guide the gay feast,  
And freely declar'd there was choice of good cheer;  
Yet vow'd to his thinking,  
For exquisite drinking,  
Their Nectar was nothing to Newcastle Beer.

II.

The great God of war, to encourage the fun  
And humour the taste of his whimsical guest,  
Sent a message that moment to Moor's\* for a tun  
Of Stingo, the stoutest, the brightest and best:



No Gods—they all swore,  
 Regal'd so before,  
 With liquor so lively—so potent and clear;  
 And each deified fellow,  
 Got jovially mellow,  
 In honour, brave boys, of our Newcastle Beer.

III.

Apollo perceiving his talents refine,  
 Repents he drank Helicon Water so long:  
 He bow'd, being ask'd by the musical Nine,  
 And gave the gay board an extempore song;  
 But 'ere he began,  
 He tofs'd off his cann:  
 There's nought like good liquor the fancy to clear:  
 Then sang with great merit,  
 The flavour and spirit,  
 His godship had found in the Newcastle Beer.

IV.

'Twas Stingo like this made Alcides so bold;  
 It brac'd up his nerves, and enliven'd his pow'rs;  
 And his mystical club, that did wonders of old,  
 Was nothing, my lads, but such liquor as ours.  
 The horrible crew  
 That Hercules flew,  
 Were Poverty--Calumny--Trouble--and Fear:  
 Such a club wou'd you borrow,  
 To drive away forrow,  
 Apply for a *quantum* of Newcastle Beer.

V.

Ye youngsters, so diffident, languid and pale!  
 Whom Love, like the cholic, so rudely infects;  
 Take a cordial of this, 'twill *probatum* prevail,  
 And drive the cur Cupid away from your breasts:  
 Dull whining despise,  
 Grow rosy and wise,  
 Nor longer the jest of good fellows appear;  
 Bid adieu to your folly,  
 Get drunk and be jolly,  
 And smoke o'er a tankard of Newcastle Beer.

VI.

Ye fanciful folk, for whom *Physic* prescribes,  
 Whom bolus and potion have harrafs'd to death!  
 Ye wretches, whom *Law* and her ill-looking tribes  
 Have hunted about 'till you're quite out of  
 breath!  
 Here's shelter and ease,  
 No craving for fees,  
 No danger,—no doctor,—no bailiff is near!  
 Your spirits this raises,  
 It cures your diseases,  
 There's freedom and health in our Newcastle Beer. 77

Cunningham may well have entertained the genteel company at Mr Moor's.

In 1763 Whitby theatre opened in the Paddock next to the home of its proprietor, Mr Hunter,<sup>78</sup> and Bates' York-based company toured Whitby, Durham, Alnwick and North Shields. In spring 1764, when Cunningham was staying at the George Inn in Sunderland, Slack invited him to lodge with him and his wife when the company visited Newcastle.<sup>79</sup> In August Bates engaged Baker's company, and a new theatre opened in York in January 1765.<sup>80</sup>

Probably around this time Cunningham wrote a 'Prologue' for Mr Brimyard who dressed as a sailor.

At London, Sirs, when *Sal* and I were courting,  
I towed her every night a playhouse sporting.  
Mass! I could like 'em and their whole 'PARATUS,  
But for their fiddlers and their damned SONATA'S:  
Give me the merry sons of guts and rosin  
That play – *God save the King*, and *Nancy Dawson*.

This appeared in the *Newcastle Chronicle* in a slightly amended form.<sup>81</sup>

In November John White and Thomas Saint sold tickets for Newcastle's 'New Theatre' at the 'New Printing Office' in the Side,<sup>82</sup> and in autumn Cunningham wrote a 'Eulogium' for Mrs Brimyard.

For the B E N E F I T of poor Widows and  
Orphans of Seamen, &c.  
At the NEW THEATRE in North Shields,  
On FRIDAY Evening next, being the 27th of Sept  
will be presented a celebrated TRAGEDY, call'd

### **The Distress'd Mother.**

PYRRHUS, by Mr WALLACE.

PHOENIX, Mr BLANCHARD.

ORESTES, Mr BRIMYARD.

HERMIONE, Mrs BRIMYARD.

CLEONE, Mrs FITZGERALD.

Preceding the Play, an EULOGIUM ON CHARITY,  
written by Mr CUNNINGHAM, to be spoke by  
Mrs BRIMYARD.

And between the Play and Farce, a SONG, by  
Mr BLANCHARD.

To which will be added a FARCE, call'd

### **The Spirit of Contradiction.**

Mr PARTLET, by Mr BLANCHARD.

Capt. LOVEWELL, Mr WALLACE.

BAT STEER, Mr BRIMYARD.

Mrs PARTLET, Mrs GLENN.

BETTY, Mrs HOLT.

The Profits of this Play will be distributed at the  
Discretion of several Gentlemen of Shields.

83

The region's network of theatres continued to expand.

Early in 1766 a barn in Green Dragon Yard, off Old Finkle Street in Stockton, was converted into a theatre, and Bates' company gave the first performance.<sup>84</sup> In spring the *Newcastle Chronicle* advertised Cunningham's *Poems, Chiefly Pastoral* at 4s, which was to be sold by Joseph Barber and William Charnley in Newcastle, 'all the Booksellers within the circuit of this Paper', James Dodsley in Pall Mall and three other London booksellers,<sup>85</sup> where it was published for the author.<sup>86</sup> Caleb Buglass in Berwick subscribed for one copy, A. Graham in Durham for two, and T. Darnton in Darlington, R. Manisty in Stockton, John Pickering in Stockton and James Graham in Sunderland for six. Other subscribers included James Ashburner in Kendal, C. Jackson in Bedale, William Tunstall in Richmond, W. Tessauman and C. Etherington in York. Messrs Fletcher and Hodgson in Cambridge took two, four London booksellers took 58 between them, and Scots and Irish booksellers bought copies.<sup>87</sup> In June, when Cunningham was enjoying 'great success' at Stockton, Ann Slack told him his 'last pastoral got a dance thro' all the London papers',<sup>88</sup> and he walked there to present David Garrick with his poems. Cunningham was mortified when the famous actor gave him £2 2s and remarked that 'Players, sir, as well as poets, are always poor!' He returned to Newcastle, frequented 'low taverns' and his health deteriorated.<sup>89</sup> The 'comedian' Thomas Fitzmaurice died in St. Andrew's parish.

Bates opened a theatre in a former Methodist chapel in Playhouse Lane in Sunderland.<sup>90</sup> In February 1769 the *Newcastle Courant* advertised tickets for Mr Ainsley's company at the Bigg Market Theatre. The Venetian company played there in October. Tickets cost 2s 6d in a Box, 1s 6d in the Pit and 1s in the Gallery, and were available from the Turk's Head, the Slacks, Thomas Saint, and the Exchange, Nelly's and Katy's coffee houses.<sup>91</sup> (Nelly was Nelly Waterwood.<sup>92</sup> Kate Jefferson had died in 1768, aged 70, though the name of her Sandhill establishment had stuck.<sup>93</sup>) James Cawdell opened a theatre in Scarborough,<sup>94</sup> and Tate Wilkinson claimed that he spent £500 obtaining royal patents for theatres in Hull and York, and by 1769 he had a theatre in Finkle Street, York.<sup>95</sup>

In February 1770 Cunningham's brother in Dublin wrote to him in Sunderland, worrying about his 'indifferent state of health'.<sup>96</sup> In March 1771 Saint sold 3s tickets for a concert at the Turk's Head in Newcastle,<sup>97</sup> and in summer a new theatre opened in Durham.<sup>98</sup> Cunningham's poems had brought him 'something handsome', yet he reportedly never had a shilling in his pocket. In September he told Ann Slack that he had written a song for 'one of

the singing ladies' at Scarborough, and she reported that the second edition of his *Poems* had been printed and she would 'dry your title sheets directly to be ready to send a few books to you in a week's time'. They would 'go off like smoke' because they were a 'right portable size', yet London booksellers did not think it 'proper' to publish them until near Christmas. The Slacks gave him more money than they would receive for the book, and hoped he would write enough to fill another volume,<sup>99</sup> though the second edition of his *Poems* included a few additions.<sup>100</sup>

Possibly around this time the Slacks had their portraits painted.



101



102

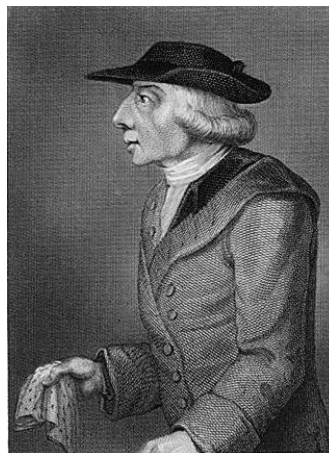
Darlington theatre opened in 1772, and Cunningham wrote to a friend from the town that summer.

I stumbled on a pair of stairs in a hurry going to rehearsal, and hurt my side pretty severely, but am better. Our business here does not answer entirely to the hopes we had encouraged, but 'tis likely 'twill mend – There are carts every day to our town with lead from Stockton, by that conveyance I shall hope to hear from you. Direct to Mrs. Dawson, milliner, in the Market Place, where the carts unload.<sup>103</sup>

In summer 1773 Cunningham had a benefit at Darlington theatre, though he suffered from tuberculosis and a painful nervous disorder.<sup>104</sup> He asked Ann Slack to find him a 'private lodging' in Newcastle, and Mrs Douglas in Middle Street agreed.<sup>105</sup> One day Thomas Bewick saw him in the street, stopped, 'loitered behind', repassed him, and made a sketch.<sup>106</sup> Fifty years or so later John Thurston produced a miniature and William Worthington engraved it.<sup>107</sup> It evidently reversed, truncated and tidied Bewick's sketch to make the actor look much less haggard and shabby.



108



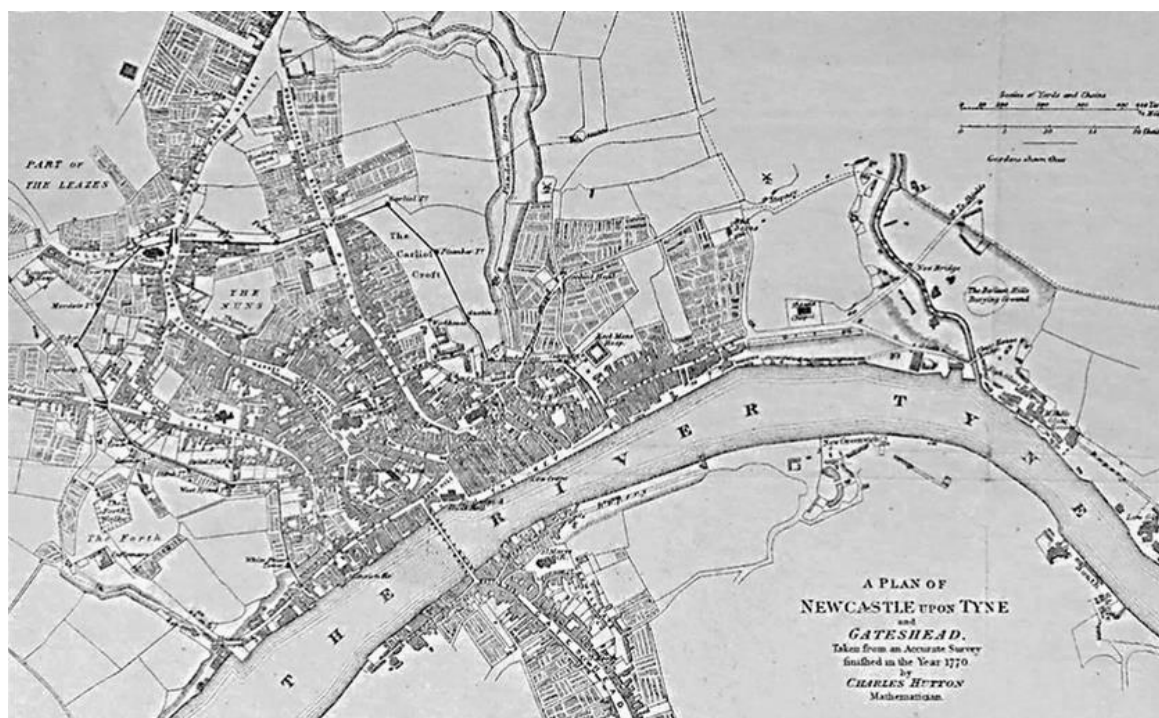
109

Cunningham died in September, aged 44.<sup>110</sup> The *Chronicle* praised his ability to 'communicate sensations of delight to his fellow creatures', and his heart was 'as benevolent as ever glowed in human breast'. *Love in a Mist* had been performed only once in Newcastle, yet he 'merited a place amongst the first descriptive poets of his age'. A 'number of respectable gentlemen' reportedly attended his funeral in St. John's Church,<sup>111</sup> and several agreed to subscribe for a tombstone, though most backed out and the Slacks had to make up the balance.<sup>112</sup> The inscription claimed that 'his works will remain a monument to all ages'.<sup>113</sup> By then a pitmen had achieved national recognition.

#### (iv) Charles Hutton

In the 1730s Henry Hutton was a colliery viewer near Newcastle. He was evidently literate and numerate, since he kept records, calculated rates of pay, checked the pumps, inspected the workings, allocated labour and planned ahead. He and his wife lived in a thatched cottage in Newcastle's Sidgate, and had had several children before Charles arrived in 1737. In 1743 Henry died, and his widow married an overman at Long Benton colliery. His pay may have been half of Henry's, and they probably lived in a colliery house. Charles reportedly worked underground at the age of six, and he certainly did when he was eight. The family later moved to Heaton, where men and boys reached the pit bottom by clinging onto a rope with a loop for their feet, and Charles probably operated a ventilation door. Some, and perhaps all of the Hutton children went to school, and Charles attended one run by an old Scots woman at the corner of Gallowgate who taught him to read using the Bible. He later attended Mr Robson's school at Delaval and spent his pocket money on small books and 'border ballads'. He attended a Jesmond school run by the university graduate Jonathan Iveson, and liked mathematics and Latin, though Iveson became an Anglican curate at Whitburn in County Durham in 1751. John Wesley's sermons impressed Hutton, and he considered himself a Methodist. By autumn 1755 he was at the Rose Pit. Most hewers could cut four tons a day, yet he had injured his arm and could not compete. In winter he was involved in an argument and he quit in spring 1756.

By autumn 1758 he was a teacher in Iveson's former school, where he taught pitmen and boys, but soon moved to Stote Hall near Jesmond Dene to accommodate them all. He read new books about mathematics and attended an evening class. His mother died in spring 1760, and soon after he advertised a 'Writing and Mathematical School' in Salutation Entry, off the Head of the Flesh Market in Newcastle, and married a dressmaker in St. Andrew's Church. In 1764 he paid for *The School-master's Guide* to be printed and moved the school to the Back Row, where his family shared premises with the dancing master Neil Stewart. By 1765 Hutton's book had sold out and was used 'all over the kingdom'. At Christmas 1766 he taught mathematics to Tyneside teachers. Late in 1767 *A Treatise on Mensuration* was advertised in the Newcastle papers, and it appeared in 28 numbers from spring 1768. Thomas Saint advertised it other regional papers,<sup>114</sup> and it had over 1,000 subscribers.<sup>115</sup> The Huttons' marriage broke down in 1769, though his *Treatise* was published as a book for 15s in 1770 and included a woodcut of St. Nicholas' Church tower done by the apprentice Thomas Bewick. There were 600 subscribers, and Hutton bought a plot of land in fashionable Westgate Street, had a house and school erected,<sup>116</sup> and produced a plan of the town.



117

The wall from the Exchange to Sandgate had been pulled down to facilitate trade seven years earlier,<sup>118</sup> and while the rest were falling into disrepair, more buildings had been erected outside the town walls

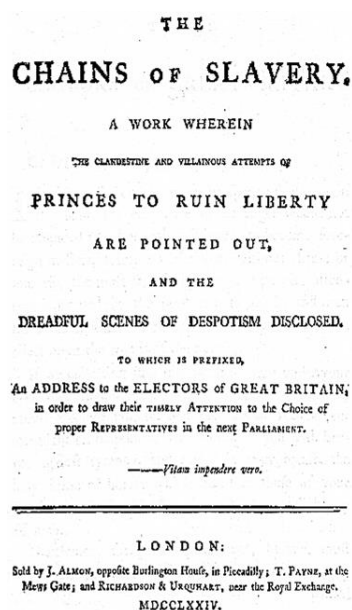
The third edition of Hutton's *Treatise* appeared in 1771. By then he could read French, Italian and German. The Grammar School sent boys to him to learn mathematics and he gave private lessons to the sons of gentry. Saint published *Hutton's Arithmetic and Book-Keeping*, 'Adapted to the Use of Schools', in 1772, and in 1773 Hutton was appointed as a professor at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich near London,<sup>119</sup> as yet another war loomed.

# 16. On the ruins of religion, and the morals of mankind

## (i) *The Chains of Slavery*

In December 1773 white men, disguised as Native Americans, dumped imported taxed tea into Boston harbour,<sup>1</sup> and the Newcastle papers reported the event in January 1774. Weeks later the Whig and Tory tradition of splitting two-seat parliamentary constituencies broke down. Some Newcastle freemen refused to support candidates who declined to back reforms, and Thomas Delavel and Sir Constantine Phipps announced their candidacy, and their supporters met at Nelly's coffee house. Ballads were produced, and some explained colloquial terms.<sup>2</sup>

Jean-Paul Marat was born in Boudry in the Prussian principality of Neuchâtel in 1743. By 1759 he was tutoring a wealthy family's children in Bordeaux in France, then went to study medicine in Paris in 1761. He left without a degree, was in London by 1765,<sup>3</sup> and frequented Robert Sands' Bigg Market circulating library in Newcastle by 1770. On 3 May 1774 an anonymous work was advertised in a London paper and a Scottish magazine at 12s.<sup>4</sup>



The motto translated as 'a life devoted to the truth'. The book denounced the 'monstrous abuse' that 'four or five thatched houses should be upon a level' with the largest cities in parliamentary elections, and men who did not possess land bringing them £300 a year were 'incapacitated from representing a city or borough', and those without £600 a year from representing a county. The book warned electors that 'the little liberty which is yet left to you, must soon be extinguished'. 'Reject boldly all who attempt to buy your votes', 'all who have any place at court, any employment in the disposal of the great officers of the crown' or 'any commission' from the king, plus 'insolent opulent' men with 'pompous titles' and all young men.

Select for your representatives men distinguished by their ability, integrity, and love for their country; men versed in national affairs, men whom an independent fortune secures from the temptations of poverty, and disdain of ruinous pageantry from the allurements of ambition; men who have not been corrupted by the smiles at court, men whose venerable mature age crowns a spotless life; men who have ever appeared zealous for the public cause, and have had in view only the welfare of their country, and the observance of the laws.

Unenfranchised men 'perceive their miserable servitude' only when they 'see the blood of their fellow subjects, or when crushed under the yoke', and then, 'trembling', they 'expect the punishment they are to undergo'. When princes seek to overturn the constitution, 'the people are neither attentive nor sagacious enough to observe' it or 'foresee the consequences', and 'have not spirit enough to oppose them', so their 'cowardice' 'permits their fetters to be forged'. Even when they do fight back, what could be expected from a 'rabble'? 'An attempt is now making to separate the soldiery from the people. Already troopers, under pretence of keeping them near their riding houses, are quartered in a sort of obscure barracks'. Voters should learn from the 'crafty dissembler' Oliver Cromwell, and if a parliament should try to 'prolong its duration, and refuse, at the request of the nation', to recall an Act, 'however



hard be the necessity of vindicating liberty by force, the nation ought not to defer a moment to take up arms'.<sup>5</sup> Copies of the book were sent anonymously to Newcastle's incorporated companies.<sup>6</sup>

Coaches now took three days to get to Newcastle from London,<sup>7</sup> and the *Cambridge Journal* was 'despatched northwards every Friday night' that far.<sup>8</sup> From there the *Newcastle Journal* alone reached 250 towns, 80 more than its rivals, and some were 100 miles away.<sup>9</sup> By spring John Ware published *The Cumberland Pacquet* in Whitehaven,<sup>10</sup> and it challenged the Newcastle papers' circulation in that region.

In Newcastle a subscription list for new assembly rooms had been placed for signatures in Katy Jefferson's coffee house.<sup>11</sup> The Corporation had leased the Spital Croft to the attorney William Lowes in 1755, though they retained the Grammar School boys' right to play there. In 1773 Lowes was appointed as high sheriff of Northumberland, and in May 1774, the day after *The Chains of Slavery* appeared, 'in the presence of a great company of ladies and gentlemen', he laid the foundation stone of the new Assembly Rooms with an inscribed plate underneath.

In an Age  
When the tide of corruption,  
By R[oya]l encouragement, deluged the land;  
When Luxury had advanced to  
A state of perfection  
Unknown to any Former period,  
The first stone of this edifice,  
Dedicated to the most magical *Circe*,  
Was laid by W. Lowes, Esq.  
On the 16<sup>th</sup> day of May, 1774.

James Murray responded in the *Freemen's Magazine*.

When a stagnation  
Of trade, and the high price of provisions,  
Had reduced the poor to the greatest extremity;  
When the bridge, once over Tyne,  
At Newcastle remained  
Entomb'd in the depth of the river,  
A heap of ruins,  
A chaos of disaster;  
To their everlasting disgrace, the gentlemen of Newcastle  
Continue to waste their time,  
And spend their substance,  
In celebrating the rites of *Venus*, and the ceremonies of *Bacchus*,  
Five thousand  
Pounds were rais'd by subscription,  
Through a vicious emulation to excel in politeness;  
And land, devoted to pious purposes,  
Was sold by the Vicar, a thing  
Unknown in any former period;  
And this fabric  
A less flattering portrait Was raised  
On the ruins of religion, and the morals of mankind,  
The pious sanction of W. L---s, Esq.,  
Engraved on brass, continues to show the profligacy of the age.<sup>12</sup>

The Constitutional Club of freemen favoured triennial or shorter parliaments, fewer placemen and pensioners in the House of Commons, more equal representation and the reinstatement of John Wilkes as an MP. The Independent Club, which met at Sheville's tavern in the Bigg Market, resolved not to accept bribes, emoluments or treats from parliamentary candidates, or vote for anyone who failed to pledge to reform the House of Common. In June a 'society of patriots' met at Mrs K. Hume's in the Close. The clubs supported Delavel and Phipps against Sir Walter Blackett and Sir Matthew White Ridley, and the Bricklayers' company gave Delavel and Phipps the freedom of their company, silver trowels and mahogany hods.<sup>13</sup>

Around 89 acres of the Town Moor had been let without an Act or any consultation with the lesser freemen,<sup>14</sup> so they had briefed the London attorney and MP, John Glynn,<sup>15</sup> who had defended Wilkes.<sup>16</sup> In August they regained their rights and paraded round the town with music,<sup>17</sup> and Glynn had a Gateshead tavern named after him.<sup>18</sup>

Voting in the parliamentary election began in September, though the Bricklayers and Joiners were the only companies to give a majority of their votes to Delavel and Phipps, and by October they had fewer than half the number of their rivals.<sup>19</sup> All the candidates agreed there would be 'no charring, music, or flags, till the final close of the poll', and the *Freeman's Magazine* concurred.<sup>20</sup> At the first contested election in a generation, 2,245 freemen voted, and nearly half lived elsewhere, mostly in surrounding counties, and 800 or so used only one of their two votes.<sup>21</sup> Thomas Saint voted for Blackett and White Ridley, who were allegedly non-aligned. Blackett was a Tory,<sup>22</sup> and his campaign tune was *Gingling Geordie*, which he called *Wylam Away*.<sup>23</sup> *A complete collection of all the papers which have appeared from the different parties in the present contest for members for the county of Northumberland* aimed to 'preserve many valuable fugitive Pieces, which, in the Hurry and Confusion of the Contest, would otherwise perish with the Day, and be consigned to an unmerited oblivion'.<sup>24</sup>

In North America representatives of 13 colonies convened a Continental Congress and demanded the repeal of all the Acts which the British parliament had passed concerning them in the past 11 years. They argued that it had no authority over their internal affairs and stationing troops there in peacetime was illegal. By December 'Patriot' committees had enforced a boycott of British goods. In London an attempt to repeal the offending Acts and waive taxing rights was defeated in the House of Commons, and a majority voted to restrict imports from North America, prevent colonists from fishing in Newfoundland waters and increase the army and Navy by 6,000 men.<sup>25</sup>

## **(ii) A Republic might be productive of more real advantage to the governed**

In summer 1774 Ralph Beilby had left Thomas Bewick in charge of the Newcastle workshop and gone to study engraving in London.<sup>26</sup> In autumn Bewick completed his apprenticeship, worked as a journeyman for 4s 6d a week, and lodged with his aunt Sarah Blackett, the widow of a silversmith, in Pudding Chare. He had an ear for music, and 'whatever tunes I heard at fairs or Hoppings &c I could next morning whistle them correctly' in 'the manner of the various performers', though his aunt would not let him whistle or play an instrument in her house. He met the Wilkes supporter Gilbert Gray at his workshop in Pudding Chare and he also met Robert Pollard, a watchmaker's apprentice, and William Bulmer, Isaac Thompson's apprentice. He disliked the 'spoiled performers' at the theatre, with their 'quavering & spinning out his or her assumed unnatural falsetto voice until he or she was almost spent'. He occasionally heard theatre band, but he could not say he 'felt much pleasure in listening to them', and joined 'genteel young men' in the Cannon tavern at the foot of the Flesh Market every workday evening for a 'pint of ale & a cake & to hear the news', and he liked the 'Scotch Songs' sung by the carver and gilder Walter Cannaway.<sup>27</sup> Thomas Angus printed slip songs, small books and schoolbooks on the east side of St. Nicholas's churchyard,<sup>28</sup> and he gave Bewick plenty of work. He spent Christmas at Cherryburn, where 'the kindness & hospitality of the People – the countenances of all, both high & low, beamed with cheerfulness', and 'old Tunes from the well-known wild notes of the Northumberland pipes' were played 'amidst the buzz occasioned by various *foulploughs* from various parts of the Country'.<sup>29</sup>

A Northumberland parson may well have been inspired by a change in the law. The Edinburgh bookseller Alexander Donaldson had opened a shop in London in 1763, and sold Scottish editions of English works, including the late James Thomson's *The Seasons* of 1771, for up to 50 percent less than his competitors, and Andrew Millar, who had paid £300 for the copyright, took him to court,<sup>30</sup> though in 1774 Scottish judges decided there could be no perpetual copyright in a book almost 45 years after publication.<sup>31</sup> In London the House of Lords agreed.<sup>32</sup>

Robert Lambe was born in Durham around 1711.<sup>33</sup> He later graduated BA from St. John's College, Cambridge,<sup>34</sup> and became a minor canon in Durham Cathedral. By 1747 he was a curate in South Shields, and the dean and chapter later presented him with the vicarage of Norham in Northumberland.<sup>35</sup> In 1774 Robert Taylor printed Lambe's *An Exact and Circumstantial History of the Battle of Flodden* in Berwick, and London booksellers sold it. Lambe mentioned a young men's 'sword dance' and 'white plow' Christmas play, and noted that 'the English tongue is generally taught in the schools of Scotland', and he hoped to see a dictionary of Scottish words. He claimed that his account was based on a manuscript belonging to John Askew of Palinsburn, and it included *An old Scotch Song on the Battle of Floddon*.<sup>36</sup> In reality Lambe had plagiarised Thomas Gent's account without correcting his errors,<sup>37</sup> and Jean Elliott had published Lambe's 'Scotch Song' as *The Flowers of the Forest* 18 years earlier.<sup>38</sup> Lambe claimed to have transcribed *The laidley worm of Spindlestone Heugh* from an ancient manuscript 'made by the old mountain-bard, Duncan Frasier, living on Cheviot, A.D. 1270', yet he later acknowledged that wrote it himself.<sup>39</sup>

Late in 1774 Isaac Thompson retired, and Thomas Robson & Company published the *Newcastle Journal* from 1 January 1775.<sup>40</sup> In February parliament declared that Massachusetts had rebelled. In March, Shields and Sunderland ship-owners and masters refused to pay 1s a chaldron for coal, and sailors struck colliers' topmasts and unrigged

ships in the London trade. Newcastle magistrates and constables, led by Blackett, ensured that colliers left 'without molestation', though 'great numbers of sailors' lined both banks of the river.

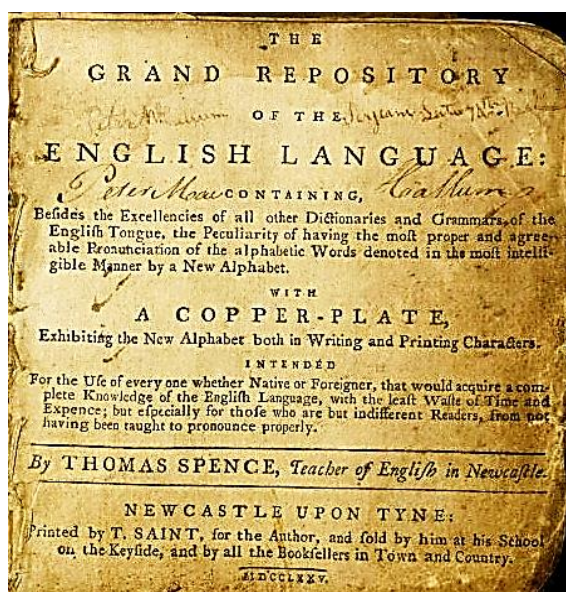
The Navy was blockading North American ports.<sup>41</sup> In spring the Continental Congress met in Charleston in South Carolina, and voted for independence, yet 4,500 British troops seized the peninsula after a costly frontal assault, and after privateers raided Nova Scotia the king proclaimed a rebellion.<sup>42</sup> Newcastle people heard it in silence.<sup>43</sup>

Marat studied for a doctorate and wrote about a cure for *gleets* (symptoms of gonorrhoea),<sup>44</sup> and on 21 October the *Newcastle Chronicle* advertised a second edition of *The Chains of Slavery* by 'J.T. Marat, M.D.', for 10s 6d.<sup>45</sup> Two days later 1,210 freemen signed a petition to the king against the war. Blackett and White Ridley refused to present it, but only 169 signed their counter-petition. A 'number of gentlemen', many of them 'eminent in the literary world', had formed the Philosophical Society in Westgate Street,<sup>46</sup> and on the 25<sup>th</sup> they debated 'Which is the better form of Government, a Limited Monarchy' or a republic, and decided by majority of two that 'a Republic might be productive of more real advantage to the governed'. On the 28<sup>th</sup> the *Chronicle* announced that *The Chains of Slavery* was available from Thomas Slack, William Charnley and Edward Humble in Newcastle, E. Lee in Hexham, Alexander Graham in Alnwick, James Graham in Sunderland, Nathaniel Thorn in Durham, John Pickering in Stockton and two of the three London booksellers who had sold the first edition.<sup>47</sup> On the 31<sup>st</sup> there was a public meeting about the war in Newcastle,<sup>48</sup> and on 8 November the Philosophical Society debated whether 'Charters granted to Particular Companies, of a Free and Exclusive Trade to particular Places', were 'an Advantage or a Disadvantage to the Nation that Grants them'. The chair cast his vote to support those who thought they were a disadvantage.<sup>49</sup>

### (iii) Thomas Spence

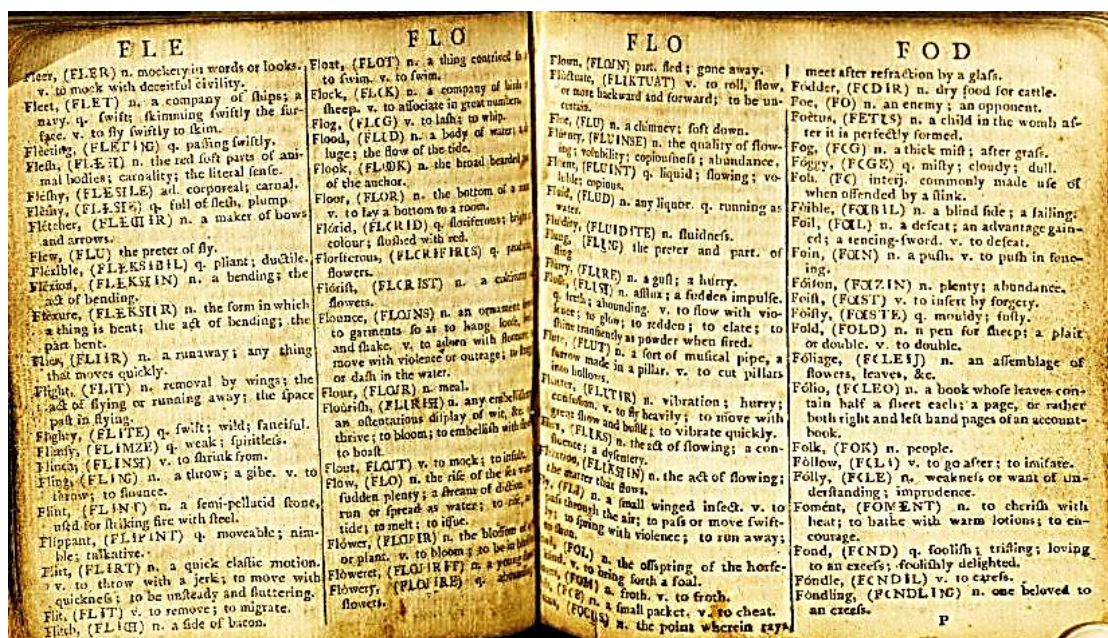
Jeremiah Spence had left Aberdeen for Newcastle around 1739.<sup>50</sup> He was a net-maker, and sold hardware on the Sandhill, while his wife Margaret sold stockings. Thomas was born in 1750. He later learned to make nets, became literate and was a clerk for a smith on the North Shore.<sup>51</sup> The family joined James Murray's congregation,<sup>52</sup> though around 1766 Thomas's brother Jeremiah, a 'slop-seller' who sold sailors' clothing at Sandhill Corner, joined the congregation at the Glassite meeting house in Forster Street.<sup>53</sup> (The suspended Scottish preacher John Glas believed that social reform would come through the word and spirit of Christ and not through political activity.<sup>54</sup>) In 1773 Thomas formed an evening debating society at his school room in the Broad Garth off the Quayside,<sup>55</sup> and believed that Thomas Bewick agreed with him that landowning was everyone's right. When he opposed him, Spence challenged the much bigger man to cudgels. According to Bewick, he did not fight fairly, so he gave him a 'severe beating'. They remained friends,<sup>56</sup> but Spence moved his school to Peacock's Entry off the Quayside.<sup>57</sup>

Bewick's speech had what snobs called a 'strong provincialism',<sup>58</sup> as had Spence's, and he also had a slight speech impediment.<sup>59</sup> Bewick agreed to cut the steel punches for Spence's new alphabet, and Ralph Beilby 'struck them into matrixes to cast them'.<sup>60</sup> At some point in 1775 Saint printed a book for Spence.<sup>61</sup>



He wanted to standardise speech to overcome snobbery,<sup>62</sup> and addressed his *Repository of Common Sense and Amusement* to 'the laborious part of the People', yet his definitions came from Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*,<sup>63</sup> his preface quoted the Irish-born dramatist and elocution-teacher Thomas Sheridan's *A dissertation on the causes of*



[illegible]

**(iv) To distribute amongst their poor neighbours**

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77

By autumn Thomas Saint was the agent of a London bookseller, as were Mr Pierson in Stokesley, Robert Christopher in Stockton, Marshall Vesey in Darlington, Anne Creighton in Sunderland and Nathaniel Thorne in Durham. Saint took in subscriptions for the Infirmary, advertised Thomas Bewick's *Select Fables* for 2s in the *Courant*, and published a book about Christ for 3s in sheets or 4s bound, in numbers, and promised a 'handsome allowance' to gentry who purchased several to 'distribute amongst their poor neighbours' in order to 'instill into them a proper sense of their duty' and combat the 'dissipated manner' in which Christmas was 'kept amongst the lower class'.<sup>78</sup> Some of the well-to-do had their own problems.

Mary Bowes was born at Gibside in County Durham in 1749. She was the only child of a wealthy coal-owner who was one of the Grand Allies and a Whig MP for Durham. She had a good education, and when her father died in 1760 he left her £600,000 in trust. She became the richest heiress in the kingdom, though her father had stipulated that her future husband must assume the name of Bowes. Her mother took a house in Grosvenor Square, London, and in 1767 Mary married a 30-year-old earl. By 1770 they had five children, and in 1774 she had a play privately printed anonymously, but it was not staged. Early in 1776 she took a lover, and in spring the earl died leaving debts of at least £30,000. The countess regained control of up to £20,000 a year, and discharged his debts, yet she was pregnant by her lover and had an 'induced miscarriage'. She became pregnant again, then fell in love with Andrew Stoney, an Irish lieutenant whose wife had recently died. They married in January 1777, though she safeguarded her inheritance. The Newcastle MP Sir Walter Blackett died in February, and his nephew, John Trevelyan, became a candidate, as did Stoney-Bowes.<sup>79</sup> Anonymous and imprintless songs appeared, including one allegedly from the Hole in Wall tavern in London,<sup>80</sup> set to the tune associated with *Wilkes's Wriggle*.<sup>81</sup> Both candidates claimed to be 'Non Partisan', and 2,231 freemen voted in March. Saint voted for Trevelyan, who narrowly defeated Stoney-Bowes,<sup>82</sup> whose wife would not clear his debts of £24,000, so he made her life a misery.<sup>83</sup>

Bewick lodged with the flax-dresser Ned Hatfield in St. Nicholas' churchyard.<sup>84</sup> Mrs Hatfield was

chiefly employed in keeping the dancing school of Neil Stewart, clean & in good order, & sold Oranges & fruit to his pupils – above the School she had the Rooms taken to live in & let out to lodgers & it happened that the young man, John M'Donald, Mr Stewart's Fidler, was lodged with her along with me – he was accounted an excellent performer on the Violin & to his performances (the Scottish tunes particularly) I listened with great delight. When Neil Stewart declined, or perhaps died, he was succeeded in this school by Ivey Gregg & his Fidler John Frazier, lodged in the same house with me and with his music I was also pleased as I had been before.

Whitaker Shadforth, a clock and watchmaker and wait, was a fellow lodger. So was Isaac Hymen, 'a Man of good address & a good Singer' who bought seals from Beilby for 3s 6d, visited 'Coffee Rooms frequented by Gentlemen & respectable tradesmen', pretended the seals were his own work and asked for up to 12s 6d. Bewick's wages were £1 1s a week, and Hymen offered him £2 2s. He declined to 'go travelling with a Jew',<sup>85</sup> and went on a walking tour.

Thomas Spence had become a teacher at Haydon Bridge Grammar School in the Tyne valley,<sup>86</sup> where 'the most considerable inhabitants' had promised him 'every possible encouragement'.<sup>87</sup> Bewick visited him, and then went



to see his uncle in Ainstable in Cumberland. A cousin accompanied him to Carlisle, where he met someone who had previously ordered engraved clock-faces. Bewick walked alone to Langholm, where an innkeeper who knew his Cumberland relatives gave him an introduction to an innkeeper in Edinburgh. There he met a woman who hailed from Newcastle, and got an introduction to an innkeeper in Glasgow, where he met a cutler who had also lodged with the Hatfields. Bewick began a 'Wild Goose chase & bent my way in many a zig-zag direction through the interior part of the Highlands', where he met a woman who talked English 'imperfectly' and stayed with cottagers who would accept no payment. One man 'played well upon the Scottish pipes', and Bewick 'whistled several Tyneside tunes to him'. The 'fairs or Trysts' were like the hoppings and feasts he knew on Tyneside, and he was 'very much pleased' with the music and dancing. Back in Edinburgh his landlady booked him onto a Whitby vessel, but it left without him, so he boarded a sloop at Leith, reached South Shields in four days, and decided to go to London.

He arrived in the capital on 1 October, after a three-week voyage, and helped a crew member to escape a press gang. He disliked the first 'Cockney' he met, though Philip and Christopher Gregson junior, his former schoolmates, found him lodgings. The bookbinders Robert Pollard and William Gray, Gilbert's brother, got him 'plenty of Work', as did Thomas Hodgson, who had made woodcuts for John White's 'Ballads & Histories'.<sup>88</sup> Bewick worked mainly for the Newberrys.<sup>89</sup> John had died, aged 54, in 1767, but his son Francis, his nephew Francis and his step-son Thomas Carnan now ran the business.<sup>90</sup> Bewick and his Tyneside friends met at Gray's home, and Bewick liked the porter at an inn whose landlady hailed from Cumberland, yet 'Cockneys' called him a 'Scotchman'.<sup>91</sup> He read the Newcastle papers at the Hole in the Wall in Fleet Street,<sup>92</sup> near where colliers unloaded,<sup>93</sup> and book about Tyneside culture was published in St. Paul's churchyard.

### (v) *Observations on Popular Antiquities*

John Brand was born into the parish clerk's family in Washington, County Durham, in 1744. After his mother died he was raised by an uncle who was a shoemaker in Back Row, Newcastle. The boy attended the Grammar School, and in 1758 he became his uncle's apprentice. He completed his apprenticeship in 1765 and published a book of poems.<sup>94</sup> In 1768 the Grammar School headmaster organised a subscription to enable him to enter Lincoln College, Oxford, where he became an exhibitor at £20 a year.<sup>95</sup> After he graduated in 1771 the bishop of Durham presented him with a curacy in Bolam in Northumberland, and in 1773 he became a curate at St. Andrews' Church in Newcastle, then a curate at Cramlington in Northumberland at £40 a year. He published another book of poems,<sup>96</sup> and in 1777 Thomas Saint printed Brand's book, though the curate published it in London. It included all of Henry Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares*, and the Latin mottoes promised 'Dreams, magic terrors, spells of mighty power, Witches, and ghosts who rove at midnight hour', and claimed that the 'multitude' was wiser than all others.

#### OBSERVATIONS ON Popular Antiquities:

Including the whole of  
Mr. BOURNE'S *Antiquitates Vulgares*,  
With ADDENDA to every Chapter of that Work:  
As also, An APPENDIX,  
Containing such Articles on the Subject, as have been omitted  
by that Author.

By JOHN BRAND, A. B.  
Of LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

*Multitudo Vagat, more magis quam iudicio, post aliam aliam quosque pro-*  
*sentirem sequitur.* GALLUST. ad. C. M.  
*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, fagos,*  
*Nefarias lenocet, portentaque Thysia sides?* HORAT.



NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:  
Printed by T. SAINT, for J. Johnson, No. 73, St Paul's Church-  
Yard, London, 1777.

Brand had seen a numerous 'hereditary collection of *Ballads*' in Saint's shop, though 'the greatest Part' were 'worse than Trash', and the 'Carrols' were 'so *puerile* and *simple*' it was not 'worth the Pains to invade the Hawkers' Province' by publishing them, yet he had

more than once been disturbed early on May Morning, at Newcastle, by the *Noise* of a Song, which a Woman sung about the Streets, who had several *Garlands* in her Hand, and which, if I mistake not, she sold to any that were superstitious enough to buy them. - It is *homely* and *low*, but it must be remembered that our Treatise is not "On the sublime".

"Rise up, Maidens! fy for Shame!  
I've been four long Miles from hame:  
I've been gath'ring my Garlands gay:  
Rise up, fair Maids, and take in your May."

He also noted that *A you a hinny!* was 'sung in dandling Children in Sandgate', where 'the good Women' were 'not a little famous for their Powers in a certain Female Mode of *Declamation*, Vulgarly called scolding. A common menace they use to each other is, "I'll make a holy Byson of you"', which 'a certain Set of Delinquents are enjoined to perform'. (He probably referred to those made to stand in a white sheet before the congregation for extra-marital sex.) Hoppings were usually 'restrained within the Bounds of innocent festivity', but they were sometimes 'fatal to the Morals of our Swains, and to the innocence of our rustic Maids'. Brand described a wedding.

The young Women in the Neighbourhood, with Bride Favours (Knots of Ribbands) at their Breasts, and Nosegays in their hands, attended the Bride on her Wedding Day in the Morning. - *Fore-Riders* announced with shouts the Arrival of the Bride-groom: After a Kind of Breakfast, at which the *Bride-Cakes* were set on, and the *Barrels broached*, they walked out towards the Church. - The Bride was led by *two young Men*; the Bride-groom by *two young Women*: Pipers preceded them, while the crowd tossed up their Hats, shouted and clapped their Hands. An indecent Custom prevailed after the Ceremony, and that too before the Altar: - Young Men strove who could first unloose, or rather pluck off the Bride's Garters: Ribbands supplied their Place on this Occasion; whoever was so fortunate as to tear them thus off from her Legs, bore them about the Church in Triumph.

It is still usual for young Men present to *salute* [kiss] the *Bride* immediately after performing of the Marriage Service.

Four, with their Horses, were waiting without; and they *saluted* the Bride at the Church gate, and immediately mounting, contended who should first carry home the good News, 'and win what they called the Kail', i.e. *a smoking Prize of Spice-Broth*, which stood ready prepared to reward the Victor in this singular Kind of Race.

Dinner succeeded; to that Dancing and Supper; after which a *Posset* was made, of which the Bride and Bride-Groom were always to taste first. - The Men departed the Room until the Bride was undressed by her *Maids*, and put to Bed; the Bride-groom in his turn was undressed by his *Men*, and the Ceremony concluded with the well-known Rite of *throwing the Stocking*.

He simply plagiarised *The Collier's Wedding*, though he noted that 'In *Combinations* of the *Colliers*', for 'the Purpose of raising their Wages, they are said to *spit upon a Stone together*, by way of *cementing* their *Confederacy*'.<sup>97</sup>

A Londoner visiting Newcastle noted that 'one can scarce understand the common people, but are apt to fancy one's self in a foreign country'.<sup>98</sup> Ralph Carr junior joined his elder brother John at his Beverley boarding school.<sup>99</sup> The Newcastle Grammar School head master probably earned over £350 a year, including perquisites, and Brand became the under-usher. Moses Manners, a mason's son, received a Corporation bursary of £5 a year to study at Lincoln College, Oxford.<sup>100</sup> Modernity was overtaking tradition further south.

#### **(vi) You shall be obedient to the Lord Mayor**

In 1746 Stephen Buckley (possibly the printer's son) had been a York wait, as was the 'aledraper' (landlord) Thomas Perkins in 1748. In 1750 William Shaw was a violinist, and George Harrison was a musician, and so were Henry Middleton in 1753 and Thomas Jenkins in 1754. In 1756 Thomas James, and Thomas Shaw senior and Thomas junior were waits, and John Camidge senior was a musician, and an advertisement appeared in the *York Courant*.

This day is opened, (at the Organ in Blake-street, York)  
A MUSIC SHOP, where Gentlemen, Ladies and others may be furnished with all sorts of Musical Instruments and cases;  
Bows, Bridges, Strings and Wire; Music, Vocal and Instrumental; Books of Instruction, blank Books; rule Paper, &c.  
Wholesale and Retail, at reasonable prices, by  
*Their most obedient and Humble Servant,*  
THOMAS HAXBY  
N.B. Instruments repaired, and kept in Order, in Town or Country.

By 1758 Thomas Keay and William Hudson were musicians, as was Robert Haxby (Thomas's brother) by 1761. Joseph Shaw was a wait by 1765, as was John Barnard by 1767, and around this time Mr Halfield was a musician.<sup>101</sup>

In February 1770 an order was read to the new waits.

You shall be obedient to the Lord Mayor, or his Deputy for the time being, and shall attend and play upon such musical instruments as you are best masters of, in all service of the Corporation when required by him or his Deputy. You shall attend the Sheriffs of this city in their public cavalcade to read the proclamation on or about Martinmas, as also each Sheriff, on the day he makes an entertainment for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, for which service you shall receive from each Sheriff one guinea, but if the Sheriffs, or either of them, require your further attendance for the entertainment of their friends after the aforesaid days, then you shall be paid as such service may deserve. You Shall call the city from the Monday after Martinmas to the end of February, that is every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday in the morning, (Fast days and Christmas week excepted).<sup>102</sup>

The fifth wait would get a 'Chain and Shield' if the common council agreed'.<sup>103</sup> In 1774 Thomas Thackray and William Audesley were musicians. Samuel Knaption was born in 1756. After following an apprenticeship with his father as a barber and peruke-maker, he was admitted as a freeman in 1777,<sup>104</sup> and became a wait.<sup>105</sup>

Thomas Gent had written an autobiography, but did not publish it,<sup>106</sup> and though he printed *A ballad of Tobias*, the sole surviving copy is illegible.<sup>107</sup> In 1771 Valentine Green had based his mezzotint on Nathan Drake's portrait.



108

Thomas Mitcheson printed what turned out to be Gent's last small book in Fossgate in 1772.<sup>109</sup> He struggled with illness and poverty, and relied on the charity of friends,<sup>110</sup> until he died at home in Petergate, aged 85, in 1778.<sup>111</sup>

### **(vii) Whitehead's Newcastle Directory for 1778**

William Whitehead, the Newcastle musical-instrument-maker and turner had a shop in the middle of High Bridge and had invented a pianoforte swell pedal which was popular with his affluent customers, and he dedicated *Whitehead's Newcastle Directory for 1778* to the mayor. Most Corporation officers lived in the upper town, especially in Pilgrim Street and Westgate, where Mrs Hutchinson ran a boarding school, though at least 27 schoolmasters also made a living. The printer Thomas Angus was in St. Nicholas's churchyard, Thomas Robson in the Side, Thomas Saint in Pilgrim Street and the Slacks in the Groat Market, who also sold books in nearby Union Street. Richard Fisher's circulating library was in the Flesh Market, and Joseph Barber and Son's was at Amen Corner at the Head of the Side. William Charnley and Joseph Atkinson sold books in the Groat Market, Edward Humble near the Pope's Head in the Side and David Akenhead at the north end of Tyne Bridge. Atkinson, Barber, Humble, and John Hawthorn in Pudding Chair also sold musical instruments, while Matthew Earl made and sold them near Wharton's coffee house in the Side. The organist Matthias Hawdon lived in Saville Row, John Simpson in Northumberland Street, Joseph Hudspeth on the north side of St. Nicholas's churchyard and Solomon Strolger at the west end of Bailiffgate. Ivey Gregg's dancing school was on the north side of St. Nicholas's churchyard and Joseph Banks' was in Westgate Street. The musician Thomas Ross lived in the Flesh market, Robert Shadforth in Middle Street, William St. Clair in the Side and J. and T. Walker on the north of the Sandhill near Nelly Waterwood's coffee and punch house, and Katy's, Turner's and Walker's coffee houses. There were five wine merchants in the Side, one on the Sandhill, one on Butcher Bank and one in the Close. Many of the 176 taverns were in the lower town, from where dozens of carriers took goods as far as Glasgow, Liverpool and London.<sup>112</sup>

The Slacks had sold John Cunningham's *Poems* for 3s, or 1s less than its original price in 1777,<sup>113</sup> and Ann Slack died in Newgate Street in April 1778.<sup>114</sup> Charnley had paid off his debts by August,<sup>115</sup> and Maria Barber married

Edward Humble, her father's former apprentice,<sup>116</sup> though her brother Robert had left to be a church organist in Aberdeen.<sup>117</sup> The stationer Marshall Vesey had found his Darlington business unprofitable, and he and Joseph Whitfield opened a shop selling musical instruments at the north end of Tyne Bridge.<sup>118</sup> Edward Chicken's tombstone may have disappeared from St. John's churchyard,<sup>119</sup> yet Saint published the fifth edition of *The Collier's Wedding*.<sup>120</sup> He also sold a book of fairy tales for 2s, *The Lady's Compleat Pocket Book*, and the first volume of a history of Northumberland for 15s. Some publications were soon subject to more tax.<sup>121</sup>

Parliament raised the paper tax,<sup>122</sup> and in 1779 it quashed the London Stationers' monopoly of printing almanacs,<sup>123</sup> which now had to bear a 4d stamp.<sup>124</sup> The importation of paper had almost ceased, and though provincial booksellers rarely published books,<sup>125</sup> *The Collier's Wedding* appeared in Warrington without an imprint,<sup>126</sup> and may have been printed by William Eyre.<sup>127</sup> Around this time *A Collection of Favourite Scots Tunes* appeared in Edinburgh,<sup>128</sup> and claimed *Well may the Keel Row* had been composed in Scotland.<sup>129</sup>

By summer Bewick heartily disliked London and friends got him two years' work to do on Tyneside. After a short voyage on a collier he reached Newcastle,<sup>130</sup> and lived near the Forth with a sister as his housekeeper.<sup>131</sup> He joined the Brotherly Society at the Golden Lion in the Bigg Market,<sup>132</sup> which was sketched years later.



133

Possibly around this time George Gray, Gilbert's son, painted Bewick's portrait.



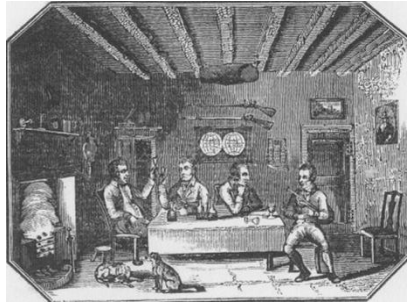
134

At some point he engraved what seems to be a satirical ticket for the Assembly Rooms.



135

One day Bewick, Walter Cannaway and others walked to Elwick in Northumberland, to spend the evening with Mr Younghusband, and 'got on to make merry & to singing songs'.<sup>136</sup> Bewick may have produced an engraving of this evening soon after, yet the earliest published example traced so far appeared many years later.



137

There were several smallpipers in Northumberland.

### (viii) The Allans

William Allan was born in Bellingham parish in Northumberland in 1704. He grew to about six feet tall,<sup>138</sup> became an expert smallpiper and joined a gang of 'faas' (gypsies) who worked as coopers, 'muggers' (hawkers of earthenware) and 'spoon-casters', and also stole hens and geese.<sup>139</sup> Gang leaders issued tokens, usually of tin, which licensed others to work in a particular district, and they regularly renewed them to circumvent forgeries.<sup>140</sup> 'Wull' Allan, as he became known, married Betty, a gypsy girl, in Hepple,<sup>141</sup> a camp in Rothbury forest, and she bore six sons.<sup>142</sup> The sixth was baptized James in Rothbury Church in 1734, though Betty died.

Years later 'Jamie' recalled that an English army officer had seduced the well-educated daughter of a Presbyterian minister in Kelso, and she had been kept at home, but ran away and married the widower Wull. He asked the vicar to continue his sons' education, yet Jamie played truant.<sup>143</sup> He never learned the alphabet,<sup>144</sup> and found his illiterate father's stories better than the vicar's sermons. He looked after two or three asses,<sup>145</sup> and made heather 'besoms' (brushes), or stole them from other boys, and he also stole hens and ducks.

Around 1745 he saw a gypsy being murdered at Birgham for trespassing on the Allans' 'walk',<sup>146</sup> which was along the North Tyne, Aln and Reed, and down the Tweed from Kelso to Berwick.<sup>147</sup> Recruiting sergeants targeted Jamie and his brother Robert, who dressed in women's clothes and escaped. Wull had taught them to play the smallpipes, and they played at a widow's 'Merry Night' to raise money to get her large family through the winter. She invited young people from miles around and charged 6d for cheese, barley, pease cakes and music. The dancing ended with the 'pease straw', a musical kissing game; but then a 'posse of constables' arrived and sent the Allan brothers to join the army in Newcastle, yet they got the guard drunk and escaped.

Northumberland farmers usually let gypsies graze their ponies in return for leaving their livestock alone, and the Allans also played at fairs, 'kirk-suppers' (harvest homes), weddings and other merry-makings. At the end of autumn they returned to Rothbury,<sup>148</sup> and over winter they lived at Kirk-Yetholm in Roxburghshire, under the jurisdiction of Will Faa. In spring they called on a 'select number of friends' who gave a handful of corn to their favourite musician at seed-time; and in summer they wandered over Redesdale and Tynedale to play for sheep-shearers, in return for wool and an 'abundance' of meat and drink, and cash if they played in the evening. They camped at Elishaw near Otterburn, and Wull reportedly composed *We'll all to Coquet and Woo* and *Salmon-tails up the water*.<sup>149</sup>

By 1748 Jamie was proficient at 'shivering the back lill', the smallpipes' highest note.<sup>150</sup> He had 'an accurate ear, a refined taste, and great sensitivities to the beauties of harmony'. He was 'remarkably adroit in learning a new tune, and was justly admired for the exquisite expression of feeling and simplicity'. He played *Dorrington Lads* for all the pipers his father knew, and they made him an 'Approved Piper'.<sup>151</sup> The countess of Northumberland invited him to Alnwick castle,<sup>152</sup> and gave him a set of smallpipes with ivory and silver chains which had been made in Edinburgh.<sup>153</sup> He married, though his wife was promiscuous,<sup>154</sup> so he returned to Alnwick and became a drunk.<sup>155</sup>

In summer 1750 25 fiddlers and pipers entertained 550 guests at a farmer's wedding in Great Tosson, west of Rothbury,<sup>156</sup> and Jamie accused his father of not keeping time.<sup>157</sup> Later, in Alnwick, Jamie enlisted as a substitute in the Northumberland militia for the bounty, and became their piper, but deserted. He hid in Newcastle, then returned to his family, who told pursuers he had sailed from Shields. He was in Cumberland.<sup>158</sup> He returned, enlisted again, escaped, and played *Cut and Dry Dolly* in a Whittingham public house. He enlisted again, escaped, but was captured. He successfully begged the countess to get him freed, then went to Annan in Scotland, where he played at a respectable inn for board and lodging and won a large amount of money from a man who he got drunk and beat at gambling.<sup>159</sup> He visited Moffatt, took a consort who was a relative of the chief, Will Marshall, impressed him by playing *Felton Lonnen*, and became his piper; yet when he heard that his life was in danger he robbed his consort and ran away. In Jedburgh he met Angus M'Allister, the piper of a company of soldiers who were about to sail to



North America. Allan took the £3 3s bounty, boarded a sloop to Greenock and walked to Edinburgh.<sup>160</sup> He set himself up in 'genteel lodgings' as a 'gentleman of independent fortune', and learned to play the hautboy, yet he gambled away his money, so he stole a silver tankard. He went to Dumfries where an inn landlord introduced him to some tradesmen. He played his hautboy, though they preferred the smallpipes, and they were delighted with *Owre the Hills and far awa'*. He was arrested for stealing the tankard, but escaped,<sup>161</sup> then visited Will Faa at Howden in Northumberland and played *Blue Bonnets over the Border*.<sup>162</sup> He went to Whitehaven and boarded a ship for Dublin, where he charged £1 11s 6d for a performance and 10s for a lesson. He made £15 or more a week, kept an expensive mistress, got into debt, spent time in jail, but escaped and boarded a ship to Calais.

In 1756 Britain and France were at war, and Allan volunteered for the East India Company and was taken under guard to a ship bound for China. When he played *I saw my love come passing by* the sailors danced and the officers ordered him to play all afternoon. He sailed from China to India, and went on via Tatar to Russia.<sup>163</sup> He boarded a ship at Kronstadt, near St. Petersburg, and played *I'll gang nae mair to yon Town* for a mainly French crew as they sailed to Ostend in Belgium.<sup>164</sup> He went to a village near Ghent and played *Up and waur them a', Willie, and Saw ye the kail coming?* He went on to Rheims in France, got drunk and found himself in the French army,<sup>165</sup> and played *Lochaber no more*.<sup>166</sup> Allan and his brother Robert deserted, then returned, and were sentenced to death for desertion. Just before their executions Jamie played a tune he had composed the previous night, which became known as *Jamie Allan's tune*. The brothers were allowed to return to their regiment, but escaped and joined an Irish regiment, and on 1 August 1759 the British army beat the French army at Minden in Germany.

Jamie returned to England and went to Stockport with a recruiting party. He intended to go to London to board a collier to get Northumberland, but was pursued; so he made for Liverpool, then set off on foot for Skipton, enlisted, deserted, walked to Durham and enlisted again. As he walked down Bottle Bank in Gateshead he was arrested and taken to Newcastle guard-house. He escaped through the privy drain and made his way to Rothbury, where he retrieved the countess's smallpipes. Locals protected him from the unpopular Hanoverian soldiers, and he left for Cumberland. He swapped a stolen watch for £1 10s and a Galloway pony, which he matched against a farmer's horse. Allan struck the horse in the face and played *I'll make ye fain to follow me*; and when he played it next day the horse would not budge, so Allan won the wager.

In autumn 1761 he visited Alnwick, and accompanied the countess to the king's coronation in London, though after they returned she dismissed him for theft. He set off for Yetholm, was arrested as a deserter, played his pipes with a recruiting party's drum and fife and they made six recruits. He escaped to Yetholm and declined to accompany the gypsies on their walk. He heard about the wedding of a gentleman farmer to a well-to-do woman at Fouldon, where he met two 'ominous birds', both fiddlers from Berwick, so he got them drunk, put their fiddles and his smallpipes (without the reeds) in a water trough and played at the wedding alone. Days later he and other gypsies killed three sheep, and the shepherds confronted them. Allan escaped, but left his smallpipes behind. He went to Berwick, enlisted, escaped and repeated the operation in Rothbury and Hexham. He walked to within three miles of Edinburgh in just over 24 hours, and stayed at a tavern whose landlord was from Rothbury,<sup>167</sup> then set off for Carlisle, where he played *Weel may the Keel row* and *Cut and dry Dolly* at a party marking the end of an apprentice's servitude.<sup>168</sup> He walked to Ulverston (then in Lancashire), joined a company of strolling players, and married a gypsy woman in Gloucestershire, though she later died in Bakewell, Derbyshire. He went to London, where a 'most respectable musician' got him a well-paying job playing the hautboy in a theatre orchestra.<sup>169</sup> He would pretend to read a newspaper, yet he had to find an image before he knew which way up to hold it.<sup>170</sup>

He robbed, and feared the gallows, so he boarded a vessel for Gibraltar, and pleased the crew with *The Campbell's are coming, aho!* He played for army officers, then accepted an invitation to Tetuan in Morocco, and played *Lochaber no more*, *Open the Door*, *M'Gregor's Lament* and other tunes. He visited Alexandria, then Cairo, where he played *I'll gang nae mair to yon Town* for English merchants, though one objected to his pipes' 'horrid squalling noise'. Then he returned to England via Constantinople in the Ottoman Empire and Brest in France.

He enlisted and escaped in Portsmouth, but was jailed in Winchester. He escaped, went to Morpeth and was arrested, escaped, walked to Whitby and boarded a sloop bound for Leith, then returned to Rothbury. He left for Hexham, and attempted to escape from soldiers, yet a drummer struck him on the wrist with his sword, and Allan exclaimed that 'Ye hae spoiled the best pipe hand in England!' A French surgeon dressed his wound in Chollerford, and he performed at Embleton Feast and Carlisle races. He lived with a woman in Morpeth, then with a Hexham woman in Newcastle, and visited the theatre. Being 'desired by a gentleman to play a tune' he 'delighted the audience so much, that he was loudly called upon to perform during every interval, and at the end of the performance was rewarded by a handsome subscription'. He went to Liverpool, heard a man whistling *The Flowers of the Forest*, found some smallpipes in an inn, played *Felton Lonnen*,<sup>171</sup> and then boarded a ship for Shields. He played *Maggie Lauder*,<sup>172</sup> and *The Cameronians' Rant*, in a shabby ale-house near Bamburgh, then 'borrowed' a horse and was imprisoned in Morpeth, escaped, and went to London and entertained ladies in Northumberland

House, the Percies' residence, with *Come to bed, Cicely, come, come, come*, and played *God save the king* after winning a swimming contest. He sailed to Shields, met his crony Loggan the fiddler, and played for the sailors, 'who, in general, paid him handsomely', in public houses. He visited Flushing, returned to Alnwick and made a 'considerable sum' at York. He became the duchess's piper in 1766 and married again in 1769.<sup>173</sup>

Some of his stories may be true.

According to other sources Allan settled in Alnwick. The waits wore a blue coat, yellow breeches and vest, and a hat with a 'profusion of lace', and serenaded inhabitants between Martinmas and the end of January,<sup>174</sup> and on 5 November, when a new mayor was elected, and on Christmas day, they had to walk before the mayor, recorder and magistrates, and play their violins. They playing at night until Candlemas, and at the Four and Twenty's four public dinners throughout the year, though they could also take on other work. In October the Four and Twenty appointed Allan as 'one of the Town's Musicians', ordered him to play and gave him 2s 6d. His clothes were to last three years, yet if he left or misbehaved he had to surrender them to the chamberlains. In September 1770 he misbehaved and had to hand them over.<sup>175</sup> In 1771 the Four and Twenty appointed Thomas Coward junior, the son of the shoemaker Thomas, as a wait, and gave him 2s 6d for playing before several of the common council 'by way of a treat'. If he behaved himself 'well and orderly' until Candlemas they would pay £5 5s to have 'instructed in playing on the Violin'. Around this time, the Four and Twenty bought the waits Daniel and William Cuthbertson 'Silver laced Hats'.<sup>176</sup> As Joseph Turnbull was returning to Alnwick, his friend dismounted and his horse ran off. Turnbull tried to catch it, fell off, fractured his skull and died, and William Lamshaw became the duchess's piper.

John 'Muckle Jock' Milburn was a smallpiper in Bellingham.<sup>177</sup> Young villagers still went to the woods on May Day morning, and returned with music to dance on the green<sup>178</sup> and they danced in the corn fields after harvest.<sup>179</sup> At some point Thomas Bewick made a woodcut of a piper at a country dance.



180

In Wark John Baty's tune-book included *The Keel Row*.<sup>181</sup>

In 1774 there were reportedly 600,000 acres of 'waste' in Northumberland,<sup>182</sup> and Allan gravitated towards larger towns. He sold stolen scrap metal to a Gateshead merchant and ended in Morpeth Jail, condemned to hang, though the duchess of Northumberland, as she now was, got him reprieved and gave him a set of smallpipes inscribed 'James Allan, 1777, by the duchess of Northumberland'. Wull Allan had moved to Woodhouses, near Shilbottle in Northumberland, and then to Whitton near Rothbury, where he died playing *Dorrington Lads* in 1779, and was buried in Rothbury churchyard.<sup>183</sup> Jamie married again, and in winter he played the hautboy at fashionable assemblies in North Shields, and at night before genteel people's houses as a wait. He received 'very handsome presents' at Christmas and Candlemas, and his 'sweet and lively midnight strains were so pleasing to all classes of people, that his numerous and petty thefts were winked at'. He often visited Edinburgh, and was 'always well received', and 'never failed to spend a few weeks amongst his dear vagrant acquaintances' on the border.<sup>184</sup>

The Newcastle wait Henry Tait had been robbed in 1776. William Burlingson was a Durham wait in 1778, though his fellow wait Nathaniel Smith was poor, and had to move his family from Elvet in St. Oswald's parish to their home parish of St. Mary the Less. In 1779 the Newcastle wait and organist Solomon Strolger died, aged 76, and left £4,000, mainly earned by teaching, to his widow and nine children, and their unmarried daughters got £180 a year.<sup>185</sup> After the last pile was driven for the new Tyne Bridge, the workers marched with music to the Flesh Market for dinner.<sup>186</sup>

The war in North America continued, and so did the recruiting sergeants and press gangs.

# 17. War, horrible war

## (i) The Antigallican's safe arriv'd

John Bover was born on Guernsey in 1714. He later joined the Navy, became a captain in 1757,<sup>1</sup> and from 1758 he was leader of the Tyneside press gangs.<sup>2</sup> They were usually led by a lieutenant, and sometimes by an elderly or disabled captain, and their rendezvous was often in a large rented tavern or alehouse. By 1760 the Newcastle gang included at least 20 men, and there were similar gangs at Shields and Sunderland.<sup>3</sup> Bover despatched tenders (hired merchantmen) to take pressed men to the Nore, where the Thames met the North Sea. Tender crews were unarmed, but marines accompanied them. In October 125 pressed men on a tender in the Tyne, including 112 able seamen, reportedly became 'riotous', and the lieutenant ordered the marines to fire. They killed one and wounded two, yet the rest took over the tender and made for Whitby. The lieutenant ordered the marines to fire again, and they killed one and dangerously wounded another. The lieutenant regained control, but resigned as soon as he got to the Nore.<sup>4</sup> In 1763, after the war ended, Bover had no command, though at the start of the war in North America in 1775 he led the Tyneside press gangs once again.<sup>5</sup>

By November 1776 the lieutenant in charge of the Berwick and Leith gangs was based in Edinburgh. Berwick was a 'government borough', and the MP could secure military, naval and customs appointments for his supporters. The lieutenant found it 'the most disagreeable service' and was 'ordered to brick-up my Rendezvous' at Berwick and dismiss my gang' within days, since he supported the MP.<sup>6</sup> In 1777 a gang impressed 150 men in Scarborough.<sup>7</sup> On the Tyne 17 took over a tender, sailed out under fire from Clifford's Fort, marines on other tenders, made it to Scarborough and escaped. When the Shields press-gang met resistance the lieutenant ordered the marines to fire, and they killed one man, but barely escaped with their lives. One whaler crew disembarked safely in Northumberland, and when the Shields gang spotted another whose crew refused to surrender, their captain ordered the marines to fire. They wounded three, one was 'past all hopes of recovery' and another had been 'trepanned' (had a hole in his skull). Bover advised the captain to leave immediately,<sup>8</sup> since 'Greenlanders' had protections from impressment.<sup>9</sup> He was made an honorary freeman of Newcastle and received a 'handsomely chased gold snuff box bearing the Corporation's arms',<sup>10</sup> for his 'disinterested and upright conduct'.<sup>11</sup> Two Greenlanders were pressed, and when they reached Spithead off the Isle of Wight, the captain was served with writs demanding their release, though the Admiralty told him to keep them since there was a flaw in the paperwork.<sup>12</sup> In 1778 the Scarborough bailiffs agreed that the gang could impress 'idle and disorderly persons' in the streets after 9.00pm.<sup>13</sup>

Parliament sanctioned 'privateers'.<sup>14</sup> The *Antigallican* was commissioned at Newcastle that autumn, and had a crew of 250 men and 36 guns.<sup>15</sup> *The Antigallican Privateer* celebrated the event.

The Antigallican's safe arriv'd,  
On board of her with speed we'll hie;  
She'll soon be fit to sail away;  
To the Antigallican haste away.  
Haste away, haste away,  
To the Antigallican haste away.

For gold we'll sail the ocean oe'r,  
From Britain's isle to the French shore;  
No ships from us shall run away: -  
To the Antigallican haste away.  
Haste away, &c.

The Spaniards too, those cunning knaves,  
We'll take their ships and make them slaves;  
'Till war's declar'd we'll never stay;  
To the Antigallican haste away.  
Haste away, &c.

If we should meet with a galloon,  
Our own we'll make her very soon;  
Then drums shall beat and music play –

To the Antigallican haste away.  
Haste away, &c.

Our country calls us all to arms,  
To keep us safe from French alarms;  
Then let us all her voice obey,  
To the Antigallican haste away.  
Haste away, &c.

When we are rich, then home we'll steer,  
And enter Shields with many a cheer;  
To meet our friends so blythe and gay;  
To the Antigallican haste away.  
Haste away, &c.

To Charlotte's Head then let's repair,  
We'll be received with welcome there;  
We'll enter then without delay;  
To the Antigallican haste away.  
Haste away, &c.

16

The port of Newcastle had been home to 3,948 vessels with an aggregate of over 758,000 tons in 1771, and Tyneside collieries exported over 932,000 tons of coal that year.<sup>17</sup> In February 1772, when a female putter at South Biddick colliery, near Houghton in County Durham, travelled up the shaft by standing on a loop in the rope, a hook on the descending rope caught her clothes and she fell to the bottom and was killed.<sup>18</sup> In 1776 19 pitmen were killed at North Biddick and two at East Rainton,<sup>19</sup> and 24 at Chaytor's Haugh near Harraton in 1778.<sup>20</sup> During the 1770s Tyne coal exports to London were 39 percent higher than in the 1750s,<sup>21</sup> though merchant seamen, landsmen and boys were not safe from press-gangs.

Coal was strategically vital, and colliers usually made between six and eight voyages a year. Boys aged between from ten and 13 were apprenticed for between three and seven years, depending on their social status, and paupers could be compulsorily 'apprenticed' for up to nine years with no wages, and in December 1778 William Allen, an apprentice 'from the poore house' in North Shields, was on the *Northumberland*. In 1779 a press gang killed a whalerman and seriously wounded two others.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile the colliery death-toll had risen inexorably.

Possibly around this time Bover was the subject of a verse sung to a 'plaintive melody' in North Shields.

Where hez t' been, maa canny hinny,  
Where hez t' been, maa winsome man?  
Aw's been ti th' nor'ard, cruisin' back an' for'ard  
Aw's been ti th' nor'ard, cruisin' sair an' lang,  
Aw's been ti th' nor'ard, cruisin' back an' for'ard,  
But daurna come ashore for Bover and his Gang.<sup>23</sup>

Bover died in Newcastle in May 1782. The bands of the East Yorkshire and Westmoreland militias marched from Haymarket parade ground to his house in the Bigg Market, then played the dead march to accompany his coffin to a civic funeral in St. Nicholas' Church. His barge crew attended,<sup>24</sup> though it is unclear whether any other sailors, or any civilians except the Corporation, merchants, gentry and senior clergy joined the mourners.

## (ii) Bishop Percy

Mary Hollowell was born into a silk-weaver's family in London in 1738. Her mother soon died, and her father joined the army, so an uncle and aunt raised her, and she attended the Methodist George Whitefield's school near Moorfields and 'got a litle learning'. After her father returned from abroad a 'serious woman' rented a room in their house and Mary ran away. She wandered from town to town and met another girl, and since 'we both had pretty good voices, we agreed to go about together, singing ballads'. They 'ran wherever our blind fancy led us, into all sorts of company, singing in ale-houses, at feasts and fairs, for a few pence and a little drink'. Later they joined a gang of gypsies, some of whom were fiddlers. Mary co-habited with one man and learned his language 'pretty fluently', but when he took another consort and expected Mary to be their servant, she left. In Dover she met a

woman who sang ballads, which was 'a profitable trade in those parts', and they formed a 'partnership'. They later fell out and parted, and Mary teamed up with a woman who sold hardware. Her singing attracted sailors near Sandwich, who forced her to go with them, though she escaped. She went hop-picking, and sang ballads in Epping market in Essex, but was arrested and whipped. She rejoined the gypsies, cohabited again and became pregnant. Her consort left her, yet his mother insisted that she earned her keep, so she 'took up my old trade of ballad-singing'. In 1771 her consort returned and they found a clergyman who would marry gypsies in Olney, near Easton Maudit. Mary gave birth in 1772, and she became deaf, then more children died young. She found that Wesleyan preachers' 'discourses were levelled to my capacity', and joined them.<sup>25</sup> The London ballad-publisher Cluer Dicey had retired to his Leicestershire estate, though the Northampton business ran in his name, and he died in 1775.<sup>26</sup>

Thomas Percy lived close to both of them, yet he evidently either did not know them or ignored them. He had written privately that 'not one in a hundred' ballads 'sold on stalls' was 'fit to be republished'.<sup>27</sup> His wife became a wet nurse for the king's children at £200 a year, with an annual pension of £100 after 18 months, while Percy became the king's chaplain, and Cambridge University awarded him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1770.<sup>28</sup> Another edition of the *Reliques* appeared in 1775.<sup>29</sup> In 1778 the duke of Northumberland secured him the deanship of Carlisle Cathedral,<sup>30</sup> and William Dickinson published a mezzotint portrait of him based on a drawing by Sir Joshua Reynolds.



31

The London publisher James Dodsley paid Percy £42 for the third edition of the *Reliques* in 1780, and in 1782 he became bishop of Dromore in Ireland.<sup>32</sup> He visited Alnwick Castle that summer,<sup>33</sup> yet 'minstrels' were a dying breed.

The last Chester minstrels' court had taken place in 1756.<sup>34</sup> In 1785 the Tutbury minstrel King and a duke's steward and bailiff examined the court officers for the previous year and 'those that owe suit or service'. They wanted to know if they were 'decent in apparel and skilful in their art' and had respected the King and not 'abused or disparaged their honourable profession by drunkenness', brawling, or profaning the Sabbath, or played for a 'mean or disgraceful reward' or within the court's jurisdiction without being affiliated.<sup>35</sup> It was effectively a guild.

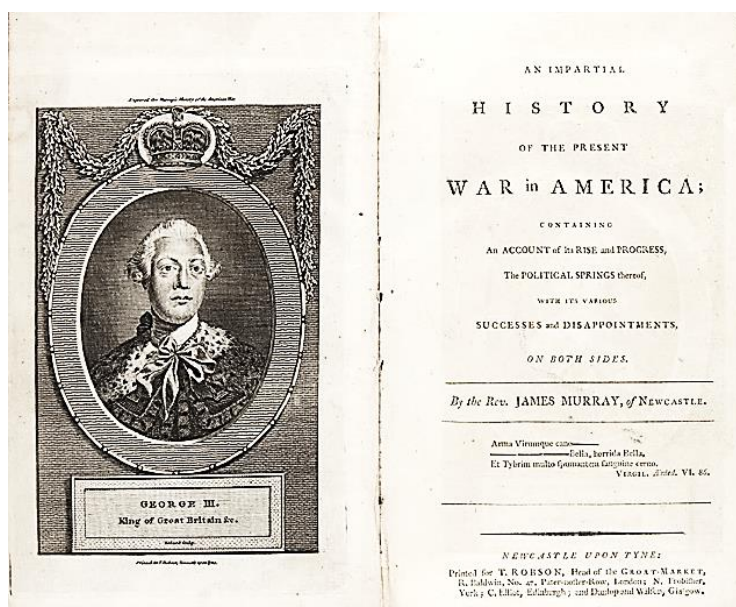
### (iii) Crusonia

By 1780 John Brand was the usher at Newcastle Grammar School.<sup>36</sup> The mayor and the governor of the Hostmen's Company were governors of St. Anne's Chapel School in Sandgate Street, where the under master received £16 16s a year,<sup>37</sup> and they had recently appointed Thomas Spence.<sup>38</sup> Early that year there was a parliamentary election,<sup>39</sup> and Spence reportedly published five songs without an imprint. *In Praise of Mr B\*\*\*\** satirised Andrew Stoney-Bowes,<sup>40</sup> and he and Sir Matthew White Ridley were elected unopposed. Stoney-Bowes attended the House of Commons desultorily, but stopped when he was not given a peerage, and continued to mistreat his wife.<sup>41</sup>

Literacy in the north-east was rising, but unevenly. In Northumberland Morpeth Grammar School had 18 pupils, yet at times there were no freemen's sons.<sup>42</sup> In County Durham the master of South Shields' Poor House taught children to read, and the Charity School taught 40 boys and ten girls, plus two boys and two girls from the Poor House, while a mistress taught the girls to read, write and sew. A pupil absent for over a day without permission would be dismissed, though they could glean at harvest time.<sup>43</sup> A Sunderland benefactress left £1,500 for a school to teach 36 poor girls to read and sew, and provide them with a suit and two pairs of shoes in summer and a suit at Christmas,<sup>44</sup> but eight Quakers' children attended a boarding school at Ackworth in Yorkshire.<sup>45</sup>



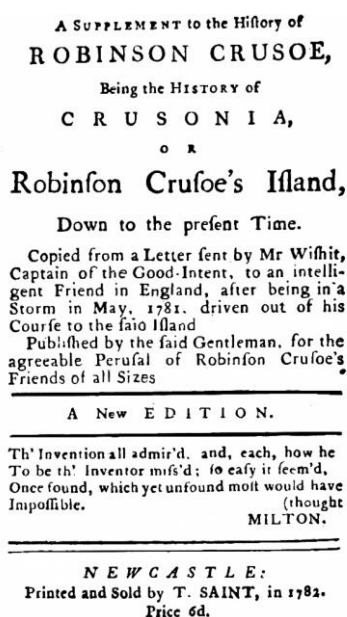
James Murray had published an 'impartial' book about the war in North America in London in 1778,<sup>46</sup> and in spring 1780 the *Newcastle Courant* advertised an edition printed by Thomas Robson at the Head of the Groat Market,<sup>47</sup> which was also available in Glasgow, Edinburgh, York and London, but was firmly anti-war.



The Latin motto translated as 'I sing of arms and the man ... War, horrible war'.<sup>48</sup> Part two followed in 1781.<sup>49</sup>

By 1781 England's population was around 7.2 million.<sup>50</sup> There were about 50 provincial newspapers,<sup>51</sup> yet hawkers were banned from hiring them out.<sup>52</sup> There were 30 print trade businesses in Newcastle.<sup>53</sup> Joseph Barber had died, his son Martin had taken over.<sup>54</sup> A second volume of Murray's history of the war appeared,<sup>55</sup> but he died early in 1782.<sup>56</sup> (In three years the book would go into 25 editions.<sup>57</sup>)

Thomas Saint printed Spence's *A S'UPL'IM'INT Too th'i Histr'ire ov Robinsin Kruzo, being TH'I H'IST'IRE OV KRUZONIA* at 6d, which plagiarised John Newberry's old *Lilliputian Magazine*.<sup>58</sup> Spence aimed to 'free the poor and the stranger, the industrious and the innocent, from vecsattious, tedious and ridiculous absurdities', and 'make Charity Schools and in great measure, all schools for teaching English unnecessary'.<sup>59</sup> Saint also printed Spence's *THE Real reading-Made Easy; OR, Foreigners and grown Persons PLEASING INTRODUCTOR TO READING ENGLISH* at 1s,<sup>60</sup> and later that year he reprinted his book about 'Crusonia' with conventional spelling.



Spence argued that the language of 'Lilliput' (Britain) was 'without Rule or Order' and its 'only sure Maxim' was that 'all Words which could be sounded different ways were to be written according to the hardest, harshest, longest, and most unusual Sound'; yet the 'very poorest' could now 'learn as much in a Month, as formerly in a Year', and acquire 'Notions of justice, and Equity, and of the Rights of Mankind', which 'rendered unsupportable, every Species

of oppression, however antiquated, or common'. Landlords were 'despicable and bothersome, in Proportion as the Happiness of being without them was perceived', and 'the least ill-treatment from them was now borne with the greatest Uneasiness and Impatience'.<sup>61</sup> Late that year Spence left for London.<sup>62</sup>

Nationally, poor rates had cost nearly £2 million in 1780, almost treble the level of a century earlier,<sup>63</sup> and in 1782 an Act allowed parishes to combine for poor-relief purposes. Work was to be provided for the able-bodied, and their wages were to be supplemented from the poor-rate if necessary. The infirm were to go to a workhouse, though out-paupers of good character would not have to wear a badge. Children under seven could stay with their parents, and older ones would be boarded out. There was a drastic increase in the intensity of child labour, and ship's boys were probably the most exploited.

The annual income of almost 25 percent of households was between £50 and £200 by the early 1780s,<sup>64</sup> and a 'middling' class was coming into being. A peace treaty was signed in Paris in September 1783, and the war in America ended, at a terrible cost, yet north-east musicians played on.

#### **(iv) A lack of musical performers in our Streets**

Adam Kinloch, who was probably born in Scotland, had arrived in Newcastle from London in 1780, and became a dancing master. The dancing master and composer Ivey Gregg was also from Scotland and John Frazier was his fiddler.<sup>65</sup> In spring 1781 Thomas Saint sold tickets for George Friderick Handel's *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabaeus*. A seat cost 5s in a Box, 4s in the Pit, 2s 6d in the Front Gallery and 1s 6d in the Upper Gallery.<sup>66</sup> Monsieur Noserre and others played at Ralph Carr's and other merchants' houses.<sup>67</sup> Matthew Brown printed the *Polite Singer*, the first songbook to appear in North Shields, and Thomas Bewick and Ralph Beilby billed him for 750 frontispieces.<sup>68</sup>

In November Newcastle council banned singing clubs. The *Courant* reported that they had been 'managed and conducted by evil-minded, dissolute, and disorderly prentices', who had 'seduced and drawn into their infamous associations a number of Apprentices, Journeymen, Shopkeepers, Servants, gentlemen's Servants, and other unwary Young Men, to their great loss and discredit'.<sup>69</sup> Bewick later recalled that the 'singing days, instead of being regulated by the Magistrates', were 'totally put an end to',<sup>70</sup> even in taverns.<sup>71</sup> The war and 'public matters cast a surly gloom over the character of the whole country', and there was 'a lack of musical performers in our Streets';<sup>72</sup> though the 'middling classes' still want to hear, or even play, music.

William Whitehead's *Newcastle and Gateshead Directory for 1782, 83 and 84* advertised 'Screw and plain Bows' for violins and violincellos, 'Tailpieces, Bridges and Pins', 'wholesale or retail at the lowest prices'.<sup>73</sup> Charles Avison asked Bewick to engrave and print 200 tickets for a freemasons' concert, but he did not settle the bill.<sup>74</sup> In December Saint and Martin Barber sold 3s 6d tickets for an Assembly Room concert.<sup>75</sup> The large room cost £2 2s for an evening and the smaller one £1 1s.<sup>76</sup> There were long country dances,<sup>77</sup> and tickets cost 5s.<sup>78</sup>

A Scotsman and an Irishman had robbed a man near Coxlodge, just north of Newcastle,<sup>79</sup> and a ballad appeared before their execution on the Town Moor in August 1784.<sup>80</sup> *The Repentent Sighs of James Chambers and William Collins* had no colophon, and it referred to Newcastle as 'that town', so it may well have been printed elsewhere.<sup>81</sup>

Matthias Hawdon had been christened at All Saints' Church in Newcastle in 1732. He had studied the organ under Charles Avison, then left for Hull in 1751. In 1776 he returned to Newcastle after Edward Avison died, and became the organist at St. Nicholas' Church.<sup>82</sup> He took over the subscription concerts, and Bewick printed 900 tickets for him in 1781, though Hawdon was bankrupt by summer. That, and ill health, forced him to retire in 1785.<sup>83</sup>

In Northumberland Alnwick had had a dancing master by 1782,<sup>84</sup> and Mr Campbell, an organist and violinist, ran concerts in North Shields, Tynemouth and South Shields. Henry Tate, the Berwick wait died in 1784, yet Signor Galot from Naples led Morpeth's subscription concerts in 1785 and 1786.<sup>85</sup>

John Peacock was born in Morpeth in 1755 and was baptised in 1757.<sup>86</sup> By 1773 Joseph Turnbull and William Lamshaw had taught him to play the smallpipes.<sup>87</sup> Peacock married in 1779,<sup>88</sup> and by 1782 the couple lived in Newcastle's All Saints' parish.<sup>89</sup> The wait James Walker was sacked in 1783, and the wait William Sinclair died, and Peacock and Bartholomew Orrick were appointed to replace them.<sup>90</sup> The Peacocks' young son died in 1785, though a daughter was baptised in St. Nicholas' Church in 1786.<sup>91</sup> The wait Orrick died, and John Aldridge, the Catholic chapel organist, was appointed to replace him, and he also played in bands and at concerts. Thomas Ross was a musician. His son Thomas left town after his father died, and John Peile was a musician by 1787. Mr Jones, one of Thomas Wright's pupils, played a violin concerto at a Newcastle benefit concert.<sup>92</sup> Charles Avison had not settled Bewick's bill of £1 1s for engraving and printing 100 tickets for a freemason's concert and two packs of business cards, so Bewick summonsed him and added 6d to cover his legal costs. When Avison handed over only 9s, Bewick stopped printing for him.<sup>93</sup>

In London John Bewick played the flute and clarionet well, and he and his Newcastle friends sang songs they had learned on Tyneside in the evenings. In January 1788 Thomas sent John a sketch of a nursing mother from Newcastle and enclosed a set of lyrics which were later transcribed and published.



- “Thou’s aw candied, maw bonny Hinney,  
Thou’s double japandied, ay-u-a, Hinney;  
Thou’s aw candied, maw bonny Hinney,  
Thou’s double japandied, ay-u-a.
- “Gan up the Toun, maw bonny Hinney,  
An’ riye on the Brum, a-u-a, Hinney;  
Gan up an’ doun, maw bonny Hinney,  
Thou’s th’ Flower of the toun, ay-u-a.
- “Fir shep and for culler, thou’s leyke th’ mother,  
A-u-a, hey-u-a, maw bonny Hinney;  
Fir shep and for culler, thou’s leyke the mother,  
A-u-a, hey-u-a, maw bonny Bairn.
- “Fir Heyde and fir Hue, maw bonny Hinney,  
There’s nane leyke thou, a-u-ay, Hinney;  
Fir Heyde an’ Hue, maw bonny Hinney,  
There’s nane leyke thou, ay-u-a.
- “Gan up the Raw, maw bonny Hinney,  
Thou bangs thim aw, ay-u-a, Hinney;  
Gan up the Raw, maw bonny Hinney,  
An’ clash thir jaw, ay-u-a.

Thomas added a note. ‘If you have not the above, it will add one more to your collection’.<sup>94</sup>

Bewick was ‘excessively pleased’ with Peacock’s ‘old tunes, his lilts, his pauses and variations’ and ‘used to strive to get into the company, or to engage’ ‘our inimitable performer’.<sup>95</sup> When the songwriter Charles Dibdin visited Newcastle,<sup>96</sup> he rejected the theatre band’s ‘exorbitant demands’ and appealed to Bewick, who

instantly applied to old William Lamshaw, the duke of Northumberland’s Piper to ask him if he thought he could engage to play at the Theatre that night; being well acquainted with the old man he readily assented. I then told my friend Dibden [sic] of what I had done, & satisfied him, as to the preference the Audience would give to the Piper. In this I was not mistaken, for all went well off & every one expressed both pleasure & surprise at the change.<sup>97</sup>

The locally-produced slip song *Barbara Bell* had a crude woodcut of what appears to be a family of street singers.



The Newcastle printer Thomas Angus died in 1788, though his widow Margaret printed slip songs and children's books.<sup>99</sup> The Newcastle wait William McFarlane died, and his replacement, William Grey, also played the violincello and sang in concerts, while John Fairweather was a Hexham wait.<sup>100</sup>

#### (v) Ruinous to horseflesh

Morpeth Grammar School had had 100 pupils,<sup>101</sup> and Robert Raikes had opened a Sunday school in Gloucester in 1780,<sup>102</sup> and in 1784 the Newcastle Unitarian minister William Turner opened one in Hanover Square, with a master to teach boys and a mistress to teach girls. In 1785 a Sunday school for 40 boys opened in St. John's parish, and 'active and benevolent individuals' opened one in All Saints' parish, where a master taught boys and a mistress taught girls in the Poor House.<sup>103</sup> The Corporation financed a new building for the St. John's Charity School in Manor Chare,<sup>104</sup> and nationally almost 250,000 children attended Sunday schools.<sup>105</sup>

In 1783 75 books were published in north-east England, more than in any other region. The government sold over 14 million newspaper stamps.<sup>106</sup> Martin Barber sold his bookshop to his apprentice, Joseph Green,<sup>107</sup> and Thomas Saint sold a publication describing the Navy's actions in the West Indies.<sup>108</sup> Thomas Slack died in January 1784 and left most of his property to his five daughters, including his house and shop in Middle Street, a new house and shop, a house in the Groat Market, two houses in Newgate Street, plus one-sixteenth of the ship and land in Cumberland. 'All stock in trade in the printing office, stationery, printed books and copyright thereof' was to be 'equitably disposed of, as were his household goods, except for a silver tankard which he left to one of his daughters.'<sup>109</sup>

By 1785, nationally, there were 300 booksellers in 172 provincial towns. Newcastle had seven and was second only to Norwich.<sup>110</sup> In February Sarah Slack married 24-year-old Solomon Hodgson, who hailed from Long Marton in Westmoreland, and her father's executors transferred the business to him.<sup>111</sup> He was an 'ardent and energetic reformer'.<sup>112</sup> The *Newcastle Chronicle* supported parliamentary reform,<sup>113</sup> and Hodgson employed Gilbert Gray as a bookbinder. The Whig William Charnley was one of the town's most important booksellers,<sup>114</sup> yet he sold the prime minister's defence of ship-owners in the coal trade in Middle Street, as did Thomas Saint in Pilgrim Street, Richard Fisher in High Bridge, Joseph Whitfield at the Bridge End, James Graham in Sunderland, Nathaniel Thorne in Durham, William Kelley in North Shields, James Churchside in South Shields, John Monkman in Whitby and James Schofield in Scarborough.<sup>115</sup>

David Stuart, reportedly the oldest 'flying stationer' in Britain, died in Bishopwearmouth, County Durham aged 105.<sup>116</sup> Sunderland had grown considerably and the Wear was very busy.



117

In Newcastle Matthew Brown, Slack's former apprentice, had published the *Newcastle Magazine* since early 1785, but it folded in spring 1786, and that year the bookseller Patrick Sanderson died in All Saints' parish.<sup>118</sup>

There had been 12 turnpike roads in Northumberland since 1776,<sup>119</sup> and 11 in County Durham since 1777.<sup>120</sup> In 1784 the first mail coaches replaced post-boys and averaged five miles per hour,<sup>121</sup> and newspapers went post-



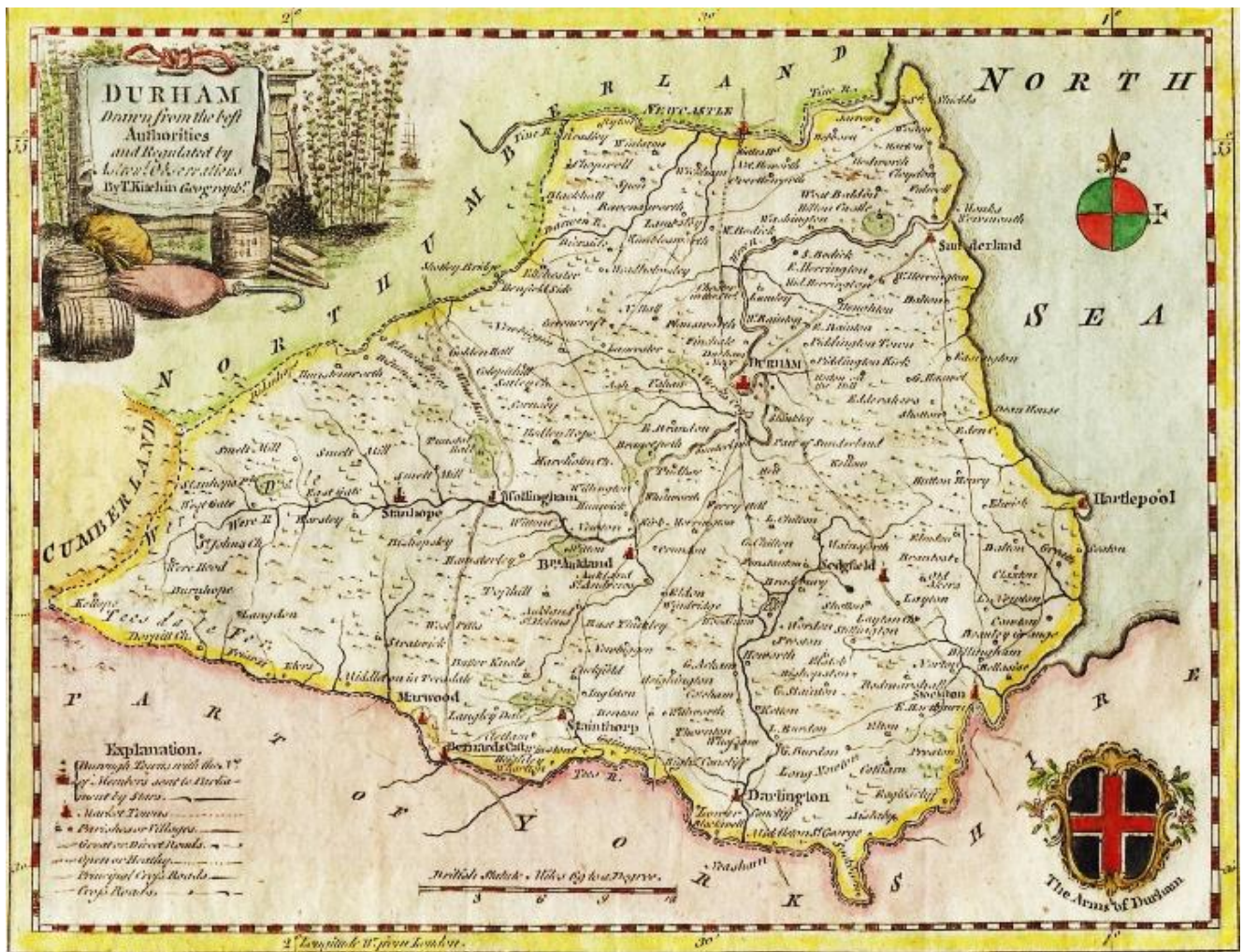
free.<sup>122</sup> By 1786 mail coaches ran on the six main roads out of London, and a weekly coach to Edinburgh and back ran at an average of seven miles per hour. Most Newcastle publicans refused to supply horses for a speed so 'ruinous to horseflesh', though the landlord of the Cock Inn at the Head of the Side agreed. The journey from Newcastle to London took 45 hours and cost £4 4s,<sup>123</sup> yet board and lodging could cost an additional £9.<sup>124</sup>

Around this time Thomas Kitchin published a map of Northumberland.



Kitchin also produced a map of County Durham.





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In 1787 a Sunday school opened in Stockton for 102 poor children. They had to attend the parish church.<sup>126</sup>

There were now 38 book trade businesses in Newcastle,<sup>127</sup> and Charnley campaigned to restore the St. Nicholas' Church library.<sup>128</sup> In summer Thomas Saint died after a long illness, aged 50, and was buried in his native Morpeth.<sup>129</sup> He left £500 to his niece, when she was 21, plus the 'principal share' of over £8,000 which he had inherited from his brother, on condition that she reached an 'amicable settlement' with other legatees. He left £200 to a servant and to a friend, £100 to two other friends, and £25 to a former servant from the revenue from his land and tenements. Another woman was to have £10 a year for life, over which her printer husband John Pattison was to have no control. Saint also left £100 to an apothecary.<sup>130</sup> He did not mention his £1,000's worth of 'Stock in the Three percent Annuities 1726' in his will, so his executor disposed of it.<sup>131</sup> Saint's successors, John Hall and Joseph Elliot, hoped that subscriptions to the *Newcastle Courant* would continue.<sup>132</sup> They produced penny histories and slip songs,<sup>133</sup> schoolbooks and other small books, which they sold at 12 for 8d, or 144 for 5s, and chapmen sold them for 1d each,<sup>134</sup> plus 'pedlery' and 'toys', at north-east fairs. The season began in February, and by April there were around ten a month, with peaks in early May, August and September, though they petered out in November and ended in December.<sup>135</sup>

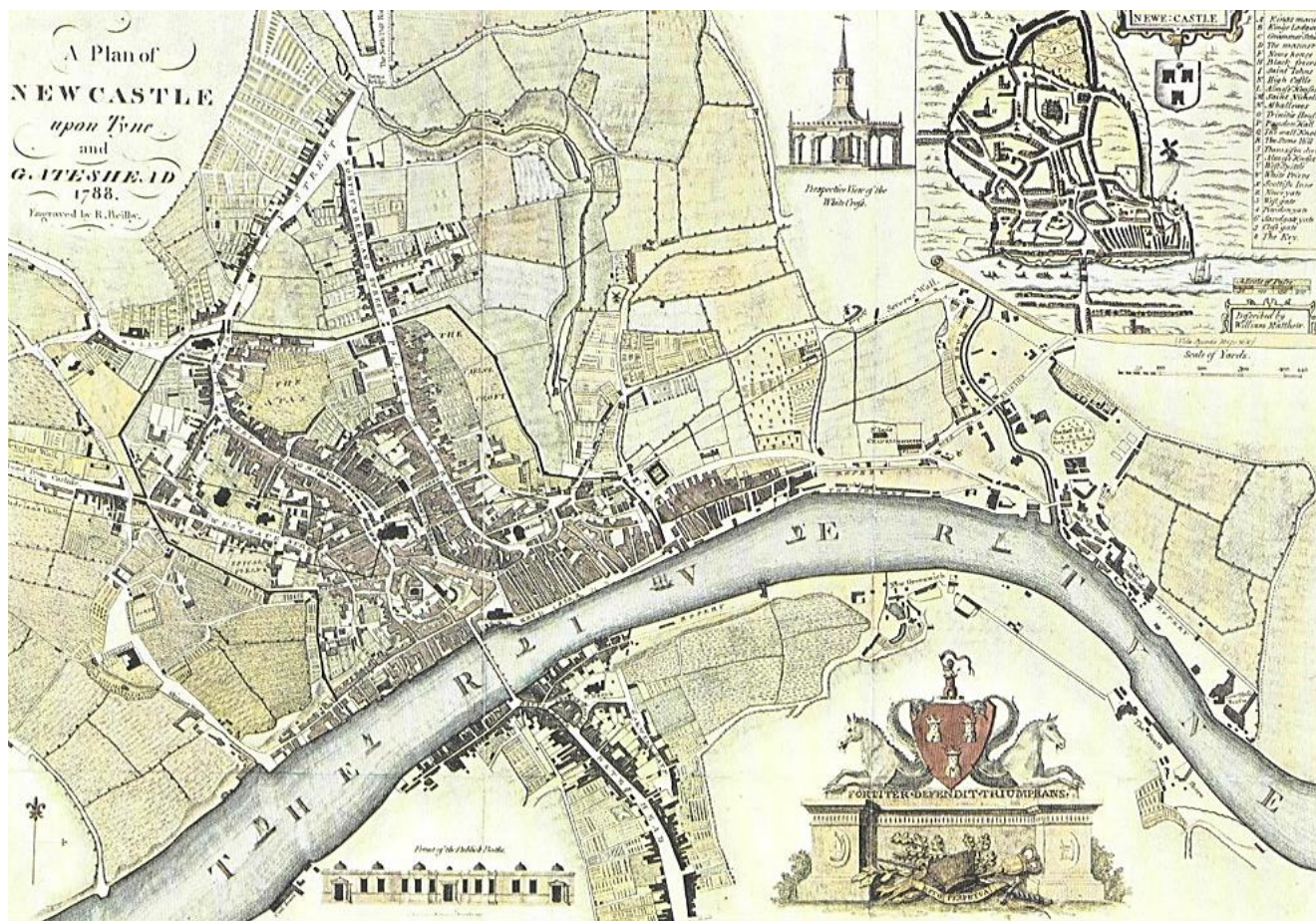
The government doubled the tax on foot pedlars to £8 and to £16 for those with a horse;<sup>136</sup> yet the Scottish-born chapmen in Newcastle's Castle Garth roamed as far as the lowlands,<sup>137</sup> while Scottish cattle drovers brought small books and slip songs from Stirling, Glasgow and Edinburgh.<sup>138</sup> The *Newcastle Journal* ceased publication, but the *Newcastle Advertiser* appeared.<sup>139</sup> The Corporation paid for a new building for St. Nicholas Charity School in Manor Chare, and put up street names,<sup>140</sup> and a history of Newcastle appeared in London.

#### (vi) The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne

John Brand had been awarded an AM degree by Oxford University, and held curacies at St. Andrew's Church and Cramlington, and by 1784 he was the duke of Northumberland's chaplain and secretary in London.<sup>141</sup> He told Ralph Beilby that the *Newcastle Courant* was served with the sweetmeats at the duke's residence, so guests could read



about the elections.<sup>142</sup> Brand was later presented with a living in London,<sup>143</sup> but was denounced for not occupying his vicarage. He became Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, collected subscribers for a history of Newcastle,<sup>144</sup> and thanked Beilby for visiting the Quayside chares. He was 'sorry that you have had the occasion to visit those dark and suspicious lanes, and be thrown in the way of the very dangerous, though not very tempting females', since 'if I had been seen either going in or coming out of them, my character would have been irretrievably gone'.<sup>145</sup> Brand's *The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne* appeared in London in 1789, and was dedicated to 'The Right Worshipful The Mayor, the Recorder, Aldermen, Sherriff, and Common Council'.<sup>146</sup> It included Beilby's plan.



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Several gates and most of the Quayside wall had been demolished in the interests of trade, yet Beilby omitted most of Pandon and Sandgate to the east, where many watermen and their families lived. A view of the town sketched from west of Gateshead showed a waggon way running down to riverside staiths where keels loaded, then passed under Tyne Bridge and sailed to load colliers at the river mouth.



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Brand's two volumes cost £3 3s, or almost three months' pay for a Navy sailor.<sup>149</sup>

By 1789 at least 22 men had been killed at Wallsend colliery on the Tyne since 1782, and four at Fold Pit in Gateshead,<sup>150</sup> while Plessey waggon way cost £1,140 a year to maintain.<sup>151</sup> Nine men 'absented themselves' from one of the Liddells' collieries in County Durham and went to Cumberland, where there were no bonds, though they were forced to return.<sup>152</sup> In 1790 the Wear exported almost 763,000 tons of coal.<sup>153</sup>

### **(vii) The Declaration of the Rights of Man**

William Shield had been baptised in Whickham Church in 1748.<sup>154</sup> His father was a singing teacher, and when the family moved to South Shields, he had around 100 pupils. He taught William to sing, sight read, and play the violin,<sup>155</sup> and the harpsichord, yet he died in 1756, leaving a widow with four children and a 'very scanty means of subsistence'. William had had little formal schooling,<sup>156</sup> and being a professional violinist was unattractive,<sup>157</sup> so when he was given the choice of being a barber, a sailor or a boat-builder, he chose the latter, and his master encouraged him to play the violin at musical events and for wealthy families in Newcastle. After he completed his apprenticeship he led the orchestra at the Newcastle subscription concerts,<sup>158</sup> in the Groat Market Assembly Rooms, from May to August,<sup>159</sup> and Charles Avison taught him 'thorough bass' (musical notation).<sup>160</sup> The Durham Cathedral choir sang one of his anthems at the consecration of St. John's Church in Sunderland,<sup>161</sup> and he played at Newcastle theatre and the Spring Gardens concerts.<sup>162</sup> He later managed the Scarborough Assembly Room concerts, led the theatre orchestra,<sup>163</sup> and set some of John Cunningham's lyrics to music.<sup>164</sup> He led Newcastle the Durham concerts over winter and returned to Scarborough in summer. In 1772 he was appointed as second violin at Covent Garden in London,<sup>165</sup> and became principal viola in 1773.<sup>166</sup>

The London-based freemason James Boswell visited Durham in 1775 and 'sent for' the chorister Ralph Banks to discuss an oratorio at Edinburgh theatre. He found Banks was 'heavy and clumsy' and had never been more than 60 miles from the city. A gentleman who had discovered Edward Meredith in a cooper's workshop had paid for his education and launched him on a solo career.<sup>167</sup> He sang in London from 1773, arrived at Durham Cathedral in 1778 and received a gift of £10 and an annual salary of £50. In 1780 Thomas Robinson was appointed as director of the Song School. He was also the first violin in the Cathedral band and played at concerts across the region, while the singing man George Ashton was a principal cellist. In 1781 the stonemason William Smith, who may also have been a Durham wait, became a chorister, and in 1782 the tenor John Friend became a singing man at £40 a year, and he was in demand as a soloist in concerts and oratorios across the region. When the singing man Thomas Acton arrived from Lichfield Cathedral for £50 a year, all the singing men received at least £40 and four received £50. Meredith sang at subscription concerts in Morpeth, Newcastle, Sunderland, Durham and Darlington,<sup>168</sup> and in 1783 his salary was raised to £100. He opened the organs at St. Mary le Bow in Durham, Sunderland freemasons' lodge and South Shields and Tynemouth churches.<sup>169</sup> From 1784 he was in great demand for oratorios,<sup>170</sup> as far away as Edinburgh.<sup>171</sup> The Cathedral choir and 'Musical Gentlemen of the Town and Neighbourhood' sang in Sunderland,<sup>172</sup> where the freemasons had opened a new hall.<sup>173</sup> Durham musicians organised a concert series in 1786, but made a loss.<sup>174</sup>

Thomas Ebdon had played in a concert in 1779 and regularly sang with Meredith, who played the organ and harpsichord at concerts in Ripon, York, Doncaster and Aberdeen, and he published works for keyboard instruments. Ebdon was proposed as a member of the Durham lodge of freemasons and within 11 days he was a Master Mason. In April the *Newcastle Courant* reported that the Durham Cathedral choir, 'assisted by all the Musical Gentlemen of Durham, Newcastle, and Sunderland, under the direction of Brother Ebdon', would sing at the opening of the new hall for the Phoenix lodge in Sunderland. Ebdon would 'perform full accompaniments on the Organ', and after dinner, 'Brother Cawdell, Evans and Chorus Singers', would sing a new ode set to music by William Shield. A provincial grand lodge was established in Durham in 1788, with tremendous pomp. They met in Ebdon's room, where his 'elegant Anthem' was sung by the Boys of the Choir'. They united the county's lodges,<sup>175</sup> and the grand master was a Durham MP.<sup>176</sup> Meredith left for Liverpool.<sup>177</sup>

In 1781 Durham waits had played when the duke of Northumberland received the freedom of the Butchers' company.<sup>178</sup> The mayor presented the duke with the freedom of the city, and he gave the waits and bell-ringers a handsome present.<sup>179</sup> The wait Philip Young died in 1788, though Peter Bone, who had been a Cathedral chorister from 1765 to 1772, replaced him.<sup>180</sup> The Cathedral engaged the waits to play at the annual audit in November, and at Christmas and Candlemas. The mayor's account books contain many payments to the waits, and in May 1789 'the Banners Waites and Drums' received 19s 6d 'on ye Thanksgiving Day' and '3 Waite' and '3 Drums' celebrated the anniversary of the king's accession', yet Bone's civic pay was for being the 'Corn Inspector'.<sup>181</sup>

In summer news of the fall of the Bastille in Paris and the French National Assembly's 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' appeared in British newspapers. They cost 4d, since stamp tax was 2d, and advertisement tax was 3s, and the law against hiring them out was re-enacted,<sup>182</sup> yet the Newcastle book trade was flourishing.



### (viii) Mantraps and guns

By 1790 there were 35 book trade businesses in Newcastle.<sup>183</sup> Thomas Bewick engraved woodcuts for *A General History of Quadrupeds*.<sup>184</sup> Bewick, Ralph Beilby and Sarah Hodgson had equal shares, and they negotiated with London publishers.<sup>185</sup> The print run was 1,600. Those for children were on small paper, while those for book-collectors, naturalists and gentry were on large paper.<sup>186</sup> Sales of the *Quadrupeds* more than doubled Beilby and Bewick's usual profits, and they leased a house in the south-east corner of St. Nicholas' churchyard.<sup>187</sup> One tailpiece showed two blind fiddlers, with Beilby and Bewick's faces, led by a boy holding a hat for donations past an estate wall with a sign warning about mantraps and guns.



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During 1790 Margaret Angus published *The Complete Book of Martyrs* in numbers at 4d each, which her agents sold in 'Town and Country'.<sup>189</sup> In Darlington Michael Heavisides' circulating library had 1,014 books.<sup>191</sup> The *Newcastle Chronicle* reported on the progress of the French revolution,<sup>192</sup> and that year's national sales of newspaper stamps were over 16 million.

Newcastle Methodists opened a Sunday school, with 70 volunteer teachers. Over 1,000 pupils enrolled on the first day, and around 700 went on to attend the whole year.<sup>193</sup> In 1791 St. Andrews Charity School for girls opened in Percy Street, Newcastle,<sup>194</sup> and Angus proposed publishing a commentary on the Bible and a 'universal history' in numbers.<sup>195</sup> The *Newcastle Advertiser* announced that it was 'circulated (BY EXPRESS)', and

may be regularly seen every Week at Peel's Coffee-House, Fleet Street; at the Chapter Coffee-House, St. Paul's Churchyard; at the London Coffee-House, on Ludgate Hill, at the Edinburgh Coffee-House, near the Royal Exchange: at Garroway's Coffee-House, Change Alley, LONDON: at the Coffee-House in York, Edinburgh, &c., [and] at Mr W M Tayler's Office, No. 5. Warwick-Court: Newgate Street, London.<sup>196</sup>

Northumberland JPs outlawed 'any club or society of persons disaffected to our present happy constitution'.<sup>197</sup>

The Alnwick bookseller Alexander Graham had died two years earlier, and had been succeeded by his son Joseph; yet the town was struggling to keep up with modern life.

The streets offered but few attractions; they were badly paved, and the flagging of the footpaths was in a wretched condition; they were lighted at nights by a few lamps of an antiquated description. At this time many of the feudal customs were in great repute. The stocks, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, the kicking of football in the open streets, were always sure to draw together a gazing throng. At nights the streets were considerably enlivened by the strains of the borough waits.

After Joseph died in 1792 his sisters Mary and Ann ran the bookshop.<sup>198</sup> Freeman's children aged six or over who already knew the alphabet and could write were entitled to attend the town's English School.<sup>199</sup> The former pedlar William 'Billy' Bone kept a lodging house in Alnwick, where up to 20 travellers paid 3d a night for a bed. He was a noted fiddler, and sometimes played in the evening, which always ended with a dance,<sup>200</sup> and *DOL LI A* was reportedly famous in Newcastle.

Fresh I'm cum fra Sandgate Street.  
Do li, do li,  
My best friends here to meet,  
Do li a,  
Dol li th' dil len dol,  
Do li, do li  
Dol li th' dil len dol,  
Dol li a.

The Black Cuffs is gawn away  
An that will be a crying day, ...

Dolly Coxon's pawn'd her sark,  
To ride upon the baggage cart, ...

The Green Cuffs is cummin in,  
An that'll make the lasses sing, ... <sup>201</sup>

In January 1795 the songwriter Mr Wilson had a one-man benefit at the Theatre Royal, which included 'DOL LI A, IN THE CHARACTER OF A *Sandgate Lady!!!*', and *CUDDY the KEELMAN's LAMENTATION, FOR THE LOSS OF HIS Do Li a* appeared as a slip song about the imprisoned father of an illegitimate child, with a woodcut but no colophon.<sup>202</sup>

Both evidently eluded a London lawyer who published lyrics he found on visits to his native north-east.

### (ix) Joseph Ritson

There had been Ritsons in Westmoreland and Cumberland since at least 1550.<sup>203</sup> Christopher Ritson, who was baptised around 1640,<sup>204</sup> became a substantial statesman (small landowner), and when he died in 1703 his family 'ranked among the most respectable yeomanry' in the region.<sup>205</sup> His great-grandson Joseph moved to Stockton, and by 1749 he was a tobacconist's servant. He married a servant of the corn merchant Leonard Robinson, and Joseph became his servant too. Joseph junior was born in 1752. He was very small and remained so.<sup>206</sup> There is no evidence that he was raised as a Christian,<sup>207</sup> yet Reverend John Thompson thought him one of his best scholars,<sup>208</sup> and by 1770 he was well past the usual age to be apprenticed.

The Stockton solicitor John Raisbeck had become the bishop of Durham's court steward in 1765. He was married to Leonard Robinson's daughter, and was mayor from 1768 to 1770, when he took Ritson as an apprentice.<sup>209</sup> A piece by the teenager appeared in Isaac Thompson's *Literary Register* in Newcastle,<sup>210</sup> and by 1771 Raisbeck thought his abilities were 'too great to be wasted' in Stockton and transferred his indentures to Ralph Bradley, the district's leading conveyancer.<sup>211</sup> The *Literary Register* published Ritson's *My Cousin's Tale*,<sup>212</sup> and *Verses addressed to the Ladies of Stockton*,<sup>213</sup> which satirised the spinsters and included spellings such as 'hobbleing' and 'gracees'.<sup>214</sup> In August 1772 Ritson explained to the poet and actor John Cunningham that he could not meet him in Whitby, since he had 'never had a day nor the offer of a day (except Sunday) from my Master'; though he later visited Durham and Newcastle.<sup>215</sup> The Anglo-Dutch philosopher Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of The Bees; or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, first published in 1714, criticised hypocrisy, and it persuaded Ritson to be a vegetarian, except for eggs.<sup>216</sup> In winter he visited Edinburgh's bookshops and the Advocates' Library,<sup>217</sup> then made a walking tour.<sup>218</sup> In summer 1774 he married Miss Masterman, a Northallerton innkeeper's daughter with a 'genteel fortune';<sup>219</sup> yet in October, after four effigies of people who opposed the North American war were burned in Stockton,<sup>220</sup> Ritson evidently left for London alone,<sup>221</sup> where he met William Shield, who found that Ritson was 'wholly unacquainted' with the 'Harmonizing science'. His taste 'never soared higher than in acknowledging the pleasure he received at hearing any one sing the well-known ballad of "Sally in our Alley"',<sup>222</sup> and Shield probably set one of his lyrics to music.

By 1775 Ritson managed Messrs Masterman and Lloyd's conveyancing business at Gray's Inn, for £150 a year. He shared rooms with a Mr Robinson, read manuscripts in the British Museum to help the Darlington antiquarian, George Allan,<sup>223</sup> and bought a copy of the third edition of Thomas Percy's *Reliques*.<sup>224</sup> In Stockton Leonard Robinson refused to pay Ritson's father for corn. He was of 'no very advanced age', but died in 1777, and his son paid off his £50 debts and bought his mother's home for her for £285.<sup>225</sup> He knew Robert Christopher, the bookseller, stationer, bookbinder, circulating library owner and music seller in Stockton High Street,<sup>226</sup> and in 1778 Christopher published Mark Elstob's *A Trip to Kilkenny from Durham*,<sup>227</sup> the first book printed in the town.<sup>228</sup>

Ritson's sister Ann had married the Stockton cartwright Robert Frank,<sup>229</sup> and Joseph was born in 1770. In 1780 his uncle Joseph wrote to him from London,<sup>230</sup> and made him his heir.<sup>231</sup> He told Ann that a 'general spirit of discontent has been long increasing among the people and has at last broken among the lower class' in London, and 'nothing is to be heard but "Down with the papists"',<sup>232</sup> though he damned the anti-Catholic 'fanatics to whom no quarter should be given'.<sup>233</sup> He visited Cambridge,<sup>234</sup> and spent time in the north,<sup>235</sup> yet his mother died.<sup>236</sup> Back in London he moved to 8 Holborn Court in Gray's Inn,<sup>237</sup> where Masterman had lived,<sup>238</sup> and practised as a conveyancer. In autumn he visited the Bodleian Library in Oxford,<sup>239</sup> and privately criticised 'the scoundrel Ministry'.<sup>240</sup> He paid for his nephew's education in Stockton,<sup>241</sup> and early in 1781 he commended him for learning 'so excellent a poem as Chevy Chase' and sent him 'a little book of childish songs'. He hoped his Stockton friend



Matthew Wadeson 'would infuse some of his musical crotchets into your pate and make a fidler of you. If you will learn three tunes upon any musical instrument, and play them well, I will give you half a crown apiece'. In spring Ritson sent a parcel to Christopher by sea, which included *Mother Gooses melody* for his nephew.<sup>242</sup> He visited the north that summer, and in autumn, back in London, he privately accused Thomas Wharton, the author of a history of English poetry, of ignorance, plagiarism and other literary frauds.<sup>243</sup> Late that year *The St\*ckt\*n Jubilee; or, Shakspeare in all his glory. A choice Pageant for Christmas Holidays*, which satirised the chief inhabitants, was published anonymously in Newcastle,<sup>244</sup> though Ritson asked his friend Ralph Hoar to post copies from there.

Early in 1782 Ritson told Wadeson that 'a most impudent and malicious rascal has been libelling the accomplished inhabitants' of Stockton, and he feared his appearance there 'would cost me my life!', yet he told his nephew he hoped for 'a book full of little verses' next time he visited, and gave him examples of what he wanted. 'I regret nothing so much as that I did not make a practice of committing all such little things to writing the moment I heard them. I think you might make a penny by such a collection'. In spring he thanked Wadeson for arranging for his nephew to attend Norton School, and reported that 'men of approved abilities and integrity', including the radical Whig Charles Fox, had replaced the 'miscreant blockheads who formed the late infamous administration'. In summer he asked Wadeson to consult his sister about his 'capital mansionhouse' in Stockton's Silver Street, and encouraged his nephew to collect 'nursery jingles'. He visited Cambridge to examine the Maitland manuscript of Scottish poetry, and his critique of Wharton appeared anonymously in autumn. (His criticisms subsequently proved correct.) Late that year he told a friend in Stockton that Christopher would overcharge him 'five or six times'.

In spring 1783 Ritson despaired of getting rent for his Hartlepool houses.<sup>245</sup> His critique of Samuel Johnson and George Steevens' edition of Shakespeare appeared in summer,<sup>246</sup> and accused them of 'ignorance' and 'inadvertence'.<sup>247</sup> In autumn he went north and collected 'historical, romantic, and legendary merriments', mainly from printers, but he 'occasionally rescued, from a neglected bard, a once favourite ballad', which 'could no longer interest ears enchanted with the newer notes of the ballad-venting Autolycus', Shakespeare's untrustworthy chapman.<sup>248</sup> He acknowledged that Martin Parker and William Elderton's ballads had merit,<sup>249</sup> and noted that Percy referred to 'a certain FOLIO MS in *his own possession*, which, perhaps, no one ever saw, and which (if it really exists), he will, for his own sake, take effectual care that no one *shall see*'.

In London Masterman was bailiff and clerk of the governing council of the Savoy, a district where debtors were safe from arrest,<sup>250</sup> and he was also an MP for Bodmin in Cornwall.<sup>251</sup> Early in 1784 he sold the bailiff's office to Ritson, who had to find a sureties for £1,500, though he expected to make about £150 a year.<sup>252</sup> He became a student at Gray's Inn,<sup>253</sup> took the oaths of allegiance to the crown,<sup>254</sup> and asked a Stockton friend to give the money from the sale of his church pew to his sister.<sup>255</sup> He had had some sheets of his *Select Collection of English songs* printed the previous year, and left the date as it was when he published the book in autumn 1784.<sup>256</sup> He argued that there was 'nothing, perhaps from which the real character of a nation can be collected with so much certainty as the manners and diversions' of the 'lowest classes of the inhabitants', since 'the principal amusements of the common people of every country and in every age' had been 'melody and song'. He had taken each lyric 'from some old copy, generally in black-letter' and collated it with others, and he was the first to make a distinction between songs as 'the expression of a sentiment, sensation or image, the description of an action, or the narrative of an event, by words differently measured, and attached to certain sounds, which we call melody or tune', while ballads were 'mere narrative compositions'. He believed that many 15<sup>th</sup> century lyrics had been made 'by anonymous and ignorant rimers' for the 'vulgar', yet they had little merit, and he deprecated 'the inaccurate, and sophisticated manner in which every thing that had real pretensions to antiquity had been printed by the right reverend editor' of the *Reliques*. 'Forgery of every kind, ought to be universally execrated.' Percy had ascribed 'a considerable number of songs and ballads' to 'a very remote antiquity', yet they were 'altogether incompatible with the stile and language of the compositions themselves, most of which' bore 'the strongest intrinsic marks of a very modern date', yet their genuineness could not be 'determined without an inspection of the original manuscript, from which they are said to be extracted'. Ritson believed tunes had to suit lyrics, not the other way around, but his printer had musical type only for the treble part. He had 'frequently heard of traditional songs', though he had had 'very little success in his endeavours to hear' them;<sup>257</sup> yet, possibly that year,<sup>258</sup> Christopher printed the anonymous *Gammer Gurton's garland, or, The nursery Parnassus: a choice collection of pretty songs and verses, for the amusement of all little children*, in Stockton.<sup>259</sup> It cost 2d, had a coloured paper wrapper,<sup>260</sup> and included *A North-Country Song*.

Says t'old man tit oak tree  
Young and lusty was I when I kenn'd thee;  
I was young and lusty, I was fair and clear,  
Young and lusty was I, mony a lang year,  
But sair fail'd am I, sair fail'd now.

Ritson described the editor to a Newcastle friend as 'a most impudent and malicious rascal', yet asked him to post out copies. Christopher printed Ritson's anonymous *The Bishopric Garland; or, Durham Minstrel. Being a Choice Collection of Excellent Songs, relating to the above county. Full of agreeable Variety, and pleasant Mirth*,<sup>262</sup> and later that year he reissued it with four more lyrics, including three by the Stockton shoemaker George Knight.<sup>263</sup> Ritson claimed that John Pinkerton's recent *Select Scottish [sic] Ballads* was composed largely of modern forgeries, and Pinkerton eventually admitted it was true.<sup>264</sup>

In summer 1785 Ritson invited his nephew to London. 'If you can get nothing on board of ship than biscuit and water, you may certainly make a shift to subsist on that food for a week or two, and though there may be neither bed nor hammock for you, when a person is fatigued he will sleep very comfortably on a cabin floor or a coil of rope.'<sup>265</sup> The boy was to train as a conveyancer,<sup>266</sup> and Ritson had a London bookseller arrange to print a guide for young people. *The Spartan Manual or Tablet of Morality* was 'a genuine collection of the apophthegms, maxims, and precepts, of the philosophers, heroes, and other great and celebrated characters of antiquity; under proper heads. For the improvement of youth, and the promoting of wisdom and virtue.'<sup>267</sup>

By 1786 Ritson still owed £100 for his lease as bailiff of the Savoy, and he renewed it for 31 years.<sup>268</sup> He visited the Durham historian Robert Surtees, who later recalled that his 'attachments were steady and disinterested' and that 'he lost the regard of no honest man whose good opinion he had once acquired'. Another visitor found him 'very good company'. Ritson also met Robert Harrison, the former master of Newcastle's Trinity House school,<sup>269</sup> who was an 'infallible Oracle in black-letter research'.<sup>270</sup> In autumn Ritson asked him to 'look over my *Bishopric Garland*, and suggest any alterations or remarks which may occur to you. The *Northumberland* and *Yorkshire Garlands* are in great forwardness. Cannot you assist me with an occasional song or two?'<sup>271</sup> In 1787 Ritson visited Stockton, and fell out with Christopher.<sup>272</sup> In autumn 1788, when Ritson visited again,<sup>273</sup> George Harker had demolished the town's last thatched cottage and rebuilt it in brick.<sup>274</sup> Part 1 of the anonymous *Yorkshire Garland, being A Curious Collection of Old and New Songs, concerning that famous county*, was printed for the York bookseller Nathaniel Frobisher, and sold by James Langdale in Northallerton.<sup>275</sup>

In spring 1789 Ritson was called to the bar in London.<sup>276</sup> He visited Northumberland and Durham,<sup>277</sup> and told a friend he preferred them to the other northern counties, 'with all of which, and particularly with their vulgar dialect (as I am afraid you too clearly perceive from my style of writing) I am tolerably well acquainted'. He was a 'warm admirer' of the *Reliques*, though he feared Percy had 'not on every occasion been so scrupulously attentive to his originals as I think the work required'; yet when someone who had seen the manuscript disagreed, it 'removed my prejudice on that head' in 'great measure'.

In January 1790 Ritson was 'very nervous' and found it hard to write, and he hoped that Wadeson could find a buyer for his 'confounded Hartlepool houses'.<sup>278</sup> His nephew had completed his apprenticeship and returned to Stockton.<sup>279</sup> In summer 'Joseph Ritson Esq' had a vote in parliamentary elections in the town on account of his freehold house,<sup>280</sup> and agreed to support Ralph Milbanke, but he would not travel at his own expense.<sup>281</sup> Milbanke was from a leading Whig family, and his annual income was reportedly over £1,500, but had previously failed to get elected as an MP for County Durham.<sup>282</sup> Ritson found that one of his Stockton acquaintances preferred the aristocratic Tory, and Raisbeck was unenthusiastic about an alternative, so Ritson got 'half pitched' and told them what he thought of them.<sup>283</sup> After a fierce contest Milbanke became one of the county's two MPs, at a cost of £15,000.<sup>284</sup> Ritson practised as a barrister in Durham and Newcastle for a while, and visited Stockton.<sup>285</sup> He inherited a little property from a relative in Great Strickland in Westmoreland, and sold his Stockton house and bought a larger one.<sup>286</sup> He sent a friend 'a sort of vulgar play, such as used to be, and in some parts may still, performed by North country rustics during the Christmas holidays', and when he heard that Percy had received £105 for both the second and third editions of the *Reliques*, he wrote to a friend.

A few years ago Dr. Percy was called upon in a public paper to account for the absence of a MS. belonging to the [British] Museum, from which he had printed a ballad in the last edition of the *Reliques*, & which had been ever since, or at least was then, missing. The MS. was restored the next day. And it was not long since that a friend of the Doctors having the MS. in his hand ... pointed out to me several instances of the editors writing & pencil marks ...<sup>287</sup>

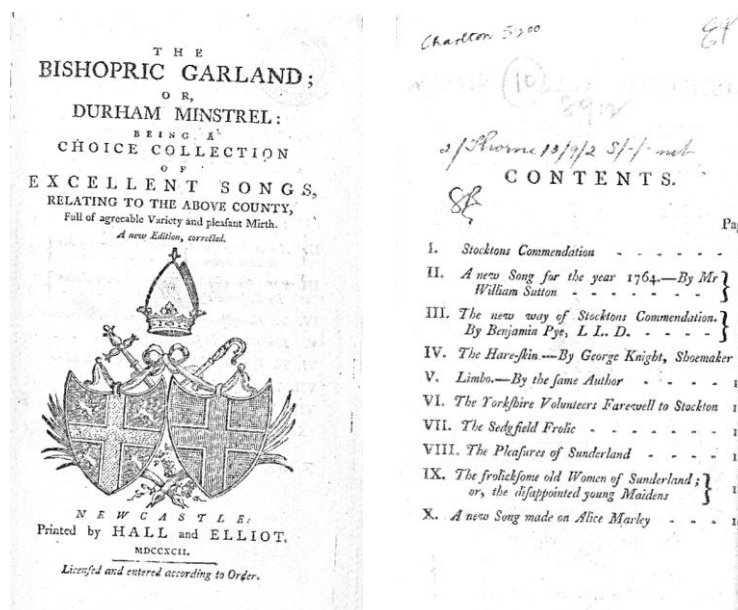
Ritson's *Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution* criticised Percy, since 'even allowing the MS. to be genuine, and to contain what it is said to do', he had no confidence in 'old Minstrel ballads' that could not be found anywhere else,<sup>288</sup> and when Percy heard this he vowed that 'the manuscript shall never be exposed to his sight in my life-time'.<sup>289</sup>

Ritson's *Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry: From Authentic Manuscripts and Old Printed Copies* had been partly printed by 1787, and though its title-page was dated 1790, it appeared in London in 1791. It included 15 woodcuts by Thomas and John Bewick,<sup>290</sup> tunes, and an account of the ancient minstrels.<sup>291</sup> 'Every poem is printed from the authority referred to, with no other intentional license than was occasioned by the disuse of contraction, and a regular systematical punctuation, or became necessary by the errors of the original, which are generally, if not uniformly, noted in the margin' and 'distinguished in the text'. He had 'frequently heard of traditional songs', but had still 'had very little success in his endeavours to hear the songs themselves', but it was 'barely possible' that they 'may still be preserved in the country'.<sup>292</sup> He disliked being a barrister and wished to 'relinquish the profession'. In summer he visited Paris and came to 'admire the French more than ever', since they 'deserve to be free and they really are so'. Their new constitution was 'admirable', their government was 'completely settled' and a counter-revolution was 'utterly impossible'.<sup>293</sup> He rejoiced at 'seeing a theory I had so long admired [sic] reduced to practice',<sup>294</sup> and was convinced that England was 'ripe for the long-delayed' parliamentary reform,<sup>295</sup> yet he privately criticised the enfranchised minority who 'make ill use of their liberty as to be altogether unworthy of so small a particle of it'.<sup>296</sup> He adopted the French republican calendar, and publicly acknowledged that he was an atheist with democratic sentiments, yet he told Wadeson that he 'may give Citizen Equality a hint that I find it prudent to say as little as possible upon political subjects, in order to keep myself out of Newgate'. He had 'turned stock-jobber' (speculator), yet 'if it had not been for that little dirty place in the Savoy, I should most probably at this moment have been in a jail, an attorney's office, or stationers shop'.

With respect to a revolution, though I think it at no great distance, it seems to defy all calculation for the present. If the increase in taxes, the decline of manufactures, the high price of provisions, and the like, have no effect upon the apathy of the sans culottes here, one can expect little from the reasoning of philosophers or politicians. ... But supposing a revolution do happen, how is it to provide for you? People will have to work for their bread, I presume, pretty much as they do at present, for a long series of years at least, and he who has nothing will be in equal danger of starving.

In London he met 'Citizen' William Godwin and 'Citizen' Thomas Holcroft, heard about the prosecutions of Thomas Spence and Daniel Eaton,<sup>297</sup> read Thomas Paine's subversive writings, and felt he had to 'walk warily for fear of being reported to the authorities as a radical',<sup>298</sup> yet he kept on publishing.

The printer Lewis Pennington had left Kendal and become a bookbinder in Coffee Yard, York, by 1777. He was printing there by 1782 and obtained his freedom of the city in 1783, yet by 1792 he was in Durham,<sup>299</sup> where he reportedly printed Ritson's *The North Country chorister; an unparalleled variety of Excellent Songs. Collected and published together, for general Amusement, By a Bishoprick Ballad-singer*,<sup>300</sup> though no copy has been traced. Ritson collected tunes in lowland Scotland,<sup>301</sup> and John Hall and Joseph Elliot printed 'A new Edition, corrected' of *The Bishopric Garland* in Newcastle.



*A new Song made on Alice Marley* had developed considerably from earlier versions.

Alice Marley is grown so fine  
She won't get up to feed the swine,

But lies in bed till eight or nine,  
And surely she does take her time.  
She won't get up to serve her swine,  
And do you ken Alice Marley honey?

Alice Marley is so neat,  
It is hard for one to walk the street,  
But every lad and lass they meet,  
Cries do you ken Alice Marley, honey?

Alice keeps wine, gin, and ale,  
In her house below the dale,  
Where every tradesman up and down,  
Does call and spend his half-a-crown.

The farmers, as they come that way,  
They drink with Alice every day,  
And call the fiddler for to play  
The tune of Alice Marley, honey.

The pitmen and the keelmen trim,  
They drink bumbo made of gin,  
And for to dance they do begin,  
The tune of Alice Marley, honey.

The sailors all do call for flip,  
As soon as they come from the ship,  
And then begin to dance and skip,  
To the tune of Alice Marley, honey.

Those gentlemen that go so fine,  
They'll treat her with a bottle of wine,  
And freely they'll sit down and dine,  
Along with Alice Marley, honey.

So to conclude these lines I've penn'd,  
Hoping that none I do offend,  
And thus my merry joke doth end,  
Concerning Alice Marley, honey.<sup>302</sup>

'Bumbo' was warmed rum and water mixed with sugar, nutmeg and sometimes cinnamon, while 'flip' was beer, rum and sugar heated with a red-hot iron.

Ritson published a third edition of *The Bishoprick Garland* with 12 songs in a different order. *Rookhope-Ryde* had been 'taken down from the chaunting of George Collingwood the elder, late of Boltsburn', near Ryhope, who had been buried at Stanhope in 1785.<sup>303</sup> A fourth edition included 16 songs in another different order.<sup>304</sup> Ritson privately acknowledged that Percy's manuscript existed, yet 'Whether it will on a careful examination justify the use Bp. Percy has or pretends to have made of it is a perfectly distinct question'.<sup>305</sup> Soon after Ritson's arms-length war with Percy and other literary figures was overtaken by a real one.

## 18. The Northumberland Garland

### (i) Five Shillings a Week!

In 1792 the Navy's strength was 16,000 men. Volunteers joined for three years, though that might become four, six. Sometimes it was 12 or more. Any request for discharge was treated as indiscipline;<sup>1</sup> so no experienced seaman volunteered. While 20 men could take a merchant ship across the Atlantic, a warship of the same size carried 300, since there were ten to 14 men for each pair of guns, plus a woman or a boy as 'powder monkeys', and a major warship could have a crew of 600, including 100 marines.<sup>2</sup> By 1793 less than a third of the Navy's 500 vessels were in commission, and only 26 were 'ships of the line' (warships). An able seaman's wages had been 22s a month since the 1650s. The food was poor, the lower decks were overcrowded and discipline was harsh.<sup>3</sup>

The French republican government executed the French king on 1 February and next day it declared war on Britain. Tyneside sailors responded to an offer of a bounty for volunteers.

## Friends and Fellow Seamen!

THE Association has offered a Bounty of One Guinea a Man, in Addition to his Majesty's Bounty, to induce us to enter on Board his Majesty's Ships of War;—but Bounties, however large they may appear at first, do not last long; and when they are expended in Cloaths and other Necessaries, we are obliged to live upon the same Pay as before, which we well know from Experience we cannot live upon.—What then is intended by this seeming Kindness? Evidently to induce us to engage ourselves to ruin our Families, to lose our Limbs or Lives; and at the End of a War, which, from all we can learn, is at least unnecessary, to be paid off, or, in other Words, to be turned adrift, at a Distance from our Friends, without the Means of procuring an honest Livelihood:—Besides, does not this Offer of additional Bounty plainly shew, that the Association and others are of Opinion that our present Pay is not sufficient? Else why do they offer it? We have always shewn a Readiness to meet the Enemies of our Country, so that our present Objections do not proceed from Cowardice, but from the dreadful Miseries which we have known, seen, and felt, in our Families and Connections; therefore we cannot conscientiously, either as Men, Britons, or Christians, any longer countenance by Compliance, such a shocking Abuse of Power.—Twenty-two shillings a Month, Fellow-Seamen, is Five Shillings a week! A Sum too small for even a single Man to live upon; but many of us have Wives and Families, many Mothers, Sisters, and other Relations, whose very Existence depends upon our Lives and Success: From these we are torn and compelled to accept this small Sum, which is not Half what we receive in the Merchants' Service: Is not this very hard? None of us *chose* a life of War: And if we are such Friends to our Countrymen that we are always ready to step forward in their Defence, why should our Situation in Time of War be rendered so much worse than in Time of Peace? We can then live comfortably, support our Families decently, give our Children an honest and useful Education, and make them good and worthy Members of Society.—In Time of War we cannot, from the miserably small Pay, even live ourselves. But this is not the worst,—our Children and Dependents are neglected: They are exposed to all the Miseries of Poverty, and are hindered in their Course of Life by Want of Protection and Education. These are great Calamities; and it is to remedy these, not to create Disturbances, that we desire you to consider seriously these Grievances: But tho' we hope they will be redressed, yet in order to attain so desirable an End, we will preserve Peace and Order; no Violence shall disgrace the Conduct of Men who are engaged in so good a Cause as that in which we are engaged; and when we only seek the same Rights of Protection from seemingly abused Power, as the rest of our Fellow-citizens, we doubt not but we shall be aided by every good and virtuous Man in the Kingdom.

Newcastle, February 2, 1793.

The leaflet bore no colophon and was illegal.



Well over 1,000 vessels were registered at ports between the Tees and Tweed,<sup>5</sup> and Newcastle was home to 541.<sup>6</sup> On 18 March around 500 sailors armed with swords, pistols and other weapons tried to free pressed men from a Navy tender at Shields, but were thwarted. Next day some set off for Newcastle, where they learned that troops were waiting for them at the rendezvous in Broad Chare, so they returned and treated one press gang member at Howden Pans with the 'utmost cruelty' because he had done the same to impressed men. In April parliament voted £4,000,000 for the Navy.<sup>7</sup> Troops formed a cordon around North Shields and press-gangs captured 250 able seamen, plus 'mechanics, labourers, and men of every description'.<sup>8</sup> The merchant seaman George Haswell had just got married, and had signed up for a voyage to Riga, yet when he returned to the Tyne he was impressed. (He did not see his wife again for three years).<sup>9</sup>

People still had to be fed, so rural workers were probably largely immune from the press gangs. Since 1790 the great majority of people had stopped using coarser cereals for bread and changed to wheat, though per capita consumption of beef probably fell thereafter.<sup>10</sup> In Northumberland male agricultural labourers' wages varied from 1s 2d to 1s 4d for a nine-hour day in summer, 1s 6d to 1s 9d during harvest and 1s to 1s 2d in winter, while women's wages were between 1s and 1s 3d, and 6d and 8d for other work, at a time when an eight gallon bushel of wheat cost 5s, a bushel of potatoes from 1s to 1s 6d and a pound of meat 4d to 5d. Male domestic servants earned from £8 to £12 a year and women from £3 to £5, plus board and lodging. Over 100,000 sheep, mainly from south-west Scotland, were sold at Stagshawbank July Fair with 'great numbers' of cattle, horses and pigs. Newcastle's October fair was one of the largest in England, and dealers came from as far away as London.<sup>11</sup> In County Durham, where the church owned a third of the agricultural land, a male labourer earned from £10 to £14 a year, plus meat, drink, washing and lodging, and 2s 6d a day or more during harvest, while women earned from £4 to £6 a year and 2s to 2s 6d during harvest. Carpenters' wages were from 1s 6d to 2s a day, and masons from 1s 8d to 2s 9d, considerably more than Navy sailors.<sup>12</sup>

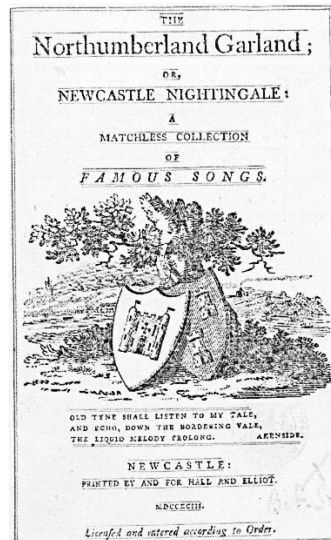
On 28 July the crew of the *Amphitrite* at Spithead petitioned against flogging.<sup>13</sup> Some ships recorded at least one flogging a week.<sup>14</sup> The regulations laid down that 12 strokes on the bare back was the maximum, though officers took no notice of that.<sup>15</sup> On 16 September the crew of the *Winchelsea* petitioned against their captain. 'French prison will be more agreeable to us or Death alone than to be commanded by him'. Next day 44 men remained below at the bosun's whistle, and on 7 October two were flogged around the fleet. One took 131 lashes and the other 141 before they could take no more; and days later the captain, eight petty officers and eight 'fancy men' were transferred to another warship. A sailor's daily ration included either a gallon of beer, a pint of wine or a half-pint of rum. Half was served at noon and the other half at 4.00pm. Boys got a half-ration until they were 18, though they could buy the other half. Officers were also entitled to their own wine, so a large man-of-war was a community of 600 chronic alcoholics. On 9 November the crew of the *Windsor Castle* in the Mediterranean refused duty, seized small arms and pointed cannon aft. Next day they complained to the admiral about floggings, the withdrawal of their wine and other issues. Nobody was punished and the captain and lieutenant were immediately replaced.<sup>16</sup>

By 1794 the Navy's strength was 85,000 men.<sup>17</sup> On 9 December, at Portsmouth, the crew of the *Culloden* demanded that the ship be repaired and refused to come on deck without an amnesty. Allegedly one man threatened to blow the ship up, and the captain promised an amnesty, yet his report went missing at the Admiralty.<sup>18</sup> On the 15<sup>th</sup> ten men were court martialled and five were flogged and five sentenced to death. On 9 January 1795 the crew received six months' pay, though the five men were hanged on the 13<sup>th</sup>. In March, because of deaths, injuries and desertions, an Act called for raising men in each county, and in April another Act stipulated the quota to be raised from at each port.<sup>19</sup> In September the leaders of a mutiny over rotten bread on the *Terrible* in the Mediterranean were hanged. The 74-gun man-of-war *Defiance* anchored in Leith Roads, near Edinburgh, after a three-month stint in the North Sea. Most of the crew had served for six months and had survived a trip to the West Indies with 122 men in the sick bay. The ship carried no marines. When shore leave was not granted, the crew mutinied, and the quarterdeck soon filled with armed men, led by Robert McLawrin. At 9.00pm William Parker from Scarborough, who was 24-year-old able seaman and 'captain of the maintop', ordered men to point a gun aft, and at 9.30pm he led men trying to get the boats out to go ashore. Around 10.00pm three drunken men with naked candles tried to get into the powder magazine, yet Parker stood at the door with a cutlass in one hand and a pistol in the other. McLawrin hit him in the mouth twice, though Parker threatened to shoot him if he did it again. McLawrin slunk away, but Parker remained on guard all night. The officers made promises and a majority of mutineers went below. Eight, including Parker, were put in irons, but the crew later released him. John Graham from East Witton near Thirsk had signed up as part of the Whitby quota, since local authorities paid £10 or more to volunteers. On 19 October the crew asked him to write to the Admiralty that they were 'not agreeable that any Marines shall come on board'. Two warships came alongside and marines came on board and ended the mutiny without serious violence.<sup>20</sup> An admiral reported to the Admiralty that a general mutiny was possible, and recommended that the number of lashes should be limited and 'grog' (rum and water) should not be stopped. He

made other recommendations, but was ignored.<sup>21</sup> Liberals in Newcastle and other ports may have learned about some of this from wounded or deserting sailors, and the war evidently radicalised some of them.

## (ii) A shovel up their arse

During 1793 *The Northumberland Garland* had been printed 'by and for' John Hall and Joseph Elliot in Newcastle.



The anonymous editor, Joseph Ritson, believed that *The Laidley Worm of Spindleston-Heugh* dated to 1270, *The Battle of Otterburn* was 'NEAR 400 YEARS OLD' and *The Hunting of the Cheviat* was 'ABOVE 300 YEARS OLD'. It also included *The Hunting in Chevy-Chase*, Fair 'Mabel' of Wallington, about one of seven sisters who married knights and died in child-bed, and *A lamentable Ditty* about George Stoolle 'c. 1610'. *An Excellent ballad of the Sickness, Death and Burial of Eckys Mare*, 'by the late ancient and famous Northern poet, Mr. BERNARD RUMNEY, a musician, or country fidler, who lived and died at Rothbury' in 1690. The anonymous *On the First Rebellion* was about the Jacobites' defeat in 1715 and Thomas Whittell's *The Midford Galloway's Ramble*, *The Insipids* and *Sawney Ogilby's Duel with his Wife*. *The Felton Garland* was set to the tune of *Maggy Lawther*,<sup>22</sup> and was about a brick-maker who took a young woman away from her grandmother with her consent. Ritson also included *The Collier's Rant*.

AS me and my marrow was gannung to wark,  
We met with the devil, it was in the dark;  
I up with my pick, it being in the neit,  
I knock'd off his horns, likewise his club feet.  
Follow the horfcs, Johnny my lad oh!  
Follow them through, my canny lad oh!  
Follow the horfcs, Johnny my lad oh!  
Oh lad ly away, canny lad oh!

As me and my marrow was putting the tram,  
The low it went out, and my marrow went wrang;  
You would have laugh'd had you seen the gam,  
The deil gat my marrow, but I gat the tram.  
Follow the horfcs, &c.

Oh! marrow, oh! marrow, what doft thou think?  
I've broken my bottle, and spilt a' my drink;  
I loft a' my shin-splints among the great ftanes,  
Draw me t' the shaft, it's time to gane hame.  
Follow the horfcs, &c.

Oh! marrow, oh! marrow, where haft thou been?  
Driving the drift from the low seam,  
Driving the drift, &c.  
Had up the low, lad, deil stop out thy een!  
Follow the horfcs, &c.

Oh! marrow, oh! marrow, this is wor pay week,  
We'll get penny loaves and drink to our beek;  
And we'll fill up our bumper, and round it shall go,  
Follow the horfcs, Johnny lad oh!  
Follow the horfcs, &c.

There is my horfc, and there is my tram;  
Twce horns full of greafe will make her to gang;  
There is my hoggars, likewise my half shoon,  
And smafh my heart, marrow, my putting's a' done.  
Follow the horfcs, Johnny my lad oh!  
Follow them through my canny lad oh!  
Follow the horfcs, Johnny my lad oh!  
Oh! lad ly away, canny lad oh!

Ritson evidently assumed that his readers would understand that a marrow was a hewer's mate, a putter pushed a tram, a wheeled carriage taking coal from the face to the shaft, shin-splints were pieces of wood to protect the legs, hoggars were footless stockings,<sup>23</sup> and half-shoon were old shoes with a piece cut off.<sup>24</sup>

*Weel May the Keel Row* praised Tyne keelmen who wore a blue bonnet and probably had Scottish forbears.

As I went up Sandgate, up Sandgate, up Sandgate,  
As I went up Sandgate, I heard a laffie sing,  
Weel may the keel row, the keel row, the keel row,  
Weel may the keel row, that my laddie's in.  
  
He wears a blue bonnet, blue bonnet, blue bonnet,  
He wears a blue bonnet, a dimple in his chin ;  
And weel may the keel row, the keel row, the keel row,  
And weel may the keel row, that my laddie's in.

The wife of *The Bonny Keel Laddie* argued that his wages outweighed the dirt he brought home.

MY bonny keel-laddie, my canny keel laddie,  
My bonny keel-laddie for me O !  
He fits in his keel, as black as the deel,  
And he brings the white money to me O.

The final piece was John Cunningham's *Newcastle Beer*.<sup>25</sup>

In January 1794 Stockton freemasons moved into a room built by Brother Wadeson in Mason's Court,<sup>26</sup> and Ritson wrote to him.

The great change which I hope and believe is about to take place demands neither your assistance nor mine; though, I have no doubt that both of us will participate in the common benefit. ... I do not clearly see what I shall gain by a revolution. I possess a place which brings me in from fifty to one hundred a year, and that I shall be certain to lose. ... [W]hen the row begins, I should think it a point of prudence to remain a temperate spectator till, at least, the contest is fairly decided.<sup>27</sup>

Meanwhile he looked for reliable sources of old Scottish songs.

George Paton, a customs clerk in Edinburgh, had inherited a large collection of books, and Ritson sent him 'a list of words occurring in Scottish [sic] Songs, most of which I neither understand myself, nor can find explained in any Glossary'.<sup>28</sup> 'I dare not call you Citizen, lest, when I revisit your metropolis, your scoundrel judges should send me for fourteen years to Botany Bay', though he was 'in good hopes, before that event takes place, they will be all sent to the devil'. The two-volume *Scotish Songs* cost Ritson £300 to get printed and he expected a 'considerable loss'.<sup>29</sup> He argued that 'the history of Scottish poetry exhibits a series of fraud, forgery, and imposture, practised with impunity and success', while 'tradition' was 'a species of alchemy which converts gold into lead'. The 'genuine and peculiar song of Scotland' was to be found in 'the productions of obscure or anonymous authors, of shepherds and milk-maids, who actually felt the sensations they describe', and 'were destitute of all the advantages of science and education, and perhaps incapable of committing the pure inspirations of nature to writing'. They were 'altogether uncultivated', 'uncorrupted by art, and influenced only by the dictates of pure and simple nature'. 'By whom, or under what circumstances, the original or most ancient Scottish tunes were invented or composed, it is now impossible to ascertain', yet he included several, plus bar lines for those as yet untraced.<sup>30</sup> (In 1762 James Beattie had told Aberdeen Philosophical Society that traditional songs originated with shepherds and shepherdesses. This was the earliest such statement, but it was not published until 1776.<sup>31</sup>) By summer Ritson had spent £200 more on publishing and did not expect to get it back.<sup>32</sup> In autumn, after Thomas Spence and other members of the London Corresponding Society were found not guilty of high treason,<sup>33</sup> Ritson noted that 'the storm seems to have blown over me, and I suppose myself out of danger', yet he still wanted to sell his Stockton and Hartlepool houses to repay his debts.<sup>34</sup>

In Scotland Robert Burns noted that the English songs he received from George Thomson 'gravel me to death', though he saw Ritson's *Scotish Songs* late that year or soon after.<sup>35</sup> In London an exchange between a 'Son of the Tyne' and a 'son of the Were [sic]' in *The Gentleman's Magazine* included a few local words.<sup>36</sup>

Ritson bought the fourth edition of the *Reliques*.<sup>37</sup> In it Thomas Percy, who had been awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Oxford University,<sup>38</sup> observed that the Northumberland family once had minstrels in Yorkshire and still 'retain them in their service in Northumberland'.

They wear the badge of the family, a silver crescent on the right arm, and are thus distributed, viz. one for the Barony of Prudhoe and two for the Barony of Rothbury. These attend the Court Leets and Fairs held for the Lord and pay their annual Suit and Service at Alnwick Castle, their instrument being the ancient Northumbrian Bagpipe, very different in form and execution from that of the Scots; being smaller, and blown, not with the breath, but with a small pair of bellows.<sup>39</sup>

In January 1795 Ritson told 'Citizen' John Thelwall that the London Corresponding Society was 'chiefly composed of poor mechanics who find it a sufficiently hard matter to support themselves and their families', while others were 'languishing in penury, sickness and confinement' and their wives and children were 'perishing for want'; yet 'the more I see of these modern patriots and philosophers the less I like them', and he visited the 'Hot-wells' in Bath.<sup>40</sup> He told Paton it was difficult to procure a 'cover' to post letters, though he sent him 'a list of Scottish songs which I have hitherto been unable to meet with'. The 121 titles included *Auld lang syne*, and Ritson believed that 'the tunes to most of these songs have been preserved'.<sup>41</sup> He told a friend that 'I detest every species of aristocracy, and would be *toute-à-fait sans culottes*' (without breeches, the nick-name of the insurgent Paris poor). He sent one of Thomas Paine's pamphlets to another friend, and enquired about William Britton of Bradford, and noted that 'it seems a curious method of proceeding, to suspect a man of Jacobinism, and hang him for felony'. On the other hand Ritson thought the Tory prime minister was 'the best friend to, and most active promoter of, the cause of liberty', and considered his spellings of 'ripeen, hasteen, spokeen, &c' to be 'perfectly accurate'.<sup>42</sup> He had attended country dances in the north. 'When the fiddler thinks his young couple have musick enough he makes his instrument squeak out two notes which all understand to say – *kiss her!*' Waits, 'after playing a tune or two', cried 'Good-morrow, maister such a one, good-morrow dame', followed by the hour and state of the weather.<sup>43</sup> Around this time *Gammer Gurton's garland; or, The nursery Parnassus: A choice collection of pretty songs and verses, for the amusement of all good little children* was reprinted 'by and for' Robert Christopher in Stockton, with additional pieces, for 2d,<sup>44</sup> while Ritson's *Robin Hood, a Collection of all the Ancient Poems, Songs, and Ballads now extant relating to that celebrated English Outlaw*, appeared in London. He described 'our hero' as one whose actions had 'endeared him to the common people, whose cause he maintained', since 'all opposition to tyranny is the cause of the people'.<sup>45</sup> He included 58 wood cuts by John and Thomas Bewick.<sup>46</sup> (John had sent tailpieces to Thomas to finish.<sup>47</sup> Soon after he returned to Tyneside he died, aged 35.<sup>48</sup>)

The French republican army was sweeping across Europe, and after the British parliament extended high treason to speech and writing, and legalised imprisonment without trial, Ritson's literary work came to a standstill.<sup>49</sup> He suspected that 'G' (William Godwin) was writing a history of the French revolution 'to wash the blood off his favourite Robespierre', the revolutionary leader, and he had 'no doubt of it proving a parcel of lies and sophisms'. In spring he noted that the 'Whigs are the greatest liars in the world', and damned the revolution of 1689, and in summer he heard that 'the French are coming!'<sup>50</sup> He noted that Percy had 'taken such libertys in his publications' that he 'might as well have had no MS'.<sup>51</sup> Ritson was 'rapidly declining both in body and mind' and was 'apprehensive of the entire loss' of his memory. His financial speculations had been disastrous and he had had to sell property and part of his library.<sup>52</sup>

In Newcastle John Hall had died, and his executors had sold the *Newcastle Courant*, and in 1795 Edward Walker, who was in his mid-twenties, bought the rest of the business from Joseph Elliot.<sup>53</sup> Ritson received a few 'cut and spoiled' copies of *The Northumberland Garland*, though the woodcut would be useful for a future edition, and he had two fragments with 'merit'. One was about agricultural work.

There's three bonny laddies live at the Cra'-ha',  
There's Mickey, an' Mattey, an' Tommy, an' a'.  
Its weary shearing at the Cra'-ha'  
The days are sae lang, an' the wages sae sma'.

The other was about colliery villages.

Hartley an' Saintell, a' ya' Bonnie lassie,  
Fair Seaton Delavel, a' ya';  
Earsdon stands on a hill, a' ya',  
Near to the Billy-mill, a' ya'.

In autumn Ritson told Robert Harrison in Durham that the government was 'unable to pay the smallest bill', but

Will you be so good, the next time you go to Newcastle, as to pay Mr Bewick, the engraver, the sum of one pound six shillings ... You recollect Hall and Elliot printing for me a little collection intituled and called *The Northumberland garland*, of which I have hitherto been unable to procure a single copy, though they were to have sent me a hundred. These people, I understand, are both dead, and who are their representatives, or how to come at my books, I am perfectly ignorant. ... The executors appear to be very dishonest people, for though I wrote more than once, I believe, either about or after Halls death, I never received an answer.

'Not a soul seems to have the remotest conception' of how the prime minister 'will weather the storm'. 'Ah, ca ira, ca ira, ca ira, &c'.<sup>54</sup> That translated as 'Ah! It'll be fine, It'll be fine, It'll be fine'. The chorus of the sansculotte version added 'when they did away with priests, hung every aristocrat on a lamp post and stuck a shovel up their arse'. Some Navy sailors held similar sentiments.

### (iii) *The Death of Parker*

By 1796 there were probably 2,000 or more Irish revolutionaries in the Navy, and almost every warship crew included at least one. On 11 February two men on the *Defiance* were sentenced to 300 lashes and nine were sentenced to death. On 6 March five were hanged at the Nore. Around 100 crew members were transferred to the *Director*, and most of the rest were sent to other warships.<sup>55</sup> On 16 June the crew of the *Shannon* at Sheerness petitioned the Admiralty about a captain whose behaviour was 'anufe to make the sparites of Englishmen to rise and steer the ship into and enimes port'. Other crews also petitioned.<sup>56</sup>

By 1797 35,000 Navy sailors and even more troops had died in the West Indies,<sup>57</sup> and over 100,000 of the 120,000 to 135,000 survivors had been recruited since 1794. Sailors were generally younger, better educated, less inured to the rigours of Navy life and unprepared to accept unreasonable orders.<sup>58</sup> On 16 February the crew of the *London* at Spithead pointed out to fellow-petitioners on the *Queen Charlotte* that there had been no pay rise since 1653, and then only for able seamen. On the 20<sup>th</sup> the captain of the *Hermione*, off the coast of Puerto Rico, told men on the mizzenmast that he would flog the last one down. Three men died as they hit the deck and the captain ordered others to throw the 'lubbers' overboard. Next day he ordered 12 or 14 to be flogged, though he was murdered that night as were most officers soon after. Only the master, carpenter, gunner and one midshipman remained alive.<sup>59</sup> One man told his mates that he has 'been a republican since the beginning of the war', and when he made a revolutionary speech he was cheered wildly. On 28 February 11 petitions, including one from the *Charlotte* which had been written 'on behalf of themselves and their Brethren on Board of the Fleet,' was sent to an admiral who was recuperating from a bad attack of gout at Bath. On 3 March a second batch of petitions about bad food was sent to the Admiralty, which took no notice. On the 15<sup>th</sup>, at Spithead, the *Royal Sovereign* crew were confident that the Admiralty 'had better go to war with the whole Globe, then with their own subjects', and took over their ships until they had a 'proper answer from government'. Parliament voted £8,000,000 for the Navy, and next day an admiral was ordered to take the fleet to sea, but the sailors refused. The leaders on the *Queen Charlotte* and *Royal George* visited every warship that evening, and 'delegates' from 16 ships assembled on board the *Queen Charlotte*.<sup>60</sup> That term came from revolutionary France.<sup>61</sup> The 13 able seamen, five midshipmen and some petty officers agreed to wait for the Admiralty's answer until the 18<sup>th</sup>, yet none came, so next day 16 crews refused to weigh anchor. The delegates included John Husband, an able seaman from Whitby, from the *Defiance*,<sup>62</sup> which 'had an unusually large compliment of Irish sailors',<sup>63</sup> while the *Director* had 100 of the mutinous *Defiance* crew of 1796.<sup>64</sup> Other delegates were Thomas Allen from Hartley in Northumberland, John Scrivener from North Shields and James Melvin, a 34-year-old quartermaster from Sunderland. All the crews wanted more pay, provisions weighing 16 ounces to the pound, not 14, vegetables when in port, better treatment of the sick and wounded and more shore leave. The Admiralty agreed and the mutineers were pardoned.

In May there was a mutiny at the Nore. The delegates included William Winship, an able seaman, and George Taylor a quartermaster, both from Sunderland.<sup>65</sup> The men 'were solidly in possession of the whole fleet', except for the *San Fiorenzo*, so the *Inflexible* crew fired on it to stiffen the crew's resolve. That amounted to levying war against the king and was treason.<sup>66</sup> The *Inflexible* crew sent unpopular officers ashore,<sup>67</sup> and their leaders included the 20-year-old able quartermaster Joseph Turner from Durham, who had been 'Bred to the Sea' and was 5 feet 5 ½ inches tall, of dark complexion, pitted with small pox, with black eyes and short dark hair, and was illiterate. The 26-year-old quartermaster James Rose from Newcastle was an experienced seaman, 5 feet 8½ inches tall, of fair complexion, with light hair, 'hazle eyes', his face and hands 'much freckled, and was literate, as was the 35-year-old quartermaster William Reed from Shields, who had been 'Bred to the Sea' and was 5 feet 8 inches tall with a fair complexion, long brown hair and a cut on his left thumb. On 24 May 17 delegates went to the North Sea fleet and the admiral decided not act on orders to intercept the Dutch fleet. On the 28<sup>th</sup> the mutineers fired the usual salute on the anniversary of the king's restoration in 1660, to show that their dispute was with Admiralty and not the king. Next day the fleet was ordered to sea, but soon returned to Yarmouth, though the crew of the *Repulse* took her to the Nore, and on the 31<sup>st</sup> the Nore delegates announced that they intended to blockade the Thames.

By 1 June all except four of the bigger warships in the North Sea fleet were anchored at the Nore. On the Third an Act required a 'state of rebellion' on a Navy vessel to be punished by death. On the 6<sup>th</sup> the delegates summoned the captain of the *Monmouth* onto the *Sandwich*, and ordered him to take a petition to the king, and gave him 54



hours to reply. 'We have already determined how to act, and should be extremely sorry we should be forced to repose in another country'. Next day the king's blank refusal, calling the mutineers 'rebels', arrived at the Nore. On the 9<sup>th</sup> Richard Parker gave the signal to set sail, yet no ship followed his lead. About 3.00pm the *Leopard* was recaptured by officers, marines and part of the crew, with one dead and six wounded. The *Repulse* followed, and the *Ardent* stole away at midnight. Next day Parker sent a captain to pick up the king's pardon, but the crew of the *Montagu* added fresh demands. By the 12<sup>th</sup> only two of the 22 warships at the Nore showed the red flag of defiance, and next day Parker was put in irons. On the 15<sup>th</sup> the crews of *Inflexible*, *Montagu* and *Belliqueux* stood out, to try to protect their delegates, though they gave up next day. Parker's court martial began on the 22<sup>nd</sup>. The king insisted that he be hanged in chains, and he was hanged on the 30<sup>th</sup>. Altogether around 400 men were tried, 59 sentenced to death and 29 executed,<sup>68</sup> and an Act imposed the death penalty for administering illegal oaths.<sup>69</sup>

In Newcastle Margaret Angus had been in the Side since 1795,<sup>70</sup> and probably in 1797 she printed two songs.

## THE DEATH OF PARKER.

YE gods above protect the widow,  
And with pity look down on me,  
Help me! Help me! out of trouble,  
And out of all calamity.  
For, by the death of my dear Parker,  
Fortune to me has prov'd unkind;  
Tho' doom'd by law he was to suffer,  
I cannot erase him from my mind.  
Parker he was my lawful husband,  
My bosom friend I lov'd so dear:  
At the awful moment he was to suffer  
I was nor allowed to come near,  
In vain I ask'd, in vain I strove,  
Three times o'er and o'er again;  
But they replied, you must be deny'd  
You must return on shore again,  
The first times I attempted my love to see,  
I was obliged to go away,  
Opprest with grief and broken hearted,  
To think that they should say me nay.  
I thought I saw the yellow flag flying,  
A signal for those that are to die,  
A gun was fired as they required,  
As the time it did draw nigh.  
The boatswain did his best endeavours,  
To get me on shore without delay,  
When I stood trembling and distracted,  
Ready to take his body away.  
I thought his trembling hand did wave,  
As a signal of farewell,  
The grief I suffer at this moment,  
No heart can paint nor tongue can tell.  
My fleeting spirit I thought would follow  
The soul of him I lov'd so dear.  
No friend or neighbour would come nigh  
me,  
For to ease my grief and care.  
Every minute I thought an hour,  
Till the law its course had run:  
I wish'd to finish the doleful task  
His imprudence had begun.  
In dead of night when it is silent,  
And all the world are fast asleep,  
My trembling heart that knows no com-  
fort,  
O'er his grave does often weep.  
Each lingering minute that passes o'er  
Brings me nearer to him I adore,  
Where we shall shine in endless glory,  
Never to be parted more.  
Farewell, Parker, thou bright genius,  
Thou wast once my only pride;  
Tho' parted now, it won't be long  
Ere I be buried by thy side.  
All you that see my tender ditty,  
Don't laugh at me in disdain,  
But look down with eyes of pity,  
For it is my only claim.



## REMEMBER THE POOR.

COLD winter is come, with its keen, chilling breeze,  
And the leaves are all fallen from the trees,  
All nature seems touch'd with the finger of death,  
And the streams are beginning to freeze;  
When the wanton young lads o'er the rivers do slide,  
When Flora attends us no more,  
When in plenty you'er sitting by a good fireside,  
That's the time to remember the poor.

The cold feather'd snow will in plenty descend,  
And whiten the prospects all round,  
The cold cutting wind from the north will attend,  
And cover it over the ground,  
When the hills and the dales are all candied with white,  
And the rivers are frozen from the shore,  
When the bright twinkling stars, they proclaim the cold  
night,  
That's the time to remember the poor.

The poor timid hare through the wood may be trac'd,  
With her footsteps indented with snow,  
When your lips and your fingers are dinging with cold,  
And the marksmen a shooting do go,  
When the poor Robin-redbreast approaches our cot,  
And the icicles hang at the door,  
When your bowl smokes with something reviving and hot,  
That's the time to remember the poor.

The thaw will ensue and the waters increase,  
And the rivers vehemently grow,  
The fish from oblivion maintain a release,  
And in danger the travellers go,  
When your minds are annoy'd by the proud swelling flood  
And your bridges become useful no more,  
When in plenty you enjoy every thing that is good,  
Do you grumble to think on the poor.

A time it will come, when our Saviour on earth,  
All the world shall agree with one voice,  
All nations unite to salute the blest morn,  
And the whole of the earth shall rejoice,  
When grim death is depriv'd of his all killing sting,  
And the grave rules triumphant no more,  
Saints, Angels, and Men, Hallelujahs shall sing,  
Then the rich must remember the poor.

Angus, Printer.

Literacy levels were uneven in north-east England. For example, the Durham Grassmen paid 1s 2d for paper for a scribe to write new bye-laws in 1798;<sup>72</sup> but the song about Parker was printed all over England.

That year there were 12 men from north-east England on Nelson's flagship at the battle of the Nile in summer 1798, including William Waller, a 22-year-old able seaman from Stockton, who was killed, and Peter Sadler, a boatswain from Cullercoats on the *Orion*, who had been pressed five years earlier from a fishing coble off Tynemouth.<sup>73</sup> Pitmen were largely immune from press gangs,<sup>74</sup> though not from injury and death.

#### (iv) *Call the Horse, Marrow*

At least 14 pitmen been killed at Sheriff Hill and four at Washington in 1793.<sup>75</sup> By 1794 steam engines had begun replacing horse-powered gins at pit-heads, and underground waggon way rails were being made of cast iron. A pitman might get 10s 6d for signing an annual bond.<sup>76</sup> Two men were killed at the Globe Pit near Ryton, four at Washington, 28 at Harraton, 30 at Picktree, and an unknown number at Lambton.<sup>77</sup>

A Londoner challenged Newcastle Corporation's charge of 5d on each chaldron exported, it was reduced to 2d. The Tyne exported 1,130,000 tons that year, and the Wear 68 percent of that figure.<sup>78</sup> Possibly around this time a slip song without a colophon appeared. Buyers were expected to know that 'marrows' worked overlapping shifts in 'boards' (work spaces) in pits, 'sticks' were to prevent the roof falling to the 'thil' (floor), yet any pitman or boy might be 'lame of a leg', 'blind of an eye', or have a 'hipt' (strained) buttock by working in thin seams.<sup>79</sup>



#### *CALL THE HORSE, MARROW.*

**C**ALL the horse, marrow,  
For I can call nane,  
The heart of my belly  
Is hard as a stane:  
As hard as a stane,  
And as round as a cup,  
Call the horse, marrow,  
Ti' my hewer comes up.

Me ad my marrow,  
And Christy Craw Hall,  
Will play with any three in the pit  
At the foot ball:  
At the foot ball,  
And at the coal tram,  
We'll play with any three in the pit  
For twelve-pence a gam.

Hewing and putting  
And keep in the sticks,  
I never so laboured  
Since I took the picks;  
I'm going to my hewer's  
House on the Fell Side,  
He hews his coals thick,  
And drives his boards wide.

The rope and the roll  
And the long ower tree,  
'The devil has flown over  
'The heap with them all three:  
The roll it hangs cros the shaft,  
De'il but it fall,  
And stick in the thil:  
'Twenty-four horn'd owls run away  
with the mill.

I'm going to my hewer  
Where ever he be,  
He's hipt of a buddock,  
And blind of an eye;  
He's bliud of an eye,  
And lame of a leg;  
My uncle Jack Fenwick,  
He kils'd my aunt Peg.

The woodcut shows two men who seem to be taking another man away, with a warship in the distance.

Robert Errington was born at Nether Witton in Northumberland in 1732, though the family later moved to Kibblesworth in County Durham. Robert was a wood-cutter until around 1750, when he took a small farm near Felling, and around 1755 he made waggons and built waggon ways for collieries. In the mid-1760s he courted a woman who had left Matfen in Northumberland to go into domestic service at the age of 11. Both were Catholics, yet they had to marry in an Anglican Church. They settled in Heworth and Anthony was born in 1778. His birth was recorded in the Anglican Church register, and he was baptised in the Catholic Church in a court off Newgate Street in Newcastle. Anthony attended a school run by Mrs Thobren, an Irish-born woman at High Felling. One day after he and a friend played truant, he was 'hugged'. A 'Stronger boy took Each arm over his Shoulder and leaning forward, breaches being Opened, we got the Cat of 9 tails over us severely'. He learned to read and write and was sent to William Yollowly at Low Heworth to learn arithmetic. In 1791 his father sent him to work with a blacksmith, but did not like it, and returned to school. In 1792, when he was 14, he followed his father's trade and was 'taught the pit language'. A brother had enlisted in the army, and took part in the expedition in Martinique in 1794. (Only 26 members of his regiment of 1,500 survived, and it was to be 19 years before his family received a letter, and 24 years before he came home.) Probably in 1795, when Anthony and others were drinking in the Dog and Duck in the Old Flesh Market in Newcastle, they met men who had been mending a waggon way at Gosforth.

one of them was Singing one of Burns Songs when their was a Man passed me and sat down on the End of the Bench. Shortly after I saw him Sobbing in tears. I went to him and [said] 'Whie are you so sorrowful? Wee are all cheerful'. He Answered he was the Author of the song. I instantly went to the table and Said, 'I now him', and on this he came and [I] Shock hands with him. He was ushered up Stairs and Mary Morchents sent for the Baber to shave [him]. And he was Striped and Clad all in New in ½ an hour. Super [was] Ordered for 16 men [at a] Subscription of 2s 0d Each and wee was not to Leave the Company. After Super, Burns was requested to Sing his favoret, Sweat and Lovely Jean. At 1 Oclock in the morning [this] was so Efecting to the hearors there was not One drie Cheak in the room. Each drunk what he Liked and the Cost was 6s 0d to each, super and drink. At 4 Oclock wee Broke up and returned to our deuty at Gosforth.

The singer was unlikely to have been Burns, who died the following summer.

Liberals seem to have been content to talk, drink and listen to music in their spare time. William Cant was born in Alnwick in 1751. He became a post boy for Joseph Turnbull, who taught him to play the smallpipes,<sup>81</sup> as did 'Old' William Lamshaw.<sup>82</sup> By 1780 Cant was a drummer in the Northumberland militia,<sup>83</sup> and Thomas Bewick recalled that he 'kept up with great spirit & effect this department of their music'.<sup>84</sup> Cant married in Beverley, Yorkshire, though the militia was stood down in 1782.<sup>85</sup> By 1796 he was the licensee of the Blue Bell at the Head of the Side, opposite the Black Gate in Newcastle.<sup>86</sup> Bewick had experienced a 'life time of Blood & slaughter' and 'frequently, by way of unbending the mind after the business of the day, spent my Evenings (chiefly at the Blue Bell)', along with other 'staunch advocates for the liberties of mankind, who discussed the passing events mostly with cool sensible & deliberate attention'. A majority were 'tradesmen of the genteel sort', plus 'bankers, Clerks, Artizans & Agents of various kinds', a shoemaker, a builder, a founder, a white smith, a French fencing master and 'the Comedians of our Theatre', including Stephen Kemble.<sup>87</sup> Bewick and Ralph Beilby had sold their apprentice Robert Johnson's drawings for £50, and he had to take them to court to get it.<sup>88</sup> In autumn Bewick published *Land Birds*, without Beilby's name on the title page,<sup>89</sup> and it included a woodcut of a solo country fiddler.



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The book was a success.

Across England, real wages had declined since 1793, though 648,000 people belonged to friendly societies. An Act made it possible to sue an official who stole the funds, yet many societies failed to register.<sup>91</sup> In spring 1795 a system which tied poor relief to the price of bread had been piloted at the village of Speenhamland near Newbury in Berkshire, and was soon adopted elsewhere.<sup>92</sup> Methodism was making headway among workers, and acted as a socially stabilizing social force.<sup>93</sup> Bewick became an Overseer of the Poor in 1797.<sup>94</sup>

## (v) Direct action

In the three years to 1795 the number of press-ganged men had risen from 16,613 to 87,331,<sup>95</sup> and another quota Act required almost as many men from Newcastle and Sunderland as from London.<sup>96</sup> Food prices were high in Stockton and a subscription raised around £84 to buy bread, beef and other foods for the poor. In May another subscription raised £296 to buy corn at £1 a bushel and sell it at a lower price,<sup>97</sup> and the authorities offered a bonus of £31 5s for volunteers for the Navy.<sup>98</sup> In summer a barracks for 1,528 soldiers, plus officers, opened in Sunderland,<sup>99</sup> where the wait George Stephenson played 'a short lilt at stated places', while Jacob Wake cried out 'Good Morrow, masters and dames all', gave the hour and wind direction, noted if ice or fresh water was moving downriver and announced military victories. Crowds accompanied Stephenson when he played patriotic airs at republicans' doors.<sup>100</sup>

In spring a severe frost had impeded shipping and coal cost £2 10s a ton in London.<sup>101</sup> Tyne keelmen damaged riverside staiths, so pitmen had to stop working, yet troops prevented keelmen from pulling out Swalwell ironworkers. Eighteen were arrested and sent to Newgate in Newcastle and then to Durham jail. In September Newcastle workers seized food from the markets, and sold it to poor people at reduced prices, though they gave the money to the stall-holders.<sup>102</sup> Small coins were scarce, and Joseph Spence imitated or sold his brother Thomas's London tokens. One halfpenny had a keelman on the front and armed citizens on the reverse.



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Several tokens had a distinctly republican tone.

The carnage in the coalfield continued, yet the local newspapers probably did not report all the casualties. In 1796 nine men were killed at New Washington in County Durham. In 1798 seven died at Washington and four at the Globe Pit near Ryton. In 1799 one man was killed at Oxclose Pit, one at Newbottle and 39 at Lumley.<sup>104</sup>

There were 520 keels on the Wear, and about 320 on the Tyne, since waggon ways and riverside staiths were moving below Tyne Bridge,<sup>105</sup> yet shipments down the east coast were well over two million tons.<sup>106</sup> The coalfield employed a third of all coalminers, and around 13,500 men and boys produced 2.5 million tons a year. Men earned from 2s 6d to 3s a day for a six-day week.<sup>107</sup> *The Collier's Wedding* appeared in Newcastle with no imprint.<sup>108</sup>

The government proposed raising duty on newspapers and advertisements, and the owners of Newcastle's *Courant*, *Chronicle* and *Advertiser* protested without success.<sup>109</sup> Parliament banned 'cheap publications adapted to influence and pervert the public mind'. Presses had to be registered and printers had to keep a list of clients and put their imprint on everything they produced. Any who failed to do so would face crushing penalties, and informers could claim a reward. Parliament also criminalised the emerging trade unions, yet pitmen's bargaining power had increased and they improved their wages and conditions. In 1800 some received £18 18s for signing a bond,<sup>110</sup> though Durham Cathedral paid singers and musicians well, and some earned more by taking outside engagements.

## (vi) When danger encircles our land

A piece composed by the Durham Cathedral organist Thomas Ebdon had been played at the laying of the foundation stone of theatre in Saddler Street in 1791, and another was played afterwards.<sup>111</sup> The Cathedral singing man George Anderson sang in Durham, Newcastle and Tynemouth concerts, and the bass John Reynolds sang in concerts in Durham and Newcastle. He left the Cathedral, though F. Stanley arrived from Rochester. John Friend was in 'distressed circumstances', but recovered.<sup>112</sup> The organist John Garth had inherited his father's property at Low Woodfield in 1779, and in 1789 he moved to Bishop Auckland. By 1791 he was earning £10 10s at Auckland Castle, yet resigned in 1794 to marry the daughter of a wealthy landowner, and he owned land in Wolsingham, Buttsfield in Lanchester, Brancepeth, Bradley, Medomsley and Woodfield. Ebdon was appointed as a Durham alderman in 1793, but paid the £5 5s fine rather than accept, since he was 'Obliged to be frequently from home'.<sup>113</sup>

Thomas Hawdon, Matthias's son, had been born in Hull around 1765.<sup>114</sup> When his family moved to Newcastle he had sung in his father's concerts, and became the organist at St. Andrew's Church in Newcastle in 1783, but

moved to Dundee six months later.<sup>115</sup> In 1789 Thomas returned to Newcastle to help his sick father, though he died. Thomas became the organist of All Saints' Church, and promoted a concert series with Charles Avison in 1790, yet Hawdon died late in 1793.<sup>116</sup> Ebdon concentrated on teaching,<sup>117</sup> and from 1794 he was the organist at Auckland Castle. Lewis Pennington printed a word book for the Cathedral choir, which included 24 full and 69 verse anthems. All of the 14 composers had worked after the Restoration, but four were still alive.<sup>118</sup> The chorister George Robinson had sung at oratorios and concerts in Newcastle. He became the organist at North Shields Church and held concerts there and at Tynemouth.

The Peterborough Cathedral singing man Nathaniel Brown arrived in Durham in 1795. Stanley had sung at concerts in Durham and Newcastle. He was often in debt, and was suspended then reinstated, and asked for an advance on his salary.<sup>119</sup> James Radcliffe, who had taught music, arrived from Dublin,<sup>120</sup> and became a singing man at £50 a year, which was now the standard salary. The singing man Robert Marlbor had sung in concerts across the region,<sup>121</sup> and he had been 'Admonished on Acc[oun]t of his Drunkenness and General Misbehaviour' twice in 1782. In 1791 his salary was suspended for two months 'on Account of his very ill Behaviour in Church'. In 1792 he was suspended for four months, on account of 'his very Ill Behaviour to Dr Cooper' and 'very indecent and disorderly Conduct in Church'. In 1795 he was suspended without pay on account of his 'gross and disorderly behaviour at Church in a state of great intoxication by loud laughing Talking and the most shocking imprecations, by which the Reader was Prevented for a considerable time from proceeding in the Service', and the dean expelled him. Pennington printed *A Collection of Anthems* including the music for Handel's *Messiah* in 1796,<sup>122</sup> and the Grassmen paid 12s for their dinners and 5s for 'Drums & Wates' on boulder day.<sup>123</sup>

Singing the Catholic mass had been decriminalised, yet it was not until 1798 that the first celebration since the Reformation took place in the recently-opened St. Andrew's Catholic Church in Pilgrim Street, Newcastle.<sup>124</sup> In Durham George Chrissop was the deputy organist at Cathedral, and in 1799 Stanley was appointed to teach choristers to read and write for an extra £16 a year. Radcliffe sang and played the bassoon in local concerts. He was often in debt, and was threatened with dismissal unless his attendance improved, yet he survived. The singing man George Ashton had been a principal cellist in almost all the region's concert circuits during 1790s, and in 1799 he published a patriotic song entitled *When danger encircles our land*.<sup>125</sup>

William Shield had joined the St. John's freemasons' lodge in Newcastle in 1776, and the Sunderland lodge in 1791. His opera, *Rosina*, which was in English and used popular melodies, was staged for the first time in Durham in 1796,<sup>126</sup> and in 1800 he published *The South Shields Loyal Volunteers March*.<sup>127</sup>



# 19. A Favorite Collection of Tunes with Variations

## (i) *An Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and its Vicinity*

By 1800 40 percent of English women and 60 percent of men were literate,<sup>1</sup> including up to 85 percent of men in towns and cities.<sup>2</sup> The new Stanhope press produced clearer impressions than a wooden one, though it was no faster.<sup>3</sup> Paper production was around 15,000 tons a year,<sup>4</sup> and 588 new books were produced annually.<sup>5</sup> Numbermen travelled almost everywhere, and waggons had replaced pack horses except in northern England. A viable print trade business needed a potential market of 1,500 to 2,500 people.<sup>6</sup> There were 20 printers, 13 bookbinders and three engraving shops in Newcastle, and it was the most important printing centre outside London, Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>7</sup> Solomon Hodgson died, but Sarah ran the *Newcastle Chronicle*.<sup>8</sup> Small books were published in Carlisle, Durham and Stokesley in north Yorkshire.<sup>9</sup> Sunderland gentlemen had opened a subscription library in High Street five years earlier,<sup>10</sup> and one costing £1 1s a year opened in North Shields in 1800.<sup>11</sup>

During the previous century Newcastle Grammar School sent 50 to Oxford and 93 to Cambridge, plus at least one to Trinity College, Dublin, and another to Edinburgh University, probably because of its famous medical school, but also because Oxford and Cambridge had religious entrance tests which many dissenters refused to take. Durham School had sent 157, and Houghton School 40. A majority of undergraduates were of the 'middling sort'. In the last third of the century there had been at least 57 private schools in Newcastle.<sup>12</sup> A man who had left Clitheroe School for Cambridge in 1785 had left without a degree and established an infant school in Newcastle's Fenkle Street in 1796. He taught Latin and Greek for 15s a quarter, English grammar, reading, writing and arithmetic for 10s 6d during the day and 6d from 6.00 to 9.00pm.<sup>13</sup> In 1801 the master of Sedgefield Grammar School got from £18 to £20 a year, and the parents of his 25 to 30 pupils paid from 7s 6d to 10s every three months.<sup>14</sup>

The 1801 English census did not include migrant Scots, boarders, prisoners, lodgers, travellers, soldiers or sailors, and some people may have underestimated the size of their household to minimise poll tax. Nationally, almost 34 percent of the population lived in towns with over 2,500 inhabitants,<sup>15</sup> and 20 percent in the 187 largest settlements. Northumberland's population of around 157,000 included over 10,000 more females than males, presumably since many men were away in the armed forces, and some had been killed or died of disease. The county remained largely rural, though 11,500 lived in and around Morpeth, 13,700 around Alnwick, 16,700 around Berwick, over 21,000 around Hexham and almost 26,000 around Tynemouth and North Shields. County Durham was home to over 160,000 people, and there were almost 11,000 more females than males. Over 12,000 lived in and around Darlington, over 13,600 around Chester-le-Street, 14,000 around South Shields, over 17,000 around Durham, 17,600 around Stockton, over 20,400 around Gateshead, while Sunderland's population was over 12,400 and Wearmouth's was over 12,000. Around 6,000 lived in the Newcastle suburbs of Westgate and Byker, and over 27,500 inside the walls, with an average of between seven and eight in almost 3,150 dwellings. All Saints' parish was home to over 14,000 at an average of over nine per dwelling. Females outnumbered males by over 2,100, and only 56 families were 'independent of trade'. In the other parishes females outnumbered males by 1,400, and 3,000 had four or five dependents.<sup>16</sup> It was the ninth most populous town in England,<sup>17</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> most important,<sup>18</sup> and a Scottish dissenting minister had settled there.

John Baillie was born in Scotland in 1741. He later trained to be a Presbyterian minister, and accepted a post in Newcastle in 1761, though he was later suspended for 'extravagancies and irregularities' and was in the debtor's prison by 1781. He eventually escaped, went to Scotland, returned, paid off his debts, worked as a schoolteacher, became a minister again in 1791,<sup>19</sup> and by 1801 he had written a history of the town and needed a printer.

John Vint was born in Alnwick in 1754,<sup>20</sup> and by 1799 he was a printer in Newcastle. In 1800 he and Kenneth Anderson produced many large part-works from Burnt House Entry in the Side,<sup>21</sup> and in 1801 they printed Baillie's *An Impartial History of the Town and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and its Vicinity*.

Baillie noted that in addition to the Grammar School there were 21 schoolmasters and 15 schoolmistresses in private schools, charity schools, Sunday schools and St. Anne's School, which had many pupils. Sandgate was 'principally inhabited by those who work in keels and lighters, of whom there are several thousand', and they were 'daily losing their ferocity and savage roughness'. Many were among the 'numerous and respectable' people who attended 16 dissenting chapels, and they were the 'strength and sinews of the coal trade'. At least 5,000 townsmen, 'even in the lowest stations', had formed 40 friendly societies 'by their own exertion, however painful or laborious', and paid in 1s a week. The societies were 'a stimulus to frugality and industry', since they counteracted 'the pernicious tendency of parochial relief' and relieved the 'intolerable burden' on the 'industrious and middling' classes.

[A] sick or disabled member is allowed six shillings per week during a certain specified number of weeks; then reduced to one half that sum, till the member, by a lingering disorder, has exhausted all his sick money; he then becomes a pensioner for life, and commonly receives half-a-crown or three shillings per week. The funeral expenses are about forty or fifty shillings, and sometimes three pounds. The legacy to the widow is from six to ten pounds; with which she frequently trades in a small way, and, with the parish allowance, supports herself and her fatherless children.

There were also up to 40 women-only friendly societies. Baillie was glad that the ‘silly practice’ of employing waits had ended,<sup>22</sup> so former waits had had to find other work.

## (ii) Wright’s book of Peacock’s tunes

In the late 1790s the former wait John Peacock had added a stop, five keys and a fourth drone to his smallpipes,<sup>23</sup> and the joiner John Dunn, who supplied Thomas Bewick with boxwood blocks,<sup>24</sup> made Peacock a set with a single-octave chanter and a ferrule which was probably engraved by Bewick or someone in his workshop.



25

Possibly around this time Peacock also had his portrait painted.

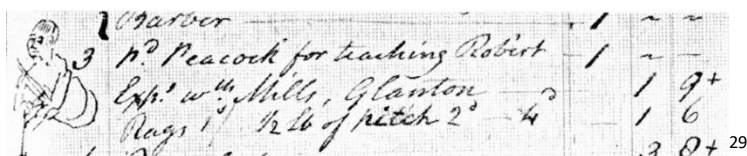


26

Bewick feared the ‘Ancient Instrument’ might ‘from neglect of encouragement get out of use’, and recalled that

I did every thing in my power to prevent this, and to preserve it, by urging Peacock to teach pupils to become masters of this kind of music – and I am vain enough to believe that my efforts were not lost. I was suspicious that the Northumberland Family were beginning to feel indifferent or to overlook & slight these their ancient Minstrels, who had for ages past been much esteemed by their forefathers & kept in attendance upon them.<sup>27</sup>

In summer 1798 he sketched his son Robert in his account book alongside 10s 6d, ‘Cash to Peacock’, and paid him another 10s 6d and £1 1s later that year.<sup>28</sup> In summer 1799 Bewick paid Peacock £1 for teaching Robert.



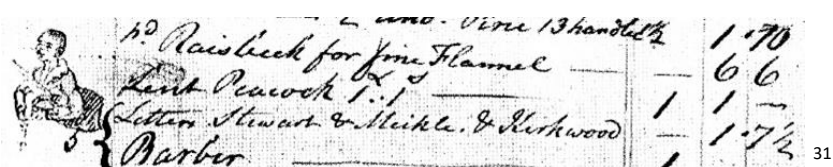
29

Bewick also paid 4s to the former wait John Aldridge for writing tunes, 5s to Mr Halgarth for strathspeys, 2s 4d for a music book and mending Robert's pipe bellows, and 3s 6d to Mr Kerr for a new bag.

Robert wrote to his sister.

I have got some nice new tunes from Jemmy Maffin [Maugham] my father likes the one called What should a Lassie de we' an Auld Man the best of any of them and I have jingled them up since I came home and when I was out in the country I played all my Tunes at Eltringham and Mount Hooly and I would have been glad to go to Shields to play all my Tunes at Betty Skipsey's Birth Day but my father dare not trust me out of his sight ...<sup>30</sup>

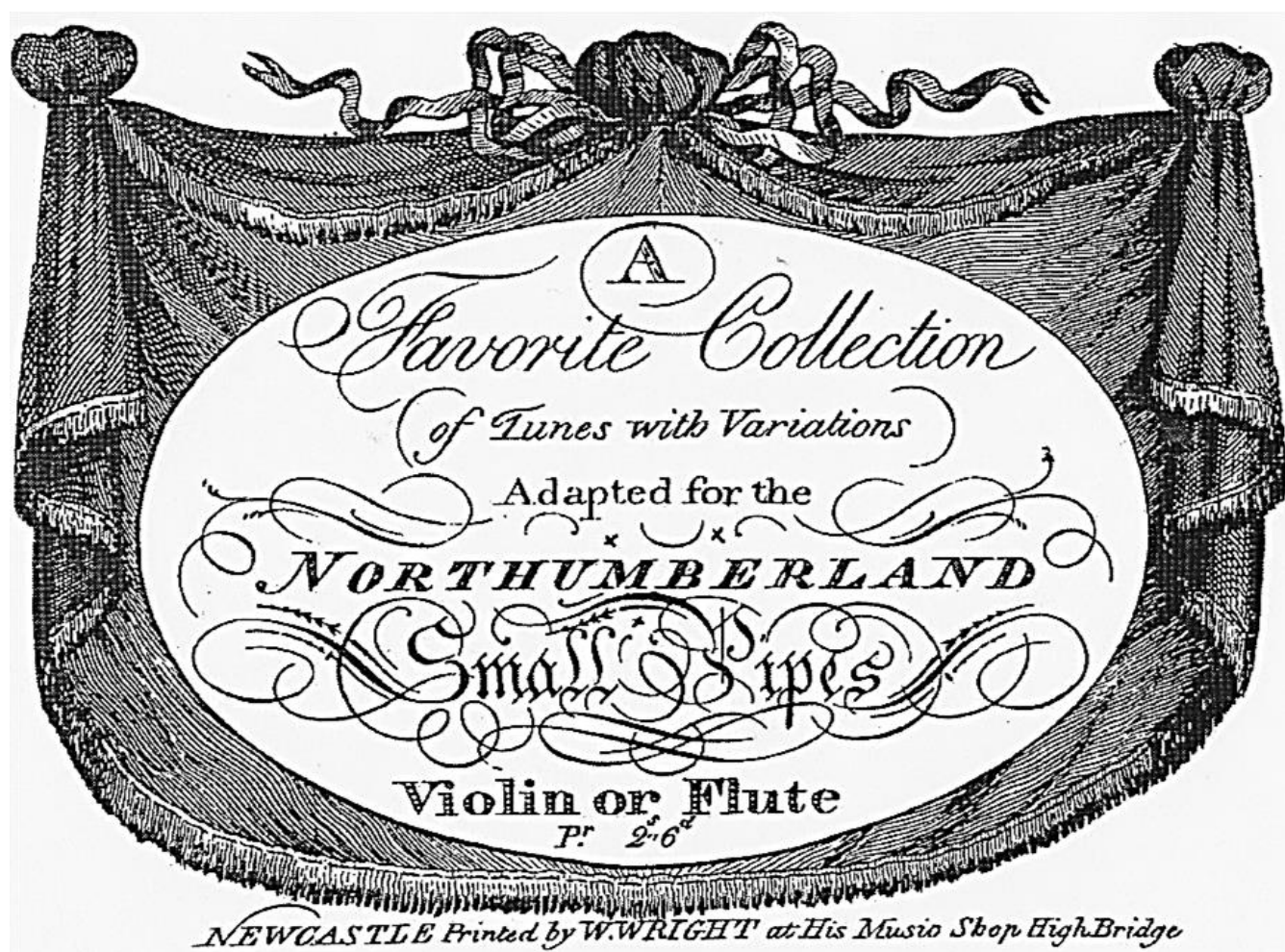
By 1800 Peacock was evidently finding work more difficult. In April a sketch of Robert appeared in his father's account book next to a note about lending Peacock £1 1s.



10. Paid for fine Flannel	1 70
Lent Peacock £1	6 6
Letter Stewart & Mickle & Kirkwood	1 1
Barber	1 7 1/2

In autumn Bewick paid Mr Scott 1s 6d for mending Robert's pipes, and the boy played 'John's new Tunes of "peace and plenty" &c to old Willy Dean' in the kitchen. Bewick usually printed 50-100 tickets for the assize concerts, though in autumn he printed 400 for the Volunteer band's benefit concert.

Bewick had engraved a door plate for William Wright, who owned a music shop, in 1792,<sup>32</sup> altered a woodcut for 'Wright's songs' in 1797, and Wright paid him £1 4s 4½d for 225 copies of a 'Frontispiece for Music Books' in 1798.<sup>33</sup> By 1800 John Thompson had closed his music shop and sold his stock to Thomas Wright, who could procure new musical scores from London within days of publication, and he also led the Theatre Royal band.<sup>34</sup> Peacock sold tickets for concerts and balls,<sup>35</sup> and played tunes to William Wright, who wrote them down and produced a book which cost 2s 6d. While Wright got 1s 6d for each copy, Peacock received 1s, and it became known as 'Wright's book'.<sup>36</sup>



It contained an illustration of '*J. Peacock's New Invented Pipe Chanter with the addition of Four Keys*', and 50 tunes. *Cut and Dry Dolly* and *I saw my Love come passing by me* were similar to William Dixson's versions of over 60 years earlier; *Cuckold come out of the Amrey* may have been based on *Struan Robertson's Rant*, and the violin tunes adapted to the smallpipes included *My Ain Kind Dearie*, *The Black and the Grey* and *Over the Border*.<sup>38</sup>

By 1801 Robert Bewick was a 'tolerable performer' on the smallpipes,<sup>39</sup> and in May he became his father's apprentice.<sup>40</sup> In summer his father paid Dunn 14s for a set of smallpipes with Peacock's 'New Invented Pipe Chanter'.<sup>41</sup> The artist Joseph Bell lived in High Bridge,<sup>42</sup> and his son John painted Robert with his new chanter.



43

The Theatre Royal band usually got 3s 6d for a rehearsal and one performance. William Wright who lived in Pipewellgate, Gateshead,<sup>44</sup> announced late that year that the band of former waits were independent.

The Musicians composing the Country dance band at Newcastle return their sincere thanks for the Many Favours conferred on them in that Part of the Profession; and as the Ladies and Gentlemen here have frequently been disappointed, particularly on a Play Night, they take this Opportunity to inform their friends, that they are now disengaged from Mr. Kemble, and are at Liberty any Night of the Week to serve any Party of Ladies and Gentlemen, who may please to Enjoy them, by applying at Mr. Wright's Music-Shop, High-Bridge, or to any other of the Band.<sup>45</sup>

Wright published Thomas Thompson's *A Dictionary of Music* in Newcastle,<sup>46</sup> and in May 1802 Bewick paid Aldridge 3s for a selection of tunes,<sup>47</sup> though some towns in the region still had waits.

The four Berwick waits serenaded the town at night from November to Candlemas.<sup>48</sup> They wore 'a very large blue cloak, faced with gold lace, and a big cocked hat, also laced with gold'. In addition to their salaries, they had received £2 11s in 1786, 5s on Christmas Day and 8s for playing at official dinners. They played at Tweedmouth Court, and on Fair Day and High Market Days in Berwick, yet payments were recorded under 'sundries' or 'expenses' from 1788, and in July 1793 they were paid for playing when the bishop of Durham visited.

James Wallace was born in the borders and was christened in Berwick's Holy Trinity Church in 1759. He was blind from an early age, and later became 'The Piper of Castlegate' in Alnwick, escorted by a boy. In 1779 he successfully petitioned for a 'Great Coat', which was ornamental, colourful, probably skirted and expensive. The silver collar chain bearing the town's arms cost £6. Wallace became one of the town's waits by 1795, and in 1795-1796 they received £26 8s plus £3 5s 'in lieu of fees'. Caleb Buglass was a wait by 1798, when they received £7 each, and in 1799 the four waits had to walk before the mayor, recorder, and magistrates, playing their violins all the way to and from the church on Christmas day, on the day of the election of a new mayor, on the 5th of November', and were 'obliged to attend these gentlemen at their four public dinners'. In 1800, when Wallace lived in Marygate, the guild refused to raise his annual salary to £7, possibly because of his conduct. In 1802 James Smith, the 'natural son of Jane Smith, Spinster by James Wallace, musician', died aged 2¾.<sup>49</sup>

At some point in the 1790s Jamie Allan visited Morpeth, kidnapped his niece, took her to London and married her. When they returned to Tyneside he bought two Galloway ponies, and the couple attended fairs, races and weddings. Reportedly many North Shields gentlemen treated Allan with respect, and he was invited to play the hautboy at Seaton Delavel Hall and Netherwitton Hall; though he was a notorious thief, and Tyneside publicans barred him. The lieutenant of the press gang 'frequently detained him for the amusement of his gang', and if he refused to play he was beaten, sent on board the receiving ship and threatened with being sent to the Nore.<sup>50</sup>

Robert Reid (or Reed) had been born into a stonemason's family at Stamfordham in Northumberland in 1761. He was christened at the Presbyterian Church, and his father was in the Northumberland militia in 1762. Robert

became a cabinet maker and a smallpiper in the 1770s. He reportedly often played with Jamie Allan and they 'Rid the Fairs' together. In 1780 Robert married, and the couple moved to Newcastle. In 1781 a son was baptised Robert in St. John's Church. He died in 1783, though another son was christened Robert in 1784.<sup>51</sup> The family moved to North Shields, and George and James Young in Alnwick supplied Robert Reid senior with his first large pipes.<sup>52</sup> By 1799 15-year-old Robert Reid junior was a 'celebrated performer' and was getting even better, and he sometimes played with Allan.<sup>53</sup> Isabella Smith bore his child in 1801, which was baptised at Christ Church, and the couple married in 1802. He was famous across northern England for his 'scientific and superior execution' in making smallpipes and Union pipes, the forerunners of the Uilleann pipes.<sup>54</sup> The Uilleann or elbow pipes had originated in Ireland, and were quite expensive, and well-to-do people preferred them to the small pipes.<sup>55</sup>

'Young' William Lamshaw, as he became known, was born in Morpeth around 1781.<sup>56</sup> He learned to play the smallpipes and joined the band of the Northumberland militia in 1793.<sup>57</sup> In 1799, after he was 'discharged, sick' he became the duke of Northumberland's piper.<sup>58</sup> In 1800, before distinguished judges at Elsdon Baronial Court, he beat the most famous pipers of northern England,<sup>59</sup> and in 1802 he played *My Jocky stays lang at the Fair* at Tynemouth fair.<sup>60</sup> In 1803 Robert Reid junior played with Jamie Allan in a Newcastle Quayside pub, then Allan slipped out and stole a mare. He was arrested, and sentenced to death at the Assizes that summer.<sup>61</sup>

Newcastle liberals were beginning to split.

### (iii) Liberalism and 'advanced liberalism'

William Scott was born in Newcastle around 1763.<sup>62</sup> His father was a joiner and cabinet maker at the Head of the Side, and a freeman, and his wife sold wooden and earthen ware. The family later lived in Pudding Chare, and in the mid-1790s William carried a besom shank and marched ahead of soldiers parading through the town, though boys hit him and called him 'Cull Billy'.<sup>63</sup> (Culls were cattle or sheep rejected by their herd.<sup>64</sup>) When his father died his widow and daughter became 'inmates' of the Corporation's Holy Jesus Hospital,<sup>65</sup> but whether William joined them is unclear.

By 1801 there were 11 newspapers in the northern counties,<sup>66</sup> and in spring 1802 the French and British governments signed a peace treaty at Amiens in France. In summer the liberal *Newcastle Chronicle* included a poem by 'J.S.' about the 'shameful and unprovoked treatment which has lately been suffered to be exercised against WILLIAM SCOTT, commonly called Cull Billy', who 'once knew better days, and who, if properly managed, might yet be rendered a useful member of society'.

Whence these cries my soul that harrow,  
Whence these yells that wound my ear?  
'Tis the hapless child of sorrow,  
'Tis poor Billy's plaint I hear.  
Now in tatter'd plight I see him,  
Teazing crowds around him press;  
Ah! Will none from insult free him,  
None his injuries redress?

Fill'd with many a fearful notion,  
Now he utters piercing cries;  
Starting now, with sudden motion,  
Swiftly through the streets he hies.  
Poor, forlorn, and hapless creature,  
Victim of insanity!  
Sure it speaks a ruthless nature,  
To oppress a wretch like thee.

When, by generous friends protected,  
All thy actions told thee mild,  
Tho' by reason undirected,  
And the prey of fancies wild.  
Of those friends did Heav'n deprive thee,  
None, alas! supply'd their place!  
And to madness now to drive thee,  
Ceaseless strive a cruel race.



Youth forlorn! Tho' crowds deride thee,  
 Gentle minds for thee must grieve;  
 Back to reason wish to guide thee,  
 And thy ev'ry want relieve.  
 O! from this sad state to snatch thee,  
 Why delay the good and kind?  
 Pity calls them on to watch thee,  
 And to tranquillise thy mind.<sup>67</sup>

The author was the liberal Newcastle grocer John Shield.

Soon after the overseers of the St. John's parish, 'conveyed' William to the parish Poor House, outside the walls, where he was 'kept confined until the turbulence of his spirit was reduced'.<sup>68</sup> He was subsequently allowed to leave in what he called the 'Parish House',<sup>69</sup> and 'excited compassion while reciting (which he did with a great deal of exactness, and in such a distinct and clear manner as to surprise many) the Lord's Prayer, several other prayers, passages of Scripture, &c, to a numerous audience of boys, though they generally repaid his endeavours for their welfare with a shower of dirt or stones,' and 'followed him around, beating and hooting him'. Yet once, when he was 'haranguing the mob at the door' of a tavern, 'not one of the wisest human beings of the world' swaggered out.

'Stand out of my way!' cries the would-be great man, shaking his cane in the air. 'Stand out of my way! I never give way to fools!' 'But I do', cries Billy, bowing, and instantly stepped on the pavement. Mr ----- felt the severity of this remark, and instantly made off, leaving the spectators of the transaction almost convulsed with laughter.<sup>70</sup>

Billy gave promissory notes in exchange for 'loans',<sup>71</sup> and a sketch seems to show him looking for potential lenders.



72

Some people considered Billy's notes as curiosities,<sup>73</sup> an 'advanced liberal' newspaper was inclined to patronise labouring people.

John Mitchell was born in Ayr in southwest Scotland in the early 1770s. He was later apprenticed to Robert Burns' printer, and then set up as a printer in Carlisle, and married.<sup>74</sup> In 1799, after he failed to establish a viable business, he and his wife moved to Pilgrim Street in Newcastle where he printed small books for hawkers. He attended the Unitarian chapel, and moved his press to Dean Street in 1800. In 1801 he published a directory of Newcastle, Gateshead, and 'Places Adjacent', and sold violin strings and musical instruments.<sup>75</sup> He contacted discounting stationers and booksellers in London, and was determined to sell everything from 10% to 20% below regular prices.<sup>76</sup> In summer 1802 he published the *Tyne Mercury*, an 'organ of advanced liberalism'. 'Tories laughed and Whigs derided; tradesmen would not advertise', 'literary loafers sneered', farmers refused buy it and actors made it 'the subject of their scorn'; yet Mitchell had the support of the influential Unitarian minister William Turner.<sup>77</sup> The town's other newspapers came out at the end of the week, though the *Tyne Mercury* appeared on Tuesday morning and included news published in London on the previous Saturday.<sup>78</sup> In autumn the paper described a Gateshead wedding where a pitman and his bride were

attended to and from the altar of Hymen by a merry group of friends, *gentlemen of the Hackrobes* [hewers] ranged rank and file, attended by a numerous band of village-minstrels, and a vast concourse of uninvited and unceremonious

spectators. After the celebration of the nuptials, the day was spent in all that rustic mirth and jollity characteristic of this useful body of people, the manners of whom ... are so accurately described by the author of the 'Collier's Wedding'.<sup>79</sup>

Nationally, newspapers sold around 16 million copies that year,<sup>80</sup> and a Tory Edinburgh lawyer and an 'advanced liberal' lawyer in London published old song lyrics with different degrees of accuracy.

#### (iv) Nouthar right spelled nor right setten down

In 1793 Walter Scott had prosecuted four men accused of sedition in Scotland, and in 1796, after he helped to organise the Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons, he was given a sinecure worth £250 a year.<sup>81</sup> He asked Ritson in London about border songs, and met 'the readiest, kindest, and most liberal assistance'.<sup>82</sup> Ritson complained that his health was 'much impaired, my frame disordered and my spirits depressed'.<sup>83</sup> In summer 1801 he visited Scott,<sup>84</sup> and they corresponded cordially thereafter.<sup>85</sup> Ritson appealed for Scottish lyrics in the *Scots Magazine*, though the editors hoped that they would be 'corrected and arranged'.<sup>86</sup>

Early in 1802 Lewis Pennington printed Ritson's *The North Country Chorister* in Durham.<sup>87</sup> Ritson told a friend that his garlands 'had sold better than any other of his various publications', yet they were 'mostly out of print'.<sup>88</sup> In spring he probably suffered a cerebral haemorrhage, and when he visited Stockton he was 'entirely deprived of memory, intellect and speech' for 24 hours, and feared that the next attack would 'carry me off'.<sup>89</sup> Scott invited him to Lasswade, but he went to Durham instead.<sup>90</sup> A Kelso printer produced Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Consisting of Historical and Romantic Ballads, collected in the Southern Counties of Scotland, with a few of Modern Date, founded upon Local Tradition*. Scott dedicated it to a duke, and it cost £1 1s.<sup>91</sup> Scott sent Ritson a copy,<sup>92</sup> and dreaded his response,<sup>93</sup> yet he 'devoured' it at 'one ballad *per diem*';<sup>94</sup> yet not all of Scott's sources were pleased.

James Hogg had been baptised in Ettrick Church, Selkirkshire, in 1770, yet he later gave the date as 1772. His father was a former shepherd who had become a tenant farmer, bought large numbers of sheep and sold them in both Scotland and England. James had a few months' schooling, though he later claimed he was 'never at school'. In the late 1770s he learned songs from his mother, an uncle, old men he worked with and travelling musicians. By 1785 he had bought an old fiddle for 5s and 'generally spent an hour or two every night in sawing over my favourite old Scottish tunes'.<sup>95</sup> He learned to read music,<sup>96</sup> yet in 1786, at Elinbank on Tweed, 'the Scottish dialect quite confounded' him. From around 1790 he wrote songs for young women, yet he first heard of Burns in summer 1797, after the poet had died, when 'a half daft man', John Scott, sang *Tam o' Shanter*. In 1800 Hogg sang his own *Donald M'Donald* at the Crown tavern in Edinburgh, and the lyrics were printed with a tune. In 1801 more lyrics were printed in Edinburgh, and he received around 1,000 copies, though he found 'many of the stanzas omitted, misplaced, and typographical errors abounding in every page'. In 1802 he was 'much dissatisfied with the imitations of the ancient ballads' in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, so he 'selected a number of traditionary stories', 'put them in metre by chaunting them to certain old tunes', and assured Scott that one he sent him was genuine. Margaret, Hogg's mother, told Scott that 'there was never ane o' my sangs prentit til ye prentit them yoursel' and he had 'spolit them a'thegither'. They were made 'for singing, an' no for reading; and they're nouthar right spelled nor right setten down'.<sup>97</sup>

Ritson had heard an 'unfavourable account' of events in Paris, and instead of visiting France he went to Bath, and subsequently suffered from a 'much worse complaint than I carried thither, which I understand to be incurable'.<sup>98</sup> In London, that autumn, William Bulmer printed *Ancient Engleish Metrical Romanceës. Selected and published by Joseph Ritson*, who complained that he had completed it 'in a continue'd state of ill health, and low spirits' so he 'abandons it to general censure, with cold indifference, expecting little favour, and less profit; but certain, at any rate, to be insulted by the malignant and calumnious personalits of a base and prostitute gang of lurking assassins, who stab in the dark, and whose poison'd daggers he has allready experience'd'. There was 'scarcely one single poem, song, or ballad, fairly and honestly printed' in Thomas Percy's *Reliques*, and many were 'inserted as ancient and authentick, which there is every reason to believe, never existed before its publication'. Percy had included 'fabrications for the sake of providing more refined entertainment for readers of taste and genius', yet that was no proof of 'judgment, candour or integrity'.<sup>99</sup> Only 13 lines of the *Marriage of Gawaine* in the first three editions were identical, while no piece had been 'faithfully printed from the beginning to the end'.<sup>100</sup>

London publishers refused Ritson's *An Essay on Abstinence from Animal Food, as a Moral Duty*, so he had it printed.<sup>101</sup> He had speculated 'nearly his whole fortune' in stocks and shares, and after the war against the French resumed in May 1803,<sup>102</sup> he lost 'considerably above a thousand pounds',<sup>103</sup> so he sold more books,<sup>104</sup> and some

land.<sup>105</sup> The satirical artist James Gillray sketched him standing on a copy of Percy's *Reliques*, dipping his pen in 'Gall', and poked fun at his vegetarianism, and James Sayers engraved the sketch and had copies printed.



On 7 September Ritson made his will. He wanted his manuscripts to be auctioned to repay his debts, and left the rest of his estate to his executor, his nephew Joseph Frank. Ritson's 'most earnest request' was that his body 'be interred in Bunhill fields, Islington, with the least possible ceremony, attendance, expense, or headstone, and without the presence of a clergyman, and my coffin being previously, carefully and effectually filled with quicklime'.

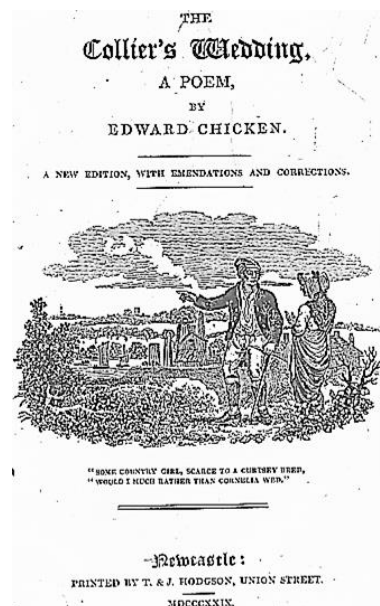
Robert Smith had rooms above Ritson's at Gray's Inn,<sup>107</sup> and recalled that he had always been 'polite and civil', though he frequently heard him make a 'great Swearing and Noise' at his laundress, who believed he was mad and was frightened. On 10 September Smith's servant told him that Ritson was making a 'great Noise' and there was 'a great Light in his Room'. Smith went to the steward's office, from where he saw that Ritson's room was 'strewed with Books and loose Papers, some of which he was gathering up and throwing on the Fire', and he was carrying a lighted candle in a 'very dangerous manner'. The steward took the laundress's key and he, the porters and Smith entered Ritson's chambers. He accused the servants of being robbers, fetched a dagger from his bedroom and chased them down the passage. Smith calmed him down and took the dagger, and Ritson told him he was 'writing a Pamphlet proving Jesus Christ an impostor', and Smith left after an hour.<sup>108</sup> An hour later Ritson 'became very violent and outrageous, throwing his Furniture about his Chambers, and breaking his Windows'. Smith returned to find him with a dagger in one hand and a knife in the other, calmed him down again and disarmed him, and he fell asleep from exhaustion. A man sat with him for five days, though Ritson accused him of being his jailor,<sup>109</sup> so he was taken to Sir Jonathan Miles at Hoxton, where he died of 'paralysis of the brain' (cerebral palsy, a life-long condition which often caused depression and physical ailments) on the 27th, and was buried in Bunhill Fields, the cemetery favoured by dissenters, on the 27th.<sup>110</sup>

Joseph Frank had to find £500 to pay off his uncle's debts,<sup>111</sup> so he got the London auctioneers Leigh, Sotheby and Company to publish *A Catalogue of the entire and curious Library and Manuscripts of the late Joseph Ritson, Esq.* Early in December a manuscript of 'The Poetical Works of Mr. George Knight, formerly of Stoc[k]ton, Shoemaker, of Facetious Memory', and 'Catalogues of old Ballads', went for a song, and many other items raised 6d, 9d or 1s, while John Cunningham's poems with a 'MS Life by Joseph Ritson, and newspaper extracts respecting him' fetched 2s. John Nichols paid 4s 6d for *The Northumberland Garland* and Francis Douce paid 7s 6d for several 'Garlands of North Country Songs'. The 1794 edition of Percy's *Reliques* went for 9s and the 1775 edition with 'MS notes, by Mr Ritson' for £2 3s. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens' edition of William Shakespeare's works with Ritson's notes fetched £110, and the auction raised £681 5s 6d,<sup>112</sup> yet Ritson's criticisms of Percy remained unconfirmed.

## 20. Aftermaths

### (i) Chicken eviscerated

The radical Newcastle printer John Marshall published Edward Chicken's *The Collier's Wedding* in 1815.<sup>1</sup> In the 1820s Elizabeth Sheville,<sup>2</sup> the great-granddaughter of the poet's sister Elizabeth, lived in Newgate Street. She told what she knew about him to William Cail,<sup>3</sup> an 'agent', and in 1827 he showed his preface to a new edition of *The Collier's Wedding* to the radical publisher Eneas Mackenzie.<sup>4</sup> Sarah Hodgson had died in 1822, but by 1829 her sons Thomas and James ran the most important printing business in the town,<sup>5</sup> and printed Cail's edition, with a woodcut, probably by the late Thomas Bewick or his workshop, and a quote from John Dryden on the title page.



Cail noted that some coal-owners provided a wagon to take pitmen's wives to Newcastle market on pay Saturdays; and though pitmen often started work at midnight, their wives got up to give them breakfast. He believed the men were 'inured from boyhood to the various employments connected with a colliery', and were easily pleased.

Let a collier be indulged with a cabbage-garth, a cock, a pig, - participate in a bowling match, - attend Newcastle on the market-day in the pay week - be largely supplied with *singing hinnies*, his wants and wishes ... were few in number: affairs of state or public events did not share his attention, nor were these things considered by him of any consequence: a traditionary story or well-known ballad were to him more interesting. Should any uncommon event occur in the kingdom, the place was commonly described to be either on this side of Lunnan, or beyond ...

The 'slow, but constant efforts of the sect of Methodists', and 'useful and standard publications', had encouraged 'a spirit of enquiry' among many, who, 'by determining to burst through the bonds of ignorance', had 'become important members of society', while others failed to

make a reserve from their earnings to abate their necessities in old age, or alleviate their distress when accidents befall them. This is a consequence unavoidably arising from Colliers bringing up their sons to the same employment, till there is at last such an excess in their number, that they can neither obtain constant work, nor be compensated to an amount sufficient to live comfortably, and as the dangerous nature of their pursuit justly entitle them to deserve.<sup>6</sup>

The Whit Monday 'merry meeting' on Gateshead's Windmill Hills had been revived,<sup>7</sup> and Benwell, Heddon, Winlaton, Swalwell, Whickham, Wrekenton, Felling, Ballast Hills, Byker and Westgate hoppings still involved

dancing, foot races by *young men* for hats, handkerchiefs, &c., races with asses, &c.; and *young women* contend in dancing, or running for caps and smocks, &c.: there is occasionally grinning for tobacco, by some *old men*, or at least by those persons who can most effectually distort their features, or, as it is termed, *make the ugliest faces*. Amusements of this description are less attended than they were formerly, and some attempts have been made to prevent their continuance.

Cail argued that Chicken's 'coarse language' did 'not necessarily indicate vice', though he acknowledged that he had made 'alterations' and 'restored' lines 'from the original incomplete manuscript'.<sup>8</sup> In reality it was a travesty.

Probably by 1830 M.W. Carrall had published a version of *The Collier's Wedding* in Walmgate, York, with an image of a kilted man playing the Scottish bagpipes. It was an even bigger travesty than Cail's.

IN former days when trade was good  
And men got money, clothes, and food;  
When handiwork was not too secret;  
And tenants broke not every year;  
But liv'd in plenty, knew no need:  
And had enough to do their deed:  
Then country lads went neat and clean,  
And ladies comely to be seen,  
Srove with each other ev'ry day,  
Who should excel at work or play,  
Wrote honest servants, virtuous wives,  
Laid harmless, inoffensive lives;  
Their greatest pride was just to know,  
When corn was ripe, or grain would mow:  
The Collier Lads got money fast,  
Had merry lives while it did last,  
Did feast, and drink, and game, and play,  
And frolic when they had ought to say,  
They came to church but very rare,  
But mis'd not when a bride was there!  
Their wives could drink, as people say,  
And hold as much, or more, than they,  
Would have their manful penny spent,  
With gossip, at a merriest;  
Those honest fellows drank no tea,  
Nor chocolate, nor rations;  
They made no wifes, few no play,  
But from their vacant hours away,  
And thus the Colliers and their Wives  
Liv'd drunken, honest, working lives,  
Were very fond of one another,  
And always marry'd one the other.  
A collier's daughter, bright and clean,  
Once at a country wake was seen:  
The maid was born in Beverell town,  
Was not too fair, nor yet too brown,  
Of beauty she has got her part,  
Enough to wound a collier's heart;  
For when the trips it on the plain,  
To Jock's left his fellow feign,  
Her easy steps, and airy wheels,  
Shew'd the mad music in her heels,  
She danc'd so well, for such a maid,  
She won the heart and pleas'd the throng.  
A collier lad was standing by,  
And view'd her with a lover's eye;  
He watch'd his head, and then he swore,  
That none had danc'd so well before;  
Then made a break up to the maid,  
How do you like the lover laid?  
I'm glad to see ye, by my soul,  
For, say my heart, thou'rt best them all,  
Zooks, lass, come here, I'll waltz with thee;  
Come look, what makes ye look so shy?  
Then fix'd her hand, and being strong,  
He wagg'd the willing maid along;  
She had not many words to say,  
But bang her back the country way.  
Then gave a modest blush, and so,  
In silence gave consent to go.  
He led her to an inn hard by,  
Where drink was good if the war dry:  
In private they were e'er a pair,  
With other cheer the house had got;  
The lad said he declares his mind,  
And try to bring the lass in kind;  
He say'd, and stretch'd himself, and then,  
He rub'd his eyes, and stretch'd again,  
And thus began, "My comely Jenny,  
I love the better far than any,  
If thou'lt have me, faith I'll have thee,  
And love thee till the day I die.  
I'll work my bones to keep thee easy,  
Do ev'ry thing in life please thee;  
She sigh'd, and made him this reply:  
"Come, let me go, for shame, O! I  
May be as happy in some other,  
But I must need to please my mother,  
So let us go to her straight way,  
And hear what the old wife will say."  
Then arm in arm, away they went,  
To try old Bessy for consent;  
For such a thing nothing more to do,  
But make the mother buckle too;  
Which must be done, or else the bargain  
Would not be worth a single farthing.  
They trudg'd along, got home at last,  
And found old Goody smoking fat;  
Plac'd on a cricket near the fire,  
Her spinning wheel was standing by her.  
An earnest pot with humming beer,  
Stood on a table very near,  
Our old wife turn'd her head about,  
And spy'd at last her daughter out;  
She cry'd, "Lass, where de'il has thou been?  
I thought thou wou'dst no more be seen;  
You've got your belly full of play,  
I'll warrant you've had a merry day,  
For now it will be twelve o'clock,  
And more, for I've spun off my rock.  
Lass, what's that with ye? Who should it be?  
Sir still, says Tom, in none but him,  
I come to have a little chat,  
Honest lass, get home, ye've ought but fat;  
My pipe's put out, then we'll do bed:  
See, Jenny, come and kiss my hand,  
And, Tom, be sure that ye get home,  
And give my service to your dame;  
Tom said and came where Bessy lay,  
And kiss'd the old wife with his hand;  
Play'd with her pipe till it was broke;  
And gett'd and laugh'd, and then he spoke:  
"Your Jenny is my heart's delight;  
If you'd give your consent to night:  
I'll have her laid in the best of a coach;  
If you'll consent we'll call up Jack,  
And make up Doll to fetch a drake;  
Come, Bessy, speak, what do you think?  
The old wife can't be e'er chide and spoke,  
Why fussy Tom, you do her joke!  
If ye're fussy as ye are women,  
And come to do my bid as you have."



Ye know my daughter Jane's but young,  
And may be easy overcome;  
So court her first, hear what she'll say,  
We'll have a drink, and fix the day.  
Her daughter Jane, with modest grace,  
d fingers spread before her face,  
Cry'd then, "Tommy's was my heart,  
I'll consent we'll never part;  
I love him as I do my life,  
Ad wou'd be glad to be his wife;  
When Bessy heard her daughter Jane,  
Declare herself to very plain,  
The house was in an instant rais'd,  
Cry'd Bessy was wau'd, the fire blaz'd,  
Strong beer was fetch'd, tobacco too,  
Old Bessy drank till she was fow;  
And Jock said, "Dull lay the fow,  
For they could drink, and smoke no more.  
Our lovers have all the play,  
They kiss, and fix the wedding-day;  
Things were concluded for the best,  
And drank and sober go to rest.  
Now all the country lads around,  
That get their living under ground,  
For to prepare themselves are told,  
When Tom's his wedding day will hold;  
The match has been warning friends beside,  
Must all be there to mend the bride;  
At Beverell, at her mother's house,  
For Tommy gave the bride her choice,  
Provided with the greatest care;  
New joy in ev'ry face is seen,  
The lads are pleas'd, the lasses keen;  
Old men and wives do all declare,  
They'll come to taste the bagpipes' fare.  
Long with'd for now is come at last,  
The joy appears, the bride is dress'd,  
The music makes the village ring,  
The children shout, and old wives sing.  
Tom comes in triumph o'er the plain,  
With collier lads, a jolly train;  
They smoke along the dusty way,  
Whips crack for joy, the horses play.  
The bridegroom rides in state before,  
"Middle clouds of dirt the bagpipes roar.  
The echo's borne on wings of air,  
Makes all the Beverell folk prepare:  
Like fountains in the painted sky,  
At ev'ry breath the favours fly,  
The blithesome, bucksome, country maids,  
With knots of ribbons at their heads,  
And pinners flitting in the wind,  
That fan before, and to the hind,  
Came there from each adjacent place,  
Strength in their limbs, health in their face,  
To do their honours to the bride,  
And eat and drink, and dance beside.  
Now all prepar'd and ready stand,  
With fans and posies in their hand,  
But hark! a distant note they hear,  
And some fore riders do appear,  
Proclaim, with an exalted voice,  
Loud shouts and acclamations rise,  
And sounds of joy in echo die.  
The bridegroom now appears in sight,  
They all receive him with delight;  
Clap hands, and bid him welcome there,  
And place him in the elbow chair.  
Old Bessy glad at his approach,  
Brings on the cakes, and barrels brooch;  
Then Tommy gives and kisses Jenny,  
And says to her how do you honey;  
Plink up your heart, and never fear,  
What makes you look so sad, my dear?  
The priest will tell us what to say,  
"It's nothing but a perfect play,  
I have the peg and all things ready,  
And faith thou'lt be like my lady;  
Those looks of woe it does not good;  
Be quiet, Tom, thou'lt camp my hood;  
Come let us rise and go away,  
Perhaps we make the parson say,  
And then you know's not fit to be,  
Because we are not ready.  
They all rise up and drink it time,  
To look for church, the clock's knock time,  
Two lads led, well dress'd and strong,  
Saw out to lead the bride along;  
And two young maids of equal age,  
As soon the bridegroom's hands fasten;  
The pipes wail, and take their part,

THE  
**Collier's Wedding.**  
A POEM.  
This count the number of those lasses,  
And who is their that has no wives  
Unfold the napkins, lay them down,  
Then tell the lovers of a spoon:  
Some eat the bread, some lick the salt,  
Some drink, and other some find fault,  
Disorder is in ev'ry place,  
In short they could no longer pace,  
For belly thinks the throat is cut:  
And thus their guts disturb and vent,  
For want of patience doth perplex em.  
At last the beef appears in sight,  
The groom moves slow the pond's round weight,  
Then fast is made; the table laid,  
No service round his body given,  
Swift to the smoking beef they fly,  
Some cut their passage thro' a eye,  
Out streams the gravy on the cloth,  
Some burn their tongue with sliding tongs;  
But rolling spices make them fain,  
They shake their heads and sup again;  
Cut up that goose, cry out below,  
And send us down a leg or so;  
A honest neighbour tries the point,  
Works hard, but cannot hit the joint;  
The bride fat sighs, the roof in pain,  
And cut and tore her hand from limb.  
Now geese, chickens, hens, their fury feel,  
Enamored jaws devour the veal,  
Each river and eat what he can get,  
And all is fit that comes to set:  
No qualms appetite here sit,  
None curious for a dietary bit.  
The bridegroom waits with active foot,  
And brings them drink 'twixt ev'ry course;  
With service round his body given,  
To keep his cheeks from growling and diet;  
With busy face he runs about,  
To fill the pots which are drunk out.  
Old Bessy dash in all her aim,  
Gives her attendance in the main,  
Just receives the broken meat,  
Just when it is not fit to eat;  
Forks, knives, and spoons about are sold,  
The old wife's care's that tonight he sold,  
By her the better'd things are known as,  
She wishes folks may get their own.  
Now all are full, the meat away,  
The table drawn, the music play;  
The bridegroom left affords the food,  
And dances all the maidens o'er,  
Then rubs his face, and makes a bow,  
So marches off, what can he do?  
In every room both high and low,  
The fiddlers play, the pipes blow,  
Some shout the bride and some the groom,  
They roar the very maddest tune,  
Hand over head, and one thro' other,  
They dance with fiddler and with brother,  
Their common race is, get her ho,  
The weary lass cries, music go;  
Till beat in circling round they wheel,  
And beat the ground with the old heel.  
The collier lad of taller size,  
With sign of drink about his eyes,  
Laid down his pipe, rose from the table,  
And swore he'd dance while he was able,  
He catch'd a partner by the hand,  
And kiss'd her for to make her stand;  
So of the goes; the collier lad  
Sprung from the floor, and danc'd like mad;  
They leap each corner of the room,  
And all stand clear where e'er they come;  
They dance and tire the pipes out,  
And sit'st concluded with a shout,  
Old Bessy next was taken in,  
She can't be her self and cock'd her chin,  
Then held her oars in either side,  
And knock'd and cry'd, up with the bride;  
Come piper, says the good old woman,  
Play me the joyful days are coming;  
I'll dance for joy upon my life,  
For now my daughter's made a wife,  
The old wife did what hands could do,  
Well danc'd her self, cry'd the crew,  
And thus the day in pleasure flies,  
Till shining Phœbus quits the skies;  
The phœbus night doth now approach;  
The music ceases, no more's to be heard;  
There's but one pipe for ev'ry one,  
The dear tobacco's almost gone;  
The candles in their sockets wink,  
Now fowls, now dogs, then die and sink;  
I lay red and rub their drowsy eyes,  
Dand drunk, some tumble on the floor,  
And for in what they drank before;  
Hick-up, cry out, some on your head,  
The head's gone round, I cannot head,  
The pulpit make, the birds in bed,  
In great procession to her bed;  
The fiddlers with an odd couple,  
Then all the men depart the room,  
Then Tommy's father catch'd the maid,  
Whom he takes to the old wife;  
Then with a cable, laid, Jock's call;  
Come here's thy husband's what a ghastly  
How now appears it to her hand,  
She danc'd, and puttles up the band;  
So cry out their country track,  
Some watch for fear the men should back,  
Their belly pangs from over eating,  
For they must either drink or choke,  
The cockle cuttles, cry the phœbus,  
They must go out the phœbus,  
And Tommy then and Bessy said,  
But what of drink can be it sold,  
In a moment, Bessy,  
Saw up in bed, Bessy in bed,  
Saw they had the best of it,  
And here had the best of it.

Carrall, Printer, Walmgate, York.

Price 1s. 6d.

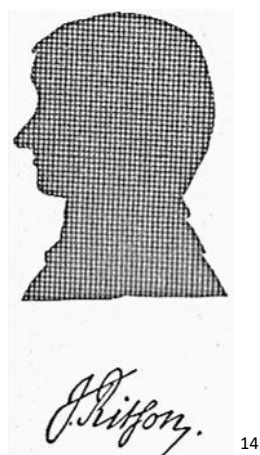


In 1866 the Newcastle bookseller Robert Robinson advertised a 'scarce' copy of Cail's edition for 5s 6d;<sup>10</sup> and in 1875 John Black in North Road, Durham, advertised one for 1s 6d, and acknowledged that it contained 'a few emendations and corrections'.<sup>11</sup>

## (ii) Ritson vindicated

In 1810 Robert Triphook had republished Joseph Ritson's *North Country Chorister* in London. He also published 500 copies all four northern garlands as a book, and stressed that Ritson had heard some lyrics 'sung in the market-place'.<sup>12</sup> In 1813 Thomas Park edited Ritson's *Select Collection of English Songs*. He included 'a few cautionary remarks' about Ritson's 'hypercritical asperities', 'dispensed with' some of his 'trivial singularities' of spelling and added 100 songs. The music types had been 'twice cast by Mr. Caslon', though his second font was 'much more defective in blending the ligatures of notes than might be wished'.<sup>13</sup>

In 1821 the London musical composer Maria Reynolds drew Ritson's silhouette and signature, and it was published in Triphook's edition of Ritson's *Caledonian Muse*.



14

That year Walter Scott acknowledged Ritson's 'acute observation, profound research, and great labour'.<sup>15</sup>

In 1830 Scott patronised 'poor Ritson' for his 'morbid temperament', though 'it cannot be doubted that his strictures on the disregard of Percy for purity of text were more than justifiable'.<sup>16</sup> In 1838, in a posthumous publication, Scott claimed that Ritson's 'eager irritability of temper' was 'a constitutional and physical infirmity'.<sup>17</sup>

In 1847 Frederick Fairholt published part of James Gillray's sketch without the surrounding satirical material.



18

From 1857 to 1859 the US ballad scholar Francis Child published some of Ritson's texts in his *English and Scottish Ballads*,<sup>19</sup> and he helped John Hales and Frederick Furnivall get hold of Percy's manuscript.<sup>20</sup> They published it in 1867 and 1868, and concluded that Ritson's criticisms were, if anything, understated.<sup>21</sup>

### (iii) Whittell emasculated

Possibly during the 1790s *The Midford Garland* was attributed to 'T. Whittle', and *The Midford Galloway* to 'T. Whittell'. *The whimsical love of Thomas Whittle: with the comical reception he found from that imperious beauty, Ann Dobson. Digested in prose and verse. To which is added Whittle's Humorous letter to Mr. Moody* had been 'Entered according to Order'. Neither had a date or a colophon. *The History of the whimsical lovers, Thomas Whittle, and Ann Dobison [sic]* was printed in London, and without a date or printer's name in Edinburgh.

Probably in the early 1800s *The Midford Galloway* by 'T. Whittle' appeared with no colophon, and Anthony Soulby in Penrith published *The whimsical love of Thomas Whittle with Whittle's Humorous letter to Mr. Moody*.<sup>22</sup>

In 1811 Eneas Mackenzie noted in his history of Northumberland that Whittell's poems and songs had

long been perused by the people of the county with eager admiration, and delight, and will probably be a source of entertainment to many succeeding generations. His Whimsical Love is a master-piece of its kind; and his poetic Letter to the Razor-Setter; his satirical Poem on William Carstairs, and his song on the Mitford Galloway, are replete with wit and humour, and will afford a mental feast to all who have a taste for comic poetry.

William Robson, a Morpeth schoolteacher, had 'obliged us with some particulars'.<sup>23</sup> In 1812 the Newcastle bookseller John Bell used part of Mackenzie's account in his *Rhymes of Northern Bards*, and published one verse of *The Whimsical Love*, plus *The Midford Galloway's Ramble*, *The Insipids*, *Sawney Ogilby's Duel with his Wife*, *Thomas Whittle*, *His Humorous Letter, to Master Moody*, the *Song on William Carstairs*, *Schoolmaster*.<sup>24</sup>

In 1815 the Newcastle printer George Angus, Margaret's son, published *Genuine Tom Whittell: Part first of the poetical works of Thomas Whittell, the celebrated Northumbrian bard, of Cambo and Wallington: printed from the author's own manuscript*, which was to be 'Sold by all the booksellers in Newcastle, Durham, and Northumberland'. It included *The Devil and the Exciseman*, *The Medley of Combats*, *A Scots Song*, *A Song*, *Will Carstairs Described*, *Tannaway Jock* and *On Mr Bowmer and his Nine-Penny Cans*.<sup>25</sup> That year *The Poetical Works of the late Celebrated and Ingenious Thomas Whittell, consisting of Poems on Various Occasions, Satires, Songs, &c., Transcribed From the Original Manuscript in the Author's Own Writing, by William Robson, Late of Cambo*, was 'Printed by Edward Walker for the Editor' in Newcastle.

The original Manuscript, from which the following Pieces have been transcribed, had for many years been in the possession of my much-esteemed Friend, Mr Robert Codling, late of Wallington Dovecote, but now of Rock Spring, Jamaica.

Having long known that it was my Friend's desire to give publicity to Whittell's Writings, I wrote to him in December 1813, concerning the publishing of them; and so concurrent were our wishes in this particular, that the Manuscript and a long letter of Friendship arrived at Newcastle upon Tyne, in September last, but were unjustly detained there until the 19<sup>th</sup> of December.

I will not name the gentlemen who *ungenerously withheld* my parcel, nor for what *purpose* it was kept, during that time, lest I should *hurt their feelings*, for if *bodily misfortunes*, or *mental compunction*, be sufficient punishment for the *odious crime of plagiarism*, these *atrocious delinquents* have already experienced a part of their deserts.

WHITTELL was undoubtedly a Northumbrian by birth, but to what part of the county, or who or what his ANCESTORS were, nothing can be said with certainty ...

There are numerous Anecdotes, &c. related of the "INGENIOUS MAN," (for so he is named in the *Burial Register* at HARTBURN, but as their authenticity cannot be substantiated by facts, a relation thereof is I think unnecessary).

At the end an anonymous piece, *The Quayside Shaver*, was about Stephen Bell, who visited Morpeth with an 'Infernal Frater' – hellish brother freemason - got drunk, drove his horse and gig into a waggon, which overturned and bruised his leg and he lost his favourite cane. He got going, but collided with a cart, then the horse and gig parted. Someone who had seen Whittell's manuscript made notes in their copy, and explained that 'sex' was pronounced 'sek' by the 'common people' in Northumberland, and rhymed with 'Respect'. *The Indifferent Lovers. A Song*, contained the line that a lover 'flash'd in her pan'; though other verses were altered.

The woman that's merry and wise,  
Will never take thought of a man,  
That has not between his two thighs  
A ----- the length of a span ...

A girl should be merry and wise,  
When she takes a notion to wed,  
That lover alone she should prize,

Who answers both up and in bed.

I care not how any man tak't  
That woman that will love so free  
As to tell me she is not well s----t  
By her husband, she shall be by me ...

I care not what any man say,  
The woman that will be so free,  
To tell me she likes a bit play,  
I welcome to pastime with me.

Brave Isabel Winship, lovely bride,  
Whose sweet celestial face,  
Lies like the heavens, large and wide,  
As was her other place ...

The handsome bride was favoured kind,  
And blest with every grace,  
That could adorn a virtuous mind,  
Or deck a lovely face.<sup>26</sup>

One early purchaser was Alice Arkle of Cambo.<sup>27</sup> Possibly around this time *The Midford Galloway*, by T. Whittle, appeared without a date or colophon. In Newcastle Angus published *The Midford Garland composed of Two New Songs. 1. The Midford galloway's ramble to the North. 2. Rat tat too!* Marshall published *The Whimsical Love of Thomas Whittle* in Newcastle, and Stephen Wilkinson printed and sold 'Part 2' of *The poetical works of Thomas Whittle, the Northumbrian bard*, in Morpeth.<sup>28</sup>

In 1825 Mackenzie acknowledged that 'Numerous anecdotes are related of this ingenious man', yet 'their authenticity cannot now be entertained'. His poems and songs were 'sometimes rather licentious', though 'not destitute of poetic merit', and were 'preserved by the natives of the county with admiration and delight, and will probably be a source of entertainment to many succeeding generations'. Mackenzie believed the tombstone in Whittingham churchyard, dated 1736, 'probably belonged to a branch of our poet's family', and he was surer that the poet's brother had been the parish clerk of Earsdon in 1750. William Robson had been a 'respectable and ingenious man', and was 'for some time a schoolmaster at Cambo, but later moved to Morpeth, and 'may have smarted under the lash' of Whittell's satire. Robson had published 'several political pamphlets' and contributed to 'various periodical publications', though he had died in 1821.<sup>29</sup> In 1827 the historian of Northumberland John Hodgson believed that Whittell's brother had been a parish clerk or sexton at Earsdon. He understood that the poet had died in 1731 and was buried at Hartburn as an 'ingenious man' from East Shaftoe. His works,

with all their faults, are full of humour, keenly satirical, and show that he had some knowledge of the Latin classics. There is, indeed, a vein of mirthful and cutting devilry in the greater part of them, which could not fail to delight the country people, for whose amusement they were written, though, like other local poems, they allude so frequently to the passing events of his own time, that few at present could understand them without a commentary.

Hodgson complained that Robson had 'allowed many of its coarse indecencies to be softened or omitted', yet 'a far too plentiful sprinkling of impurity was suffered to remain'.<sup>30</sup>

Around 1860 Peter Blair published *The Midford Galloway's Ramble; and other Poems*, by Thomas Whittle, in Newcastle Street, Morpeth.<sup>31</sup> Probably by 1870 the Burnt House in Pilgrim Street Newcastle had become part of a stationery warehouse. In 1891 the Newcastle stationer Thomas Allan published *Sawney Ogilby's Duel with his Wife, Little Moody, Razor-Setter*, evidently taken and altered from Bell's *Rhymes*, and part of *William Carstairs, Schoolmaster*, plus Bell's account of the poetic duel, without acknowledging his source.<sup>32</sup> The Tyneside antiquarian Richard Welford's articles about 'Men of Mark twixt Tyne and Tweed' were published as a book in London in 1895. Whittell had been a 'gifted but eccentric being, whose exploits during the first quarter of the last century' had given him 'notoriety throughout the county of Northumberland, and far away across the border'. His birthplace was 'not certainly known', though it may have been Capheaton, and the story about the vicar's gift of 1s which Whittell failed to spend on ale came from a 'chap-book'. Welford believed he died unmarried, and was buried at Hartburn in 1736. The works of the 'Licentious poet' were 'not adapted for family reading', and his reputed adventures were no more credible than Jamie Allan's, yet 'not one in a hundred "'natives"' of the present generation' knew he existed'.<sup>33</sup>

#### (iv) That the offices of the town's waits be discontinued

In 1800 the Alnwick fiddler Blind Ralph and the caller John Walton still operated in the Canongate district, and after William Cuthbertson died, Thomas Coward junior replaced him.<sup>34</sup> The waits received £6 a year,<sup>35</sup> and in 1803 the chamberlains paid £2 18s 0d for their 'Hats and Lace' and a cockade, and £13 12s 10d for the rest of their liveries.<sup>36</sup> In 1815 the 'town's music' played at the start of the football game at the castle gate.<sup>37</sup> George Tate was 10,<sup>38</sup> and 51 years later he recalled that the 'office' of town piper was hereditary and the waits' livery was 'shewy and costly'. Their coats were blue broadcloth faced with yellow cloth and trimmed with silver lace, as was the yellow vest and the hat with a cockade, and the breeches were yellow plush. Their lacquered silver buttons bore the town's arms, and their silver sleeve badges had an image of St. George killing the dragon. Between Martinmas and the end of January, from around midnight, 'except when the weather was very inclement', there was 'sweet music' when 'all beside was still', as the waits played the 'favourite tunes of the district' on their fiddles, while the caller announced the time and the state of the weather. 'Good morrow Mister Turner! Good morrow Mistress Turner! Half past two o'clock in a cloudy morning'. The waits attended fairs, feasts and ceremonies, including the day before Ash Wednesday (46 days before Easter) and St. Mark's Day (25 April), and on Christmas morning there was a special cry. 'Dame! Dame! Get up and bake your pie, / And let your lazy maiden lie / On Christmas day in the morning!' On New Year's Day they called at every house for their 'waits-fee'. They could collect over £30 and gave the caller £5. The Shoemakers' company was the 'most uproarious and turbulent', yet Coward's 'magic strains' would 'hush them to silence and reduced them to harmony'.<sup>39</sup> He died in 1823 and John Hogg replaced him.<sup>40</sup> The magistrates had banned street football, but in 1828 sides of married and unmarried freemen marched to the castle, led by the waits. Once, around 5,000 people, including some 'most respectable inhabitants', watched the 'close and vigorous contest' for three hours. The unmarried men won the £5 prize, then they all marched to the town hall and spent the evening in 'true rustic revelry'.<sup>41</sup>

In Morpeth, at 10.00am on Michaelmas Monday, 'the warning bell rang, fifteen minutes later the notice bell, and shortly after the meeting bell'.

Those whose duty it was to attend the court had for some time been assembling at the 'Queen's Head', where they prepared for the duties of the day by partaking of biscuits with wine and spirits. They took their places in the order - first, the town's waits, a piper and fiddler in green coats and drab knee breeches, each bearing on his right arm a silver badge of the corporation arms.<sup>42</sup>

In 1831 a piper and fiddler perambulated the town between 2.00 and 3.00am, preceded by a man with a lantern. On Christmas day they began at 7.00am, and when they came to a bailiff's house they called out 'A fine frosty morning! Good morning, Mr Bailiff!'<sup>43</sup> That autumn the Corporation agreed 'that the office of town's waites be discontinued'. They could keep their livery, but they had to 'deliver up their badges'.<sup>44</sup>

In 1845 the Alnwick 'Friends and Admirers of Mr. Thomas Coward, Musician', paid for a headstone for 'The last of the Waits of this Ancient Borough'.<sup>45</sup>



John Hogg died in 1865.<sup>47</sup>

James Stuart claimed that he was the son of a Scottish general and had been born in Charlestown, South Carolina, in 1728. His father soon died and his mother took him to Aberdeen, where he went to school.<sup>48</sup> He claimed to have been at the battles of Prestonpans in 1745, Culloden in 1746, Quebec in 1759 and Boston in 1775, then

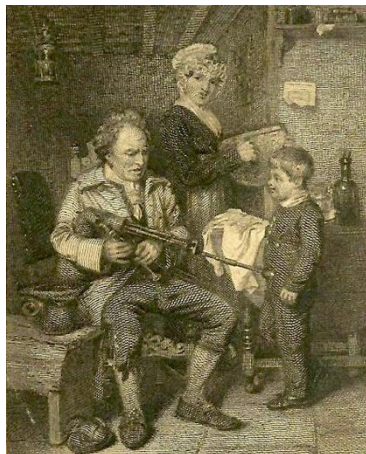
joined the British Navy in the West Indies and subsequently the merchant Navy. He settled in Berwick in the 1790s. He was under five feet tall, but once, rather than pay an extra ½d toll at Berwick Bridge, he carried his donkey across.<sup>49</sup> He became a wait and acknowledged he was a 'scraper' on the fiddle.<sup>50</sup> In 1803-1804 the four waits received £28, and Mr Paxton got £6 3s for making their hats. Robert Miller was a wait by 1808, though after he died he was not replaced. In 1810 the remaining waits were retired and promised £7 a year for their rest of their lives. Reportedly their lack of talent had embarrassed the Four and Twenty.<sup>51</sup>

Stuart travelled across northern England and southern Scotland, and Thomas Hogarth painted his portrait.



52

Thomas Good had been born in Berwick in 1799 and later trained as a house-painter. From 1820 he exhibited paintings in London. 'An Old Northumberland Piper' was engraved around 1822, and he painted 'The Power of Music' in 1823. The date of Good's painting of James Stuart is uncertain and the original has not been traced.



53



54



55

On day, as William Howitt was rambling near Berwick, he



saw an old man coming down the hill towards me with his old fiddle-bag under his arm and a wallet on his back. He seemed weary, and throwing down his wallet, sat himself down upon it in the lane. His chest seemed to work, and his head moved at every breath, as if his lungs were a pair of bellows. ... I stopped and said, 'Well, my friend, so you are going to comfort yourself a little.' 'Aye, sir, my wind and strength are nearly gone. But it's no wonder at my age.'<sup>56</sup>

Frederick Sheldon also recalled seeing Stuart.

Jemmy's countenance once seen was never forgotten. It had a cast of elongation, by which the uncropt chin protruded far down the broad square chest, while the large furrowed haffets of hoary eld, gigantic cheek bones, prominently attenuated, and the fitful glimmerings of eyes, hazy with age, were overshadowed with shaggy eyebrows. The head ... was so closely poised between a pair of Atalantean shoulders, that it was obvious some stroke of bodily deformity had modified the frame of its owner; the downward continuation of his figure consisted of two immense bony arms; a short, squat trunk, and two short legs, with an ungainly bend, which in vulgar parlance is termed 'bow houghed'.

In spring Stuart used to play at the corner of Hyde Hill in Berwick, and his favourite tunes were *The Lad with the White Cockade* and *The Campbells are Coming*. Sheldon suspected that his stories were 'partly true'.<sup>57</sup> Isabel Dawson bore Stuart's son in 1829;<sup>58</sup> though they did not marry until 1837.<sup>59</sup>

In 1843 Thomas Hogarth issued a likeness of Stuart based on his portrait, with a brief biography, in Edinburgh.



60

By 1844 the Berwick lighthouse superintendent James Wilson, Good's former pupil, had carved a statue of Stuart. He had become a registered pauper in Tweedmouth, and a subscription, reportedly including a donation from the queen, raised £40. He later fell, fractured his hip,<sup>61</sup> and died in March 1845.<sup>62</sup> The death certificate of the 'Labourer, formerly soldier', gave the cause as 'Old Age', which was believed to be 116, and Isabel's 16-year-old son signed it with a cross.<sup>63</sup> Stuart had reportedly had five wives and 27 children. Many people attended his funeral, and some tried to carry his coffin for a while so they could say they had helped to carry 'the last of the Stuarts to the grave', which was built of bricks to stop 'resurrectionists'.<sup>64</sup> The *Berwick Advertiser* claimed he was blind from an early part of his life and had been appointed a wait fifty years earlier, and noted that Wilson's statue was 'to be disposed of by lottery'.<sup>65</sup>

The last former wait James Wallace also died, aged 84, in March 1845. His son Paul played for country dances and 'Scotch reels' at a picnic by the Tweed around 1848, and he later ran a music school in Nicolson Street, Edinburgh.<sup>66</sup> In 1858 Berwick's new Corn Exchange in Sandgate rivalled the Assembly rooms in Hide Hill, and at the opening ball, 'Among the performers was Mr Paul Wallace, one whose music has, in numerous instances contributed to the hilarity of similar meetings in this town.'<sup>67</sup>

Stuart's statue had 'long been an object of curiosity to people perambulating the Ramparts' by 1878, though 'many people have no knowledge of who the statue represents', and it was 'in danger of being neglected, and the owner wished to sell it for 'at least £10'. Stuart had been 'half mendicant, half fiddler.' 'It is said that he played the violin so badly that people actually paid him to stop playing. But first and foremost his reputation was based on his enormous strength. It is said that the maximum weight he had ever lifted was 105 stones using both hands' while 'with one hand he only managed a little over 80 stones!' His son 'goes about the town' as a 'collector of rags and bones'. The statue was sold for at least £10 and was taken to the yard of the Border Brewery, where it would remain 'until arrangements are made for its erection elsewhere'.<sup>68</sup>

It was later moved to the grounds of the Tweed Brewery in Palace Green, and then to outside the nearby Subscription Reading Rooms.



69

In 1888 many old Berwick people recalled a former wait and an image showed him with a fiddle under his cloak.



70

In 1953 workmen accidentally broke Stuart's statue, and it was moved to the yard of a firm of sculptors in Tweedmouth, for repair. In 1978 a photograph in the *Berwick Bulletin* showed it on its side, with the main torso virtually intact; though by 1990 what remained of it was stored at Berwick Barracks.<sup>71</sup>

In summer 1804, because of Jamie Allan's 'great age and increasing infirmities', his sentence of transportation was commuted to imprisonment for life,<sup>72</sup> and he was transferred to House of Correction beneath Elvet Bridge in Durham. He died there in November 1810, aged 76, and was buried in Elvet churchyard. Some gentlemen had asked for a royal pardon and it arrived days later.<sup>73</sup> It was the first such document signed by the prince regent,<sup>74</sup> and reportedly found its way to John Bell.<sup>75</sup> In 1817 Andrew Wight's book, *The Life of James Allan, the celebrated Northumberland Piper*, was published in Blyth,<sup>76</sup> and it was published again in 1818 with a portrait, which turned out to be an image of a Dutch piper.<sup>77</sup>



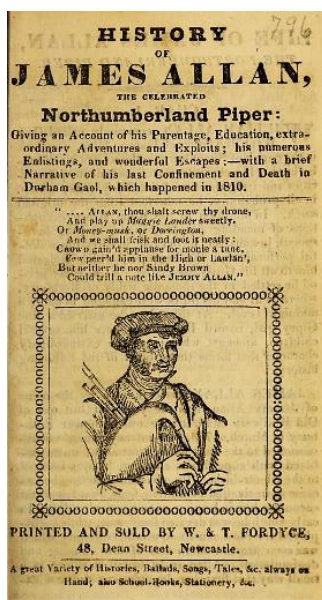
78

In the early 1820s a building near Elvet Bridge in Durham was reportedly 'haunted by the restless spirit of an old piper' who had been 'brought down the river by a flood, and rescued'. He 'became an inmate of the house of correction', where he died a few years later, and the 'credulous often hear his bagpipes at midnight'.<sup>79</sup> In 1828 Eneas Mackenzie and John Dent published *A New, Improved, and Authentic Life of James Allan* in Newcastle. The author, James Thompson, claimed that it contained 'many interesting and authenticated anecdotes' which Allan had told him. The frontispiece by Jeremiah Knox showed a sprucely dressed piper and a gypsy camp.

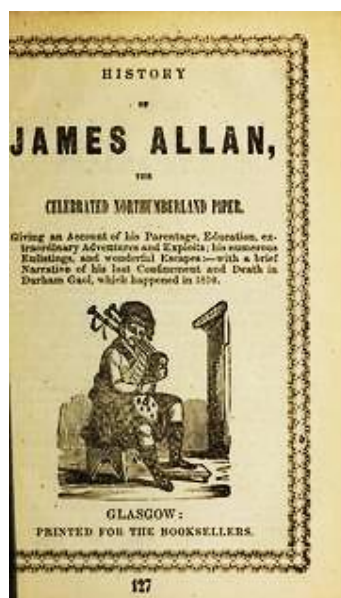


80

In the 1830s William and Thomas Fordyce published a small book about Allan in Newcastle, with an image of a smallpiper wearing what appears to be a Scottish bonnet, and another was printed for Glasgow booksellers, with an image of a Scottish bagpiper, as did the Fordyces in 1842.



81



82



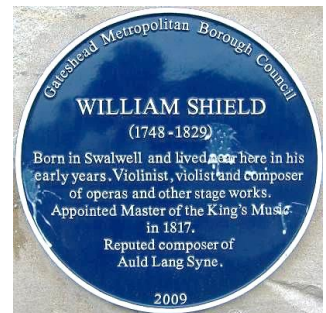
83

In 1853 John Gilbert printed a small book about Allan in Newcastle with the same image.<sup>84</sup>

Allan appears to have been almost forgotten during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, though the poet Tom Pickard wrote the libretto for John Harle's 'Ballad of Jamie Allan, a Folk Opera', which premiered at the Sage in Gateshead in 2007.<sup>85</sup>

Thomas Hardy had painted William Shield's portrait in 1795. In 1815 he was appointed as Musician in Ordinary to the king. His attempt to distinguish 'English' tunes from those associated with Scotland, Wales and Ireland chimed in with the idea that the English had a single 'national' musical culture; yet England, including the north east, was economically, politically and socially divided, and above all in terms of everyday language and culture.<sup>86</sup> Today Shield has a stone in Westminster Abbey, others at St. Thomas à Beckett Church in Brightling, Sussex, and Whickham, and a plaque at the junction of Hood Street and Market Lane in Swalwell.



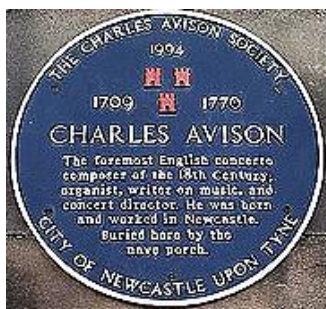
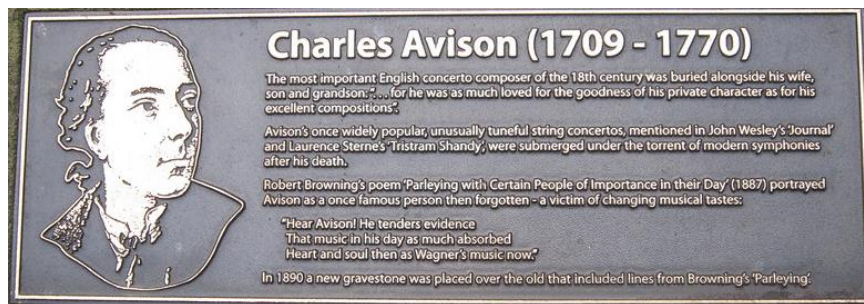


87

88

89

There is a plaque to Charles Avison in St. Andrew's churchyard, Newcastle, another on its perimeter wall, and others in Rosemary Lane and on the former Assembly Rooms in Westgate.



90

In 2009 the queen formally opened the rebuilt Newcastle City Library, which was named after Avison.



91

Today Thomas Whittell, Edward Chicken and Jamie Allan have no plaques anywhere.

# Dave Harker

I was born in Guisborough in what was then the north riding of Yorkshire on 5 November 1946. My mother had been a typist before she married a joiner who worked for his father. We lived in a rented house in Brotton until the landlady evicted us in the early 1950s, then we moved to Loftus and later to Skelton. I won a scholarship to Guisborough Grammar School in 1958, and, after a tussle with my parents, I stayed there after we moved to Saltburn in the early 1960s. In 1966 I went to Jesus College, Cambridge, which seemed like a good idea at the time. My director of studies was Raymond Williams and the junior fellow Terence Eagleton was one of my supervisors. I was awarded a BA in 1969, and began research under the supervision of John Holloway; but in 1970, when I became a senior scholar at University College, I transferred to David Craig at Lancaster University. I escaped to Newcastle for a year, and married, but then it was back to Cambridge. I later declined the offer of a fellowship at a Cambridge college and, to the annoyance of senior members of what had become Wolfson College, I accepted a temporary lectureship at Manchester Polytechnic in 1972, since I wanted to give something back to students less privileged than myself.

My wife and I lived in Hayfield in the High Peak, and I joined the Labour Party, without illusions, and I felt that we were just passing through, pending a return to Newcastle, yet the years rolled by. Michael was born in 1973, and I was active in the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions, though in 1975 I left the Labour Party in disgust and joined the International Socialists. In 1976, to my surprise, Cambridge University accepted my PhD thesis, 'Popular Song and Working-Class Consciousness in North East England'. In 1977 IS became the Socialist Workers' Party. By then we lived in Whaley Bridge, and I organised buses from the High Peak to both Anti-Nazi League carnivals in London. Soon after I began teaching shop stewards for the TUC, and became a Senior Lecturer in Trade Union Studies at the Polytechnic in 1982. I built a miners' support group at the Polytechnic, and another in Buxton in 1984-1985, but by then I was thoroughly disgusted with my colleagues' careerism, and I became an SL in English in 1986. My wife and I separated soon after, and we divorced in the later 1980s, so I moved to nearby Marple Bridge, hoping that Michael would visit often. In the early 1990s I built the largest travelling stall of second-hand socialist books in Britain, and probably in Europe, for Manchester district SWP, and supplied Bookmarks bookshop in London. I was an officer of what had become the National Association of Teachers in Further and Education branch at what became Manchester Metropolitan University for several years, though I retired from MMU in 2000 to get more involved in education. I drifted away from the SWP, though I became the founding secretary of the North West Retired Members' Branch of what was now the University and College Union, and an officer of Manchester Trades Union Council.

In 2015 I moved to Newcastle, and in 2017 I received the Robert Tressell Award 'For Services to Working People'. In 2017 and 2018 Ed Waugh based his plays 'Mr Corvan's Music Hall' and 'The Great Joe Wilson' on two of my books.

This is my 16<sup>th</sup> book, and it will almost certainly be my last about north-east England.

*The Northern Minstrels. From Richard Whirelepypyn to James Allan* (Newcastle: Wisecrack Publications, 2020).

*Eight Hours & A Gun. Revolutionary Russia, 1904-1905* (2020) - [www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/harker/](http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/harker/)

*Building the Old Bolsheviks, 1881-1903* (revised edition 2019) - [www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/harker/](http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/harker/)

*Tyneside Song from Blind Willie to Bobby Nunn* (Newcastle: Wisecrack Publications, 2019).

*Billy Purvis. The first professional Geordie* (Newcastle: Wisecrack Publications, 2018).

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*Songs and Verse of the North East Pitmen, c.1780-1844* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1999).

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*The Big Red Song Book* (with Mal Collins & Geoff White), (London: Pluto Press, 1977, 1981 & 1982; Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1982).

*George Ridley, Gateshead Poet and Vocalist* (Newcastle: Graham, 1973)

A third book on the Old Bolsheviks is almost complete and will probably appear online by 2021.

*The Centre Cannot Hold. The Implosion of the All-Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party 1906-1914.*

In the later 1980s and early 1990s I co-edited the Open University Press 'Popular Music in Britain' series.

Niall Mackinnon, *The British Folk Scene: musical performance and social identity*, 1994.

Dick Bradley, *Understanding Rock'n'roll: popular music in Britain 1955-1964*, 1992.

Allan Moore, *Rock: the primary text. Developing a musicology of rock*, 1992. (Revised edition - Ashgate: Routledge, 2001).

Trevor Herbert, *Bands: the Brass Band Movement in the 19th and 20th centuries*, 1991. (Revised edition - Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).



Paul Oliver, *Black Music in Britain: essays on the Afro-Asian contribution to popular music*, 1990.  
 Derek Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: songs of the Victorian drawing room and parlour*, 1989. (Revised edition - Ashgate: Routledge, 2001).  
 Mike Pickering & A.E. Green, *Everyday Culture: popular song and the vernacular milieu*, 1987.  
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'Billy Purvis, The Clown and Jester of the North', *herterpol chronicle* (autumn/winter 2017), 14-16.  
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 'John Bell, the "Great Collector"', in *Rhymes of Northern Bards* (Newcastle: Graham, 1971), iii-lix.

One article remains unpublished.

'Was Walter Benjamin a Marxist?' (2000) is available from me at [d1harker@btinternet.com](mailto:d1harker@btinternet.com)

I have catalogued two collections of primary material, and co-curated an exhibition with Frank Ellis and Kate Richardson.

'The North Wales 32 Collection, Working Class Movement Library, Salford (catalogued in 2005, and updated in 2007).  
 'A Working Catalogue of material relating to Robert Tressell and *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*' - [www.unionhistory.info/ragged/links.php](http://www.unionhistory.info/ragged/links.php) (2003, updated 2008 & 2014).  
 The Robert Tressell Exhibition, Working Class Movement Library, Salford, 2011.

I have given talks all over England, and in Canada, Czechoslovakia (as was), France, Germany (before and after 1989), Italy, Portugal and the USA.

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## 6. Prophanely Singing or Playing

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## 7. *Englands grievance*

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<sup>77</sup> Scholes 1933: 4, 13  
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<sup>79</sup> Krummel 1975: 75  
<sup>80</sup> Wikipedia  
<sup>81</sup> Playford 1651  
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<sup>83</sup> Wikipedia  
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<sup>89</sup> Barnard & McKenzie 2002: 543  
<sup>90</sup> Wiles 1965: 3-4  
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<sup>94</sup> Fumerton & Guerrini 2016: 225  
<sup>95</sup> Thomson 1974: 174  
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<sup>99</sup> Marsh 2010: 370  
<sup>100</sup> Blagden 1954: 162-3, 166, 168  
<sup>101</sup> Raven 2007: 85  
<sup>102</sup> Arber 1875  
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<sup>104</sup> Welford 1895: 2: 266  
<sup>105</sup> Mains & Tuck 1986: 19  
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<sup>110</sup> Levine & Wrightson 1991: 52, 136, 138, 140  
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<sup>112</sup> Howell 1978: 8-10  
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<sup>115</sup> Underdown 1985: 281  
<sup>116</sup> Howell 1978: 2, 13, 15-16, 83-127  
<sup>117</sup> Green & Crosbie 2018: 120  
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<sup>120</sup> Welford 1895: 2: 267-8  
<sup>121</sup> Howell 1978: 13  
<sup>122</sup> Dodds 1920: 152-3  
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<sup>125</sup> Lumley 1934: 137-8  
<sup>126</sup> Howell 1978: 75-82  
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<sup>149</sup> Manders 1973: 192  
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<sup>152</sup> Hunt 1975: 60  
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<sup>157</sup> Clephan 1887b: 363-4  
<sup>158</sup> Weld 1653b  
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<sup>163</sup> Hinks & Gardiner 2014: 237  
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<sup>172</sup> Newton & Pollard 2009: 313  
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<sup>9</sup> Myers & Harris 1998: 34  
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<sup>42</sup> Blagden 1960: 162, 215-16  
<sup>43</sup> Davis 1966: 172  
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<sup>108</sup> Johnson 2003: 97, 115, 120  
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<sup>121</sup> Sykes 1833: 1: 113  
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<sup>173</sup> Ray 1674  
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<sup>186</sup> Berry & Gregory 2004: 61  
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<sup>230</sup> Watt 1994: 52  
<sup>231</sup> Hunt 1975: 86  
<sup>232</sup> Stuart 1686  
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<sup>235</sup> Barmby 1896: 95  
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<sup>237</sup> Rawlett 1687  
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<sup>240</sup> Krummel 1975: 164  
<sup>241</sup> Hill 1968: 45, 203, 210  
<sup>242</sup> Fumerton & Guerrini 2016: 212-15, 217-20  
<sup>243</sup> Thomson 1974: 279-82  
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<sup>5</sup> Spufford 1994: 17  
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<sup>24</sup> Barnard & McKenzie 2002: 770, 772, 776  
<sup>25</sup> Wiles 1965: 4  
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<sup>82</sup> Tullie 1691  
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<sup>85</sup> Hodgson 1915: 138  
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<sup>89</sup> Green & Crosbie 2018: 175  
<sup>90</sup> Davis 1966: 135  
<sup>91</sup> Anon 1699  
<sup>92</sup> Gilpin 1700  
<sup>93</sup> Bradbury 1704  
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<sup>95</sup> Wallis 1981: 8  
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- <sup>104</sup> Barry 1990: 290
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<sup>148</sup> Sharp 1841: 69  
<sup>149</sup> Hodgson Hinde 1860: 243  
<sup>150</sup> Ellis 1987: 123  
<sup>151</sup> Levine & Wrightson 1991: 253  
<sup>152</sup> Ellis 1980: 339  
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## 12. All Gentlemen and Ladies

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<sup>23</sup> Hinks & Gardiner 2014: 239  
<sup>24</sup> Suarez & Turner 2014: 50  
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<sup>26</sup> *Newcastle Courant* 19 Oct, 28 Dec 1734  
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<sup>160</sup> Chicken 1741: [1], 3-7, 9  
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<sup>37</sup> Mains & Tuck 1986: 47, 50, 53  
<sup>38</sup> Hughes 1952: 363  
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### 14. The barbarous productions of unpolished ages

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- <sup>36</sup> Jessop 1991: 15, 17
- <sup>37</sup> Wright 1801: *frontispiece*
- <sup>38</sup> Wikipedia
- <sup>39</sup> Robinson 1887: 240
- <sup>40</sup> Uglow 2007: 321
- <sup>41</sup> northshieldsnsp.co.uk
- <sup>42</sup> Robinson 1887: 116
- <sup>43</sup> www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings
- <sup>44</sup> 1801 Newcastle directory
- <sup>45</sup> Southey 2006: 70, 170
- <sup>46</sup> Thompson 1801
- <sup>47</sup> Bain 1982: 14
- <sup>48</sup> Fuller 1799: 446-7
- <sup>49</sup> townwaits.org.uk
- <sup>50</sup> Wight 1818b: 637-40
- <sup>51</sup> northshieldsnsp.co.uk
- <sup>52</sup> townwaits.org.uk
- <sup>53</sup> *Newcastle Courant* 9 Jan 1880
- <sup>54</sup> northshieldsnsp.co.uk
- <sup>55</sup> Courtesy of Vic Gammon
- <sup>56</sup> northshieldsnsp.co.uk
- <sup>57</sup> *Newcastle Courant* 2 Jan 1880
- <sup>58</sup> northshieldsnsp.co.uk
- <sup>59</sup> *Newcastle Courant* 2 Jan 1880
- <sup>60</sup> Bain 1982: 16
- <sup>61</sup> Thompson 1828: 472
- <sup>62</sup> Allan 1891: 82
- <sup>63</sup> Sykes 1833: 2: 306, 308
- <sup>64</sup> Welford 1892: 1: 209
- <sup>65</sup> Sykes 1833: 2: 306
- <sup>66</sup> Gardiner 2013: 302
- <sup>67</sup> *Newcastle Chronicle* 28 Aug 1802
- <sup>68</sup> Bell 1812: 312-13
- <sup>69</sup> Sykes 1833: 2: 307
- <sup>70</sup> Bell 1812: 312-13
- <sup>71</sup> Charleton 1885: 417
- <sup>72</sup> Courtesy of Newcastle University Library
- <sup>73</sup> Charleton 1885: 417
- <sup>74</sup> Mackenzie 1827: 728
- <sup>75</sup> Welford 1895: 3: 191-3, 198
- <sup>76</sup> Hunt & Isaac 1977: 163, 168
- <sup>77</sup> Mackenzie 1827: 728
- <sup>78</sup> Welford 1895: 3: 194-5
- <sup>79</sup> *Tyne Mercury* 14 Sep 1802
- <sup>80</sup> Isaac 1990: 62
- <sup>81</sup> Hoagwood 2010: 29-30
- <sup>82</sup> Burd 1916: 124
- <sup>83</sup> Surtees 1823: 194
- <sup>84</sup> Bronson 1938: 1: 249-50
- <sup>85</sup> Sykes 1833: 2: 16
- <sup>86</sup> McAulay 2016: 69
- <sup>87</sup> Ritson 1802a
- <sup>88</sup> Ritson 1813: 1: xcv
- <sup>89</sup> Frank 1833: 2: 216, 220-1
- <sup>90</sup> Bronson 1938: 1: 264
- <sup>91</sup> Hoagwood 2010: 26
- <sup>92</sup> Scott 1802
- <sup>93</sup> Burd 1916: 129
- <sup>94</sup> Surtees 1823: 194
- <sup>95</sup> Hogg 2005: lxix, 12-14, 26
- <sup>96</sup> McAulay 2016: 110
- <sup>97</sup> Hogg 2005: lxix, 15, 17-18, 20-1, 60-1
- <sup>98</sup> Frank 1833: 1: 228-9
- <sup>99</sup> Ritson 1802b: 1: iii-iv, cix, 19, 70
- <sup>100</sup> Bronson 1938: 2: 568-71
- <sup>101</sup> Ritson 1802c
- <sup>102</sup> Surtees 1823: 194-5
- <sup>103</sup> Frank 1833: 2: 236
- <sup>104</sup> Haslewood 1824: 46
- <sup>105</sup> Bronson 1938: 1: 271
- <sup>106</sup> National Portrait Gallery, London
- <sup>107</sup> Burd 1916: 203, 528
- <sup>108</sup> Bronson 1938: 1: 288-9
- <sup>109</sup> Burd 1916: 202
- <sup>110</sup> Sykes 1833: 2: 15
- <sup>111</sup> Burd 1916: 194
- <sup>112</sup> Leigh & Sotheby 1803: 19, 28, 31, 34-5

## 20. Aftermaths

- <sup>1</sup> Chicken 1815
- <sup>2</sup> Mackenzie 1827: 352-3
- <sup>3</sup> Chicken 1829: v
- <sup>4</sup> Mackenzie 1827: 353
- <sup>5</sup> Hunt 1975: 50
- <sup>6</sup> Chicken 1829: [i]-iii, 3, 29, 31
- <sup>7</sup> Bath & Stevenson 2013: 155
- <sup>8</sup> Chicken 1829: iii, 31
- <sup>9</sup> Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford
- <sup>10</sup> *Newcastle Courant* 3 Aug 1866
- <sup>11</sup> *Durham County Advertiser* 8 Jan 1875
- <sup>12</sup> Ritson 1810: [i], vii-viii
- <sup>13</sup> Ritson 1813: 1: *Advertisement*

- <sup>14</sup> Ritson 1821: *frontispiece*
- <sup>15</sup> Scott 1821: 1: 42
- <sup>16</sup> Scott 1830: 1: 29, 38
- <sup>17</sup> Scott 1838: 15
- <sup>18</sup> Gutch 1847: 2: *frontispiece*
- <sup>19</sup> Child 1857-1859
- <sup>20</sup> Harker 1985a: 113-14
- <sup>21</sup> Hales & Furnivall 1867-1868
- <sup>22</sup> Whittle NDC, NDD, NDe, NDF, NDg, NDh, NDi
- <sup>23</sup> Mackenzie 1811: 2: 224
- <sup>24</sup> Bell 1812: 173-189
- <sup>25</sup> Whittell 1815a: 18-20, 41-4
- <sup>26</sup> Whittell 1815b
- <sup>27</sup> Whittell 1815c
- <sup>28</sup> Whittell NDj, NDk, NDI, NDm
- <sup>29</sup> Mackenzie 1825: 162-3
- <sup>30</sup> Hodgson 1827: 281
- <sup>31</sup> Whittell NDn
- <sup>32</sup> Allan 1891: 10-14
- <sup>33</sup> Welford 1895: 3: 610-15
- <sup>34</sup> Tate 1866: 1: 427-8
- <sup>35</sup> Fuller 1799: 446-7
- <sup>36</sup> townwaits.org.uk
- <sup>37</sup> Balfour 1904: 67
- <sup>38</sup> Welford 1895: 3: 488
- <sup>39</sup> Tate 1866: 424-9
- <sup>40</sup> townwaits.org.uk
- <sup>41</sup> Garnham 2002
- <sup>42</sup> Hodgson 1894: 59
- <sup>43</sup> Welford 1896: 28-9
- <sup>44</sup> townwaits.org.uk
- <sup>45</sup> Hardy 1896: 40
- <sup>46</sup> Courtesy of Andy Bogle
- <sup>47</sup> Tate 1866: 1: 429
- <sup>48</sup> www.berwickfriends.org.uk
- <sup>49</sup> berwicktimelines.tumblr.com
- <sup>50</sup> 78.media.tumblr.com
- <sup>51</sup> townwaits.org.uk
- <sup>52</sup> 78.media.tumblr.com
- <sup>53</sup>
- <sup>54</sup> https://durhamweaver64.blogspot.com/2015/04/a-tartan-question.html
- <sup>55</sup> Wikipedia
- <sup>56</sup> 78.media.tumblr.com
- <sup>57</sup> Howitt 1842: 492
- <sup>58</sup> Sheldon 1849:
- <sup>59</sup> www.berwickfriends.org.uk
- <sup>60</sup> Courtesy of George Frampton
- <sup>61</sup> Courtesy of Sheila & Vic Gammon
- <sup>62</sup> www.berwickfriends.org.uk
- <sup>63</sup> Rose 2007
- <sup>64</sup> www.berwickfriends.org.uk
- <sup>65</sup> Sheldon 1849: 360, 384-5
- <sup>66</sup> Rose 2007
- <sup>67</sup> townwaits.org.uk
- <sup>68</sup> Anon 2015
- <sup>69</sup> Rose 2007
- <sup>70</sup> www.berwickfriends.org.uk
- <sup>71</sup> Scott 1888: *facing* 225, 225
- <sup>72</sup> www.berwickfriends.org.uk
- <sup>73</sup> Thompson 1828: 472
- <sup>74</sup> Wight 1818b: 645-6, 649
- <sup>75</sup> Thompson 1828: vi
- <sup>76</sup> Gilbert ND: [1], 23
- <sup>77</sup> Wight 1817
- <sup>78</sup> www.northumbrianpipes.com
- <sup>79</sup> Wight 1818a: *frontispiece*
- <sup>80</sup> Hone 1827: [1]: 415
- <sup>81</sup> Thompson 1828: *frontispiece*, [iii]
- <sup>82</sup> Fordyce NDa: 1
- <sup>83</sup> Anon ND: 1
- <sup>84</sup> Fordyce NDb: 1
- <sup>85</sup> archive.org/details/fisherchapbook310
- <sup>86</sup> Pickard 2007
- <sup>87</sup> Harker 2019: 33:
- <sup>88</sup> Wikipedia
- <sup>89</sup> http://northeasthistorytour



<sup>89</sup> [www.blueplaqueplaces.co.uk](http://www.blueplaqueplaces.co.uk)

<sup>90</sup> <https://openplaques.org/plaques/43421>

# THE NORTHERN MINSTRELS

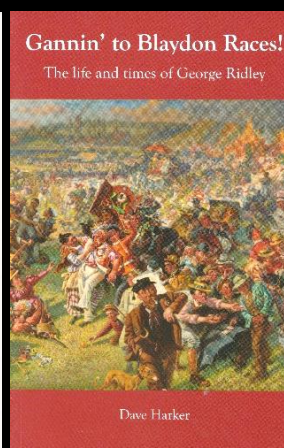
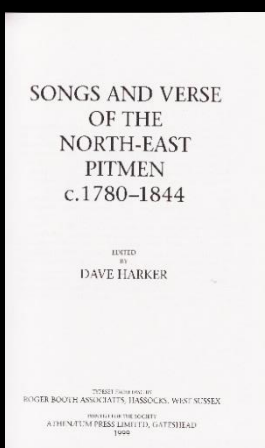
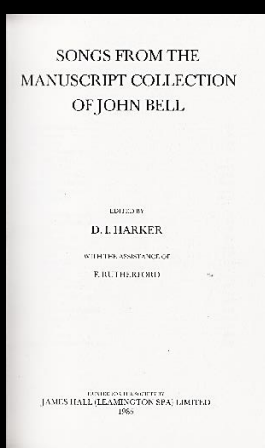
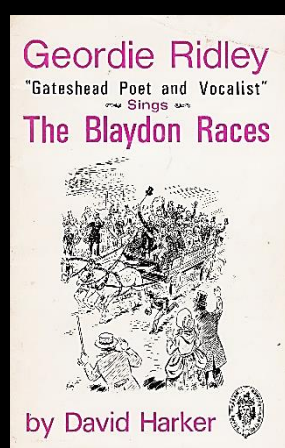
## From Richard Whirlepipyn to James Allan

What was it about the north-east England that produced such varied music, from:- the medieval minstrels and 'waits'; Baroque composer Charles Avison; early compilers of fiddle and pipe tunes Henry Atkinson and William Vickers; antiquarians such as Joseph Ritson and Bishop Percy; 'Collier's Wedding' author Edward Chicken; and pipers such as William Lamshaw and the mad, bad and dangerous to know Jamie Allan? Why were freelance minstrels deemed 'rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars'? What enabled and/or controlled the performance and publication of music and lyrics?

Rich in social historical context, this book vividly portrays the ways in which music making and printed balladry were always subject to and in turn helped to shape the prevailing political climate of their day. General literacy, licensing of printing presses, religious upheavals, employment of official minstrels and 'waits', as well as the laws relating to vagrancy and apprenticeship, all had huge impact on the performance, dissemination and preservation of song and music. Class, church, politics, capital and fear of sedition influenced what found its way into print and what relied on oral tradition. This book draws on a wealth of research to tell the story of north-east pipers, minstrels, choristers, street singers and dancing masters; duels and disputes; reivers, Jacobites, and riots; dialect and genteel satire; coal, iron, and keels.

Dave is the leading expert on Tyneside song. This book provides the back story to his previous books about the great north-east singer/songwriters. Read on to learn about centuries before *Blaydon Races* and *Fog on the Tyne*.

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